

THE  
SLAVONIC  
(AND EAST EUROPEAN)  
REVIEW

A Survey of the Slavonic Peoples,  
Their History, Economics, Philology  
and Literature

VOLUME TWENTY-SEVEN

PUBLISHED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON  
SCHOOL OF SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

1948-49





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Printed in Great Britain by  
Butler & Tanner Ltd.,  
Frome and London





In  
Memoriam



EDVARD  
BENEŠ  
1884—1948



JAN  
MASARYK  
1886—1948

# THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

VOL. XXVII, No. 68

December, 1948.

## THE STRANGER

Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER BLOK

by MARY KRIGER

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—*The Stranger* is one of the three lyrical dramas by Alexander Blok (1880-1921), written in 1906—the other two being *The Puppet-Show* and *The King in the Square*. All three are closely tied to one another and to Blok's lyrical poetry of this period.

In his Introduction to the collected edition *Lyrical Dramas*, which appeared in 1908, Blok wrote.

" . . . The three little dramas, offered here to the attention of the reader, are *lyrical* dramas, that is, dramas in which the experience of an individual soul, its doubts, passions, failures, downfalls, are merely presented in dramatic form. I draw here no ideological, moral or other conclusions.

" All three dramas are linked together by the unity of the principal character and his aspirations. The grotesquely luckless Pierrot in *The Puppet-Show*, the morally weak Poet in *The King in the Square*, and the other Poet who, tipsy, has dreamed away his vision in *The Stranger*—all these are, as it were, different facets of one man's soul; equally identical are the aspirations of all three: they all seek the life beautiful, free and bright, that alone can take off their weak shoulders the too-heavy burden of *lyrical* doubts and contradictions and dispel the importunate and spectral doubles. For all three, beautiful life is an incarnation of the image of the Eternal Feminine: for one—Colombine, the radiant bride, whom only the sickly and moronic imagination of Pierrot has turned into 'a cardboard bride'; for the second—the Daughter of the Architect, the beauty who cherishes a Biblical dream and perishes with the Poet; for the third—the Stranger, a star, fallen from the sky and incarnated only to disappear again, making fools of the Poet and the Astrologer."

These dramas, and especially *The Stranger*, which is the best of them, with their "transcendental irony," together with all his lyrical poetry of this period, stand in contrast to Blok's first volume of verse, *Poems About a Beautiful Lady*, a kind of *Vita Nuova*, a "journal," as it were,

of an intimate and mysterious relationship that let Blok foretaste the joys of the eternal world.

Translations of two other dramas by Blok were printed in the *Slavonic and East European Review*: *The King in the Square*, trans. by Oleta Joan O'Connor and George Rapall Noyes (April, 1934), and *The Rose and the Cross*, trans. by Ingeborg E. Smith and G. R. Noyes (April, 1936). Another of Blok's dramas, *The Song of Fate*, trans. by O. J. O'Connor and G. R. Noyes, appeared in *Poet Lore* (Winter, 1938). *The Stranger*, the best of Blok's four lyrical dramas—the longer romantic drama *The Rose and the Cross* stands somewhat apart—has, to the best of my knowledge, never before been translated into English.

## THE STRANGER

The portrait was of a woman of truly extraordinary beauty. She had been photographed in a black silk dress of extremely simple and graceful cut; her hair, apparently chestnut-coloured, was dressed simply, informally; the eyes dark, deep-set, the brow pensive; the expression of her face passionate and as though haughty. Her face was perhaps somewhat thin and pale . . .

DOSTOYEVSKY.

"But how did you know that this was I? Where did you see me before? Why, really, I must have seen him somewhere before?"

"I also must have seen you somewhere before?"

"Where?—Where?"

"It's as though I have seen your eyes somewhere . . . but that's impossible! I'm just . . . I've never been here before. Maybe, in a dream . . ."

DOSTOYEVSKY.

## DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

THE STRANGER. POET.

ONE IN BLUE. PEOPLE IN THE TAVERN AND IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.

ASTROLOGER. TWO HOUSE-PORTERS.

\*

\*

\*

## VISION ONE

*A street tavern. Quivering, lustreless-pale light from an acetylene lantern with a crumpled shade. Depicted on the wallpaper are absolutely identical ships with enormous flags. Their prows cut into the blue waters. Beyond the*

door, which is often opened to let in people, and beyond the big windows, adorned with ivy, walk passers-by in fur coats and girls in kerchiefs—under the blue evening snow.

Behind the bar, on which stands a cask with a gnome and a sign "Tankard-goblet"—two figures, perfectly resembling one another: both have a pompadour and a parting, both are in green aprons; only the ends of the PROPRIETOR'S moustache point down, while those of his brother the WAITER'S moustache point up. By one window, at a table, sits a drunk old man—the spit image of Verlaine, by another—a clean-shaven, pale man—the spit image of Hauptmann. Several groups of drunk people.

(Conversation in one group.)

ONE.

I bought this coat for twenty-five rubles. But as for you, Sashka, I won't let you have it for less than thirty.

ANOTHER (in a tone of injured conviction).

You're lying! . . . Just you wait . . . I'll . . .

THIRD (with a moustache, shouting).

Silence! No fighting! Another bottle, friend.

(The WAITER runs up. Plop-plopping of beer heard. Silence. A solitary customer rises in a corner and, with uncertain gait, walks to the bar. Begins fumbling in a gleaming dish of boiled crayfish.)

PROPRIETOR.

Excuse me, mister. You can't do that. You'll paw all our crayfish over. Nobody'll want to eat them.

(The customer, grunting, moves away.)

(Conversation in another group.)

DIVINITY STUDENT.

And she danced, my dear fellow, let me tell you, like a celestial creature. I could just take her by her little white hands and right on her lips, let me tell you, kiss her . . .

DRINKING COMPANION (squealing with laughter).

Oh, just look at our Vasinka, going all dreamy, he is, and blushing like a poppy! And what does she give you for all your love? For your love, eh? . . . Eh?

(They all squeal with laughter.)

## THE SLAVONIC REVIEW.

DIVINITY STUDENT (*red all over*).

And, my dear fellow, let me tell you, it's not nice to laugh. I could just take her and carry her off, away from immodest stares, and in the street she would dance before me, on the white snow . . . like a bird she would fly. And did I get wings—I too would fly after her, over the white snow. . . .

(*Everyone guffaws*)

SECOND DRINKING COMPANION.

You take care, Vaska, you can't do much flying over fresh-fallen snow. . . .

FIRST DRINKING COMPANION.

You'll find it easier while it's freezing outside, or you and your sweetheart will take a header right in the mud. . . .

SECOND DRINKING COMPANION.

Dreamer.

DIVINITY STUDENT (*completely befuddled*).

Ah, my dear fellows, not having studied at the seminary, let me tell you, you can't understand delicate sentiments. Anyhow, how about some more beer . . .

VERLAINE (*muttering loudly to himself*).

To each his own. To each his own . . .

(HAUPTMANN *makes expressive signs to the WAITER. Enter a RED-HAIRED MAN and a GIRL in a kerchief.*)

GIRL (*to the WAITER*).

A bottle of porter, Misha. (*Continues talking rapidly to the man.*) . . . Soon as she, dearie, went out, what's this—she'd forgotten to treat the madam to some beer. Straight away—back she goes, and he'd already opened her chest of drawers, and was rummaging around in it, and had rummaged through everything, everything, thinking she wouldn't be back so soon. . . . She, dearie, starts screaming, and he, dearie, covering her mouth. Well, the madam comes running anyway, and screaming herself, and calling the house-porter; and there he was, dearie, taken straight off to the police station. . . . (*Breaks off quickly.*) Give me twenty kopecks.

(*The MAN sullenly pulls out twenty kopecks.*)

GIRL.

Do you grudge it, or what ?

MAN.

Drink and hold your tongue.

*(They are silent. Drink. A YOUNG MAN runs in and joyously rushes to HAUPTMANN.)*

YOUNG MAN.

Kostya, friend, she's waiting at the door ! . . .

HAUPTMANN.

Righto. She can hang about some more. Let's have a drink.

VERLAINE *(muttering loudly)*.

And to all people—their own occupation . . . And to each—his own worry.

*(Enters POET Beckons to the WAITER.)*

POET.

Will you have one on me ?

WAITER *(a born wit)*.

A great honour . . . From a famous personage . . .

*(Runs for some beer. The POET takes out a notebook. Silence. The acetylene hisses. Crunching of pretzels.*

*The WAITER brings the POET a bottle of beer and sits down on the edge of the chair opposite.)*

POET.

Now just listen. To wander about the streets, catch fragments of unfamiliar words. Then come here and open your heart to a man of straw.

WAITER.

Incomprehensible, but very refined. . . .

*(Jumps off the chair and runs to serve a customer. The POET writes in his notebook.)*

GIRL *(humming)*.

How I love her . . .

And she, for my love . . .

(The WAITER returns to the POET.)

POET (*drinking*).

To see many women's faces. Hundreds of eyes, large and deep, blue, dark, light. Narrow, like the eyes of a lynx. Wide open, child-like. To love them. To desire them. There cannot be a man who does not love. And you too must love them.

WAITER.

Yes'r.

POET.

And in the midst of this blaze of eyes, the midst of this whirlwind of eyes, there will arise suddenly, as though blossoming forth under the blue snow—one face: the uniquely beautiful visage of the Stranger, under a thick, dark veil. . . . Now sway the plumes on her hat . . . Now her slim hand holds up the rustling dress . . . Now, slowly she passes . . . she passes . . .

(*Drinks greedily.*)

VERLAINE (*muttering*).

And everything passes. And to each—his own care.

DIVINITY STUDENT (*with a heavy tongue*).

And she danced like a celestial, let me tell you, angel, and you devils and brigands are not worth her little finger. Anyhow, let's have a drink.

DRINKING COMPANION.

Dreamer! That's why you drink. And that's what we all are—dreamers. Kiss me, mate.

(*They embrace.*)

DIVINITY STUDENT.

And nobody will ever love her as I do. And on the white snow our sad life we'll live out. She dancing, and I playing the barrel-organ. And we'll fly. Right under the silver moon itself, that's where we'll fly. And there, damn it, let me tell you, don't you go poking, my dear fellows, your silly, dirty noses. And nevertheless I love you dearly and esteem you highly. He who's never drunk out of one bottle never's seen friendship.

(*Everyone guffaws.*)

## DRINKING COMPANION.

Just look at Vaska ! Pretty neat ! Let's kiss, mate.

YOUNG MAN (*to HAUPTMANN*).

I say, that's enough. Why should she be made to wait so long out there in the cold ? She'll get quite frozen. Let's go, Kostya, brother.

HAUPTMANN.

Chuck it. If one gives in to the female temperament, nothing will be left of a man—spit in his face, that's all he'll be good for. Let her hang about a bit, and we can sit here a little longer.

(*The YOUNG MAN obeys. All the customers drink, growing more and more tipsy.*)

A MAN in a ragged yellow overcoat, sitting alone, rises and addresses the merry company.)

MAN IN OVERCOAT.

Gentlemen ! I have a small object here—a most valuable miniature. (*He pulls a cameo out of his pocket.*) Here you are, care to take a look ? On one side, we have an emblem depicted, on the other—an agreeable lady in a tunic sitting on the globe and holding over this globe a sceptre : submit, so to say, and obey—and that's all !

(*Everyone laughs approvingly. Several go up and examine the cameo.*)

POET (*tipsy*).

The eternal story. It is She—the World-Ruler. She holds a rod and rules the world. We are all spellbound by Her.

MAN IN OVERCOAT.

Glad to serve the Russian intelligentsia. I'll sell it cheap, even though I didn't come by it cheaply, but still I'll do it, out of friendship, as they say. I can see you're a connoisseur. Well, it's a deal.

(*The POET gives him a coin. Takes the cameo, examines it. The MAN IN THE OVERCOAT goes back to his place. The conversation continues only between two men seated at a separate table.*)

FIRST (*picking up a comic magazine*).

And now the time has come for us to have a bit of fun. Here, Vanya, listen. (*Solemnly unfolding the magazine and reading :*) “ A



loving couple. Husband :—‘ Drop in at mother’s today, darling, and ask her . . . ’ ”

*(In advance, roars wildly with laughter.)*

SECOND.

Hey, damn it, that’s jolly good !

FIRST *(continues reading)*.

“ ‘ . . . And ask her . . . to get Katenka a dolly . . . ’ ” *(Roars with laughter.)* “ Wife :—‘ Why, darling ! Katenka will soon be twenty.’ ” *(Can barely read for laughter.)* “ ‘ It’s not a dolly any more, it’s a suitor someone should get her.’ ”

*(Thundering laughter.)*

SECOND.

Good for her !

FIRST.

That’s what is called letting him have it !

SECOND.

Devil take them, they *can* write !

*(And again the solitary customer fumbles in the dish. He pulls red crayfish out by their claws. Holds them a moment and puts them back. And again the PROPRIETOR drives him away.)*

POET *(examining the cameo)*.

Eternal return. Once again She enfolds the world. And again we are spellbound by Her. Now She whirls Her flowering rod. Now She whirls me ! . . . And I whirl with Her . . . Under the blue . . . under the evening snow.

DIVINITY STUDENT.

She dances . . . dances . . . I—playing on the barrel-organ, and she dancing to the barrel-organ *(Makes drunken gestures, as though trying to catch something.)* There, didn’t catch it . . . didn’t catch it again . . . but you devils won’t catch it either if even I can’t catch it. . . .

*(Slowly, slowly, the walls of the tavern begin going round. The ceiling tilts, one end of it stretches upward into infinity. The ships on the wallpaper seem to sail closer and closer, without getting anywhere. Over the confused*

*blur of general conversation the MAN IN THE OVERCOAT, who meanwhile has joined someone else, shouts.)*

MAN IN OVERCOAT.

No, sir, I'm a connoisseur! I like sharp cheese, you know, the round sort! (*He makes circular gestures.*) I've forgotten its name.

HIS COMPANION (*uncertainly*).

And you've . . . tasted it?

MAN IN OVERCOAT.

What do you mean, tasted? You think I haven't? I've eaten Rochefort!

COMPANION (*whose chair sways under him*).

And do you know . . . Luxem—burger . . . kind that stinks . . . and wiggles, wiggles . . .

(*Smacks his lips and wiggles his fingers.*)

MAN IN OVERCOAT (*rising, inspired*).

Swiss! . . . That's what!

(*Snaps his fingers*)

COMPANION (*blinking doubtfully*).

Well, what's to that? . . .

MAN IN OVERCOAT (*loudly, like a rifle-shot*).

Brie!

COMPANION.

Well, that . . . that . . . you know . . .

MAN IN OVERCOAT (*menacingly*).

Know what?

COMPANION (*completely squashed*).

(*Everything goes round, seems about to turn over. The ships on the wallpaper sail, churning the blue waters. For a minute it seems that everything is standing upside down.*)

VERLAINE (*muttering*).

And to everything comes its turn . . . And it's time for everybody to go home . . .

HAUPTMANN (*yelling*).

She's a slut, well, let her go slutting about, then! And we'll have a drink!

GIRL (*singing into the man's ear*).

Farewell, beloved mine . . .

DIVINITY STUDENT.

The snow dances. And we dance. And the barrel-organ weeps. And I weep. And we all weep.

POET.

Blue snow. Whirling. Softly falling. Blue eyes. A thick veil. Slowly She passes. The sky has opened up! Appear! Appear!

(*The whole tavern seems to have dived somewhere. The walls come apart. The completely tilted ceiling now reveals the sky—wintry, blue, cold. In the blue evening snow appears—*)

## VISION TWO

*The same evening. The end of a street on the outskirts of town. The last houses, ending abruptly, disclose a wide vista: a dark, deserted bridge across a broad river. On both sides of the bridge slumber quiet ships with signal-lights. Beyond the bridge stretches an avenue, endless, straight as an arrow, framed by chains of lanterns and trees, white with hoar-frost. The air is filled with fluttering, star-like snow*

ASTROLOGER (*on the bridge*).

Night—star-transfixed—illumes the skies.  
Two wings alone, two wings—my eyes.  
How many stars—I cannot say—  
Enwrapped in mist the Milky Way,  
And my poor eyes are misted o'er . . .  
Who is that wassailer?

(Two HOUSE-PORTERS drag the drunken POET along by the arms.)

INFURIATED HOUSE-PORTERS.

He hangs about the pubs all night,  
But we'll give him what-for, all right!  
Hey, Vanka, give the guy a whack!  
Hey, Vaska, give the guy a thwack!

(*They drag the POET on.*)

## ASTROLOGER.

Rises a new, an unknown star,  
 More dazzling than the rest by far.  
 The water's motionless and dark,  
 And in it, mirrored, is the star.  
 Oh! It is falling in an arc . . .  
 Fly hither, hither, hither, star!

*(Through the sky a bright, heavy star is seen falling slowly in an arc. A moment later a beautiful woman in black, her eyes wide with surprise, walks along the bridge. Everything becomes fairy-like—the dark bridge and the slumbering blue ships. THE STRANGER stops, rigid, by the railing of the bridge, still retaining her pale, evanescent lustre. She waits.)*

ONE as BLUE as she is comes on to the bridge out of the dark avenue.  
*Also in snow. Also beautiful. He shimmers like a quiet, blue flame.)*

## ONE IN BLUE.

In the wintry night, ephemerously  
 Turn to me your face aglow.  
 In the snows, oh softly murmuring one,  
 Strew me o'er with gossamer snow.

*(She turns her eyes to him.)*

## THE STRANGER.

Eyes are stars, forlorn and perishing,  
 Gone astray in astral flight.  
 'Twas of you, my lightly-hovering,  
 I was grieving in my height.

*(His blue cloak is strewn over with snowy roses.)*

## ONE IN BLUE.

There are, in your frost-bound azure,  
 Many stars.  
 In my hand, my hand of iron,  
 A bright sword.

## THE STRANGER.

Lower in your hand of iron  
 The bright sword.  
 There are, in my frost-bound azure,  
 Countless stars.

*(The ONE IN BLUE dozes in the pale light. Upon his cloak glows a moon-beam, as though he were leaning on a sword.)*

ONE IN BLUE.

Centuries flew by like dreams.  
Long I waited for you on the earth.

THE STRANGER.

Centuries flew by like moments.  
Through space, as a star I flew.

ONE IN BLUE.

You flickered down from your height  
Here, on my cloak of blue.

THE STRANGER.

You have gazed into my eyes.  
Do you often look at the sky ?

ONE IN BLUE.

I can lift up my eyes no more :  
You, the falling, have fettered my eyes.

THE STRANGER.

Can you speak earthly words to me ?  
Why are you all in blue ?

ONE IN BLUE.

Too long have I gazed at the sky :  
So—my eyes are blue, and my cloak.

THE STRANGER.

Who are you ?

ONE IN BLUE.

A Poet.

THE STRANGER.

Of what do you sing ?

ONE IN BLUE.

Always of you.

THE STRANGER.

Have you been waiting long ?

# THE STRANGER.

ONE IN BLUE.

Many centuries.

THE STRANGER.

Are you living or dead ?

ONE IN BLUE.

I know not.

THE STRANGER.

Are you young ?

ONE IN BLUE.

I am beautiful.

THE STRANGER.

A fallen maiden-star  
Wants words of the earth.

ONE IN BLUE.

Of mysteries only I know words.  
Hieratical is my speech.

THE STRANGER.

Do you know my name ?

ONE IN BLUE.

No—and 'tis better not to know.

THE STRANGER.

Do you see my eyes ?

ONE IN BLUE.

I see them. They are like stars.

THE STRANGER.

Do you see my slender body ?

ONE IN BLUE.

Yes. You are dazzling.

*(In her voice awakens earthly passion.)*

THE STRANGER.

Would you like to embrace me ?

ONE IN BLUE.

I dare not touch you.

THE STRANGER.

You may touch my lips.

*(The cloak of the ONE IN BLUE shimmers, disappearing beneath the snow.)*

THE STRANGER.

Do you know passion ?

ONE IN BLUE *(softly)*.

My blood is silent.

THE STRANGER.

Do you know wine ?

ONE IN BLUE *(still softer)*.

The drink of the stars is sweeter than wine.

THE STRANGER.

Do you love me ?

*(The ONE IN BLUE is silent.)*

THE STRANGER.

My blood sings within me.

*(Silence.)*

THE STRANGER.

With poison my heart is filled.

I—more graceful than all your maidens.

I—more beautiful than all your ladies.

I—more passionate than all your brides.

*(The ONE IN BLUE slumbers, all covered with snow.)*

THE STRANGER.

How sweet it is here on your earth !

*(The ONE IN BLUE is no more. A bluish pillar of snow has whirled by, and there may never have been anyone in his place. But beside THE STRANGER a passing GENTLEMAN tips his bowler.)*

GENTLEMAN.

You were having a chat with someone?  
But I don't see anyone here.  
Your sweet little voice resounded  
In empty space . . .

THE STRANGER.

Where is he?

GENTLEMAN.

Oh yes, undoubtedly, you  
Were waiting for someone here!  
Allow me—an indiscreet question . . .  
Who was your invisible friend?

THE STRANGER.

He was beautiful. In a cloak of blue.

GENTLEMAN.

Oh, the romanticism of the feminine mind!  
Even out in the street you see  
Men in blue cloaks!  
But what was his name?

THE STRANGER.

He called himself: Poet.

GENTLEMAN.

I too am a poet! I too am a poet!  
Or in any case, as I look  
Into your lovely eyes,  
I could sing you a couplet:  
"Oh, how beautiful you are!"

THE STRANGER.

Would you like to love me?



GENTLEMAN.

Oh, yes ! I'm not at all averse to it.

THE STRANGER.

You can embrace me ?

GENTLEMAN.

I would like to know why  
Could I not embrace you ?

THE STRANGER.

And, touching my lips,  
You will caress me ?

GENTLEMAN.

Come along, my pretty one !  
" I will carry out all you command "  
So said old man Shakespeare.  
You see now that I too  
Am no stranger to poetry !

(THE STRANGER *obediently gives him her arm.*)

GENTLEMAN.

What is your name ?

THE STRANGER.

Wait.

Let me remember. In the sky  
'Mongst the stars I carried no name . . .  
But here, on the dark blue earth  
I like the name " Maria " . . .  
" Maria "—call me that.

GENTLEMAN.

Just as you wish, my pretty.  
I only needed to know  
What to whisper to you at night.

(*Leads THE STRANGER away by the arm. The blue snow obliterates their tracks.*)

(*The ASTROLOGER reappears on the bridge. He is in anguish. Stretches his arms to the sky. Raises his eyes.*)

## ASTROLOGER.

The beautiful star is no more !  
 Empty the blue abyss !  
 I have lost the rhythm  
 Of my astral songs !  
 And now they grate on my ear,  
 The jingling songs of the stars !  
 Tonight, up in my tower,  
 With sorrowful hand I shall enter  
 Into my long scrolls  
 News of the fall of the brightest of stars . . .  
 And softly shall call her  
 A distant name,  
 A name caressing the ear :  
 " Maria "—let her name be.  
 In the yellow scrolls  
 Inscribed will it be  
 By my lonely hand :  
 " Fallen is Maria—a star.  
 No more will she gaze into my eyes.  
 The Astrologer is left alone ! "

*(Weeps quietly. The POET mounts the bridge out of the avenue.)*

## POET.

Oh, I enjoin you by all that is holy !  
 By your anguish !  
 By your beloved, if  
 You happen to have a beloved.  
 Tell me, has there been here  
 A tall woman in black ?

## ASTROLOGER.

Coarse people ! Leave me alone.  
 I see no women since  
 My star has fallen.

## POET.

I can understand your grief.  
 I too am, as you are, lonely.  
 You must be like me—a poet.  
 You didn't happen to see  
 A stranger in the blue snows ?

ASTROLOGER.

I don't remember. Many have passed,  
And I greatly regret to say  
That I didn't recognise yours . . .

POET.

Oh, had you only seen her—  
You would have forgotten your star!

ASTROLOGER.

Not for you to talk about stars;  
You are much too frivolous for that,  
And I would request you  
Not to poke your nose into my profession.

POET.

All your insults I patiently bear!  
Believe me, I am humbled  
Not any less than you . . .  
Oh, had I not been drunk,  
I would have gone after her!  
But two were dragging me off,  
Just as I caught sight of her . . .  
Then, into a snowdrift I fell,  
And they, cursing, went away,  
Resolved to abandon me there. . . .  
I forget now, did I sleep long? . . .  
Awoke, and remembered that snow  
Had covered her gentle tracks!

ASTROLOGER.

I dimly seem to recall  
Something painful for you;  
That's right, you were being led,  
You were given shoves and blows,  
And uncertain was your gait. . . .  
Then I recall, as though in a dream,  
How a lady came on to the bridge,  
And there approached her a blue gentleman . . .

POET.

Oh no! The blue gentleman. . . .

ASTROLOGER.

I really don't know what they talked about.  
I didn't look at them any more.  
Then, I fancy, they went away . . .  
I was so occupied with my own . . .

POET.

And the snow covered over their tracks ! . . .  
Never to meet her again !  
Meetings like that . . .  
Only come once in a lifetime . . .

*(They both weep under the blue snow.)*

ASTROLOGER.

Is this worth weeping about ?  
Much deeper is my grief :  
I have lost the astral rhythm !

POET.

I have lost the rhythm of my soul.  
I hope that is more important !

ASTROLOGER.

Grief will inscribe in my scrolls :  
" Fallen is the star Maria ! "

POET.

A beautiful name : " Maria " !  
I will write poetry :  
" Where art thou, Maria ?  
The dawn can't see I."

ASTROLOGER.

Well, your sorrow will pass !  
You only need to compose  
Poems as lengthy as possible !  
Then what's there to weep about ?

POET.

And for you, Mister Astrologer,  
It's quite sufficient to write  
In your scrolls, for the good of your students :  
" Fallen is Maria—a star ! "

*(Both grieve under the blue snow. Disappear in it. And the snow grieves. It has already covered the bridge, and the ships. It has built white walls over the framework of trees, along the walls of houses, on telegraph wires. The vista of land and river rises in white walls, so that everything is white, except for the signal-lights on the ships and the lighted windows of the houses. The walls of snow grow more solid. They seem close to one another. Gradually, there is revealed—)*

### VISION THREE

*A large drawing-room with white walls on which burn bright electric lights. The door leading into the front hall is open. A tinkling bell incessantly announces the arrival of more guests. A few guests are already seated together with their hosts on sofas, chairs and armchairs; the mistress of the house is a middle-aged lady who sits as bolt upright as though she had just swallowed a ramrod; before her is a basket with biscuits, a vase of fruit and a steaming cup of tea; opposite her, a deaf old man with a stupid face chews and gulps. Several young men in immaculate dinner-jackets chat with the other ladies, several crowd, herd-like, in the corners. A general din of meaningless conversation.*

*The master of the house meets the guests in the front hall and to each first shouts in a wooden voice "A-a-ah!" and then says some banality. At present he is occupied with just that.*

HOST *(in the front hall.)*

A-a-ah! My, you're all bundled up, old man!

GUEST'S VOICE.

It's cold outside, let me tell you! In a fur coat—and I'm still frozen.

*(The GUEST blows his nose. Because the conversation in the drawing-room has for some reason been exhausted one can hear the HOST saying confidentially to the GUEST:)*

HOST.

And where did you have it made?

GUEST.

At Chevalier's.

*(The HOST's coat-tails poke through the door. He is examining the fur coat.)*

HOST.

And how much did you pay?

GUEST.

A thousand.

*(The HOSTESS, trying to drown out this conversation, calls out :)*

HOSTESS.

*Cher Ivan Pavlovich ! Do hurry and come in ! You're just the one we've all been waiting for ! Arkady Romanovich has promised to sing for us today !*

*(Arkady Romanovich, going up to the HOSTESS, indulges in various gestures which are supposed to convey that he is not of a high opinion of himself. The HOSTESS, also with gestures, tries to convey the opposite.)*

GEORGE, *a young man.*

Your Serpantini is an utter fool, Misha. To dance as she did yesterday is to have no sense of shame.

MISHA, *another young man.*

George, you don't understand anything ! I am completely in love. That sort of thing is for the few. Just remember, she has an absolutely classical figure—arms, legs . . .

GEORGE.

I went there to enjoy art. As for legs, I can look at them elsewhere.

HOSTESS.

What's that you're talking about, Georgy Nikolayevich ? Oh, about Serpantini ! What a horror, isn't it ? In the first place—to interpret music—that in itself is Impudence. I'm so passionately fond of music and I shall never, never allow it to be profaned. And then—to dance without any costume—that . . . that is I don't know what ! I led my daughter away.

GEORGE.

I agree with you completely. But as for Mikhail Ivanovich—he is of another opinion. . . .

HOSTESS.

Why Mikhail Ivanovich, how can you ! To my mind in this case there can be no two opinions. I understand that it is only natural for young men to become carried away, but at a public

concert. . . . When legs are used to interpret Bach . . . I'm a musician myself . . . passionately fond of music . . . Whatever you say . . .

(*The OLD MAN sitting opposite the HOSTESS unexpectedly and simply shoots out :*)

OLD MAN.

Brothel.

(*Continues gulping tea and chewing biscuits. The HOSTESS reddens and turns to one of the ladies.*)

MISHA.

Oh, George, all of you don't understand anything ! As if this were interpretation of music ! Serpantini is herself the embodiment of music ! She floats along on waves of sound and one seems to float after her. Doesn't the body, its lines, its harmonious movements—sing itself, as sounds do ? He who has a genuine feeling for music doesn't feel offended on its account. You have an abstract attitude towards music. . . .

GEORGE.

Dreamer ! Now you've turned the gramophone on. You build all kinds of theories and see and hear nothing. I'm not even talking about music, after all I don't really give a hang ! And I would be delighted to see all that in a private room. But do agree, not announcing in the advertisements that Serpantini is going to be wrapped up in just one rag—it means putting everyone in a deucedly awkward situation. If I had known, I would not have taken my fiancée there. (*MISHA absent-mindedly fumbles in the basket with the biscuits.*) Listen, leave those biscuits alone. It's disgusting to eat them after you've pawed them all over. See the look your cousin is giving you. And it's all because you're absent-minded. Oh, you dreamers.

(*MISHA, with an embarrassed grunt, retires into another corner.*)

OLD MAN (*unexpectedly, to the HOSTESS*).

Nina ! Hold still ! Your dress has come unbuttoned behind.

HOSTESS (*flushing*).

Enough, Uncle, not in front of everybody ! You are much too . . . outspoken. . . .

*(Tries to button up her dress inconspicuously. Into the room flutters a YOUNG LADY, after her comes an enormous RED-HAIRED MAN.)*

LADY.

Oh, hello everybody, hello ! Here, let me introduce you ! My fiancé.

RED-HAIRED MAN.

Pleased to meet you.

*(Sullenly retires into a corner.)*

LADY.

Please don't pay any attention to him. He's very shy. Oh, just imagine what's happened ! . . .

*(Hurriedly drinks tea and, in a whisper, recounts to the HOSTESS something very piquant, judging by the way both wriggle on the sofa and giggle.)*

LADY *(suddenly turning to her fiancé)*.

Have you got my handkerchief ?

*(Fiancé sullenly pulls out the handkerchief)*

LADY.

Do you grudge it, or what ?

RED-HAIRED MAN *(with unexpected sullenness)*.

Drink and hold your tongue.

*(They are silent. Drink. A YOUNG MAN runs in and joyously rushes to another. The latter is easily recognisable as the one who had led off THE STRANGER.)*

YOUNG MAN.

Kostya, friend, she's waiting at the door . . .

*(Stumbles in the middle of the word. Everything becomes extraordinarily strange : as though everyone suddenly remembered that somewhere these very words had already been said in the same order. MIKHAIL IVANOVICH stares with strange eyes at the POET, who enters at this moment. The POET, pale, makes a general bow on the threshold of the hushed drawing-room.)*

HOSTESS *(with a strained air)*.

You're just the one we've all been waiting for. I do hope you will recite something for us. This has been the strangest evening ! Somehow, our conversation doesn't come off.



OLD MAN (*shooting out*).

As though someone's died. Gave up his soul to God.

HOSTESS.

Oh, Uncle, do stop! You'll scare everyone away. . . . Ladies and gentlemen, let us resume our conversation. . . . (*To the POET.*) You will recite something for us, won't you?

POET.

With pleasure . . . if it will amuse . . .

HOSTESS.

Ladies and gentlemen! Silence! Our beautiful poet will recite for us his beautiful poem, and, I hope, again about the beautiful lady. . . .

(*Everyone becomes quiet. The POET stands against the wall, directly across from the door into the front hall, and recites*.)

POET.

Snow, melting, in the gutters swirls,  
The baring roof-tops glisten moister,  
When high above, in a dark cloister  
In the cathedral gleamed her pearls,  
And from the ikon, wreathed with roses,  
Lingeringly descended She. . . .

(*Bell tinkles in the front hall. The HOSTESS folds her hands beseechingly towards the POET. He interrupts his recitation. Everyone peers curiously into the front hall.*)

HOST.

Just a moment. Please excuse me.

(*Goes out into the front hall, but does not shout "A-a-ah!" Silence.*)

HOST'S VOICE.

What can I do for you?

(*A woman's voice says something in reply. The HOST appears in the doorway.*)

HOST.

Ninotchka, it's some lady. I can't make out anything. It's probably for you. Excuse me, everybody, excuse me . . .

*(Smiles embarrassedly in all directions. The HOSTESS goes to the front hall, locking the door after her. The guests whisper to one another.)*

YOUNG MAN *(in the corner)*.

But it can't be . . .

OTHER YOUNG MAN *(hiding behind him)*.

But I assure you . . . what a scandal! . . . I heard her voice . . .

*(The POET stands motionless in front of the door. The door opens. The HOSTESS leads in THE STRANGER.)*

HOSTESS.

Ladies and gentlemen, a pleasant surprise. My charming new friend. I hope we will welcome her gladly into our friendly little circle. Maria . . . excuse me, I didn't make out your name.

THE STRANGER.

Maria.

HOSTESS.

But . . . your patronymic ?

THE STRANGER.

Maria. I call myself : Maria.

HOSTESS.

All right, darling. I'm going to call you Marie. You have something of the eccentric in you, haven't you ? But then, so much the jollier can we spend the evening with our ravishing guest. Isn't that so, everybody ?

*(Everyone is embarrassed. An awkward silence. The HOST notices that one of his guests has slipped out into the hall, and follows him. An apologetic whisper, the words " Not feeling quite well " can be heard. The POET stands motionless )*

HOSTESS.

And now, perhaps our beautiful poet will go on with his interrupted recitation ? Dear Marie, when you came in, our famous poet was just reciting for us . . . reciting for us.

POET.

Excuse me. Allow me to recite another time . . . I do so apologise.

*(No one expresses displeasure. The POET goes up to the HOSTESS, who for some time makes beseeching gestures, but soon stops. The POET calmly sits down in an out-of-the-way corner. Thoughtfully looks at THE STRANGER.*

*The maid carries around the usual things. Through the general senseless chatter laughter, separate words and phrases stand out.)*

No, how she did dance ! You just listen ! The Russian intelligentsia . . .

SOMEONE *(particularly loudly)*.

But you won't catch it either ! But you won't catch it either !

*(Everyone has forgotten about the POET. He slowly rises from his seat. He passes his hand over his forehead. Takes a few steps up and down the room. It can be seen by his face that he is making an agonising effort to remember something. During this time over the general chatter carry the words : " Rocquefort," " Camembert." Suddenly a fat man, terribly carried away and making circular gestures, leaps out into the middle of the room with a shout :)*

Brie !

*(At once, the POET stops. For a moment it looks as though he has remembered everything. He takes several quick strides in the direction of THE STRANGER. But his way is blocked by the ASTROLOGER who, dressed in a blue uniform tail-coat, is just coming in from the hall.)*

ASTROLOGER.

Forgive me, I am in uniform and late. Straight from a meeting. I had to make a report. Astronomy . . .

*(He raises one finger.)*

HOST *(approaching)*.

And here we too were just speaking of gastronomy. Ninochka, isn't it time for supper ?

HOSTESS *(rising)*.

Come along, everybody !

*(Everyone goes out after her. In the darkened drawing-room only THE STRANGER, the ASTROLOGER, and the POET remain. The POET and the ASTROLOGER stand in the doorway, ready to go out. THE STRANGER lingers by the dark, half-drawn curtain at the window)*

ASTROLOGER.

Again we chance to meet. I am delighted. But let the circumstances of our first meeting remain between us.

POET.

I ask the same of you.

ASTROLOGER.

I have just made a report at the Astronomical Society—about what you were the involuntary witness of. An astonishing fact : a star of the first magnitude . . .

POET.

Yes, it's very interesting.

ASTROLOGER (*rapturously*).

Yes, I have entered into my lists a new paragraph : " Fallen is the star Maria ! " Science for the first time . . . Oh, excuse me, I didn't ask you about the results of your search. . . .

POET.

My search was without any result

*(He turns to face the interior of the room. Hopelessly watches. On his face—torment, in his eyes—emptiness and darkness. He sways from his terrible concentration. But he has forgotten everything.)*

HOSTESS (*in the doorway*).

Ladies and gentlemen ! Come to the dining-room ! I don't see Marie . . . (*She shakes her finger at them.*) Oh, you young people ! Have you hidden my Marie somewhere ? (*Peers into the darkness of the room.*) Where is Marie ? But where is Marie ?

*(There is no longer anyone beside the dark curtain. Beyond the window shines a bright star. Blue snow is falling, as blue as the uniform of the vanished ASTROLOGER.)*

\* \* \*

# THE BELLS THAT WOULD NOT RING

*Translated from the Bulgarian of ELIN PELIN*

*by VALENTINA JUKOVA*

It was the eve of the Assumption of the Virgin Mother of God, the church festival of the Zhrelnsky monastery, renowned for its miracle-working ikon of the Holy Mother and for the sweet and clear voices of its three bells. Their resonant sound echoed a blessing through the fertile valley, dominated by the white walls of the monastery high up on the mountain-side.

According to an old tradition these bells were rung only for the services of the Assumption and Easter, and the first stroke was rung by the Abbot himself. Then their coppery voices came from the belfry, resounding sweet and solemn as if sent down from heaven. They went forth in broad waves, and descended upon the villages, lifting the souls of their inhabitants to God and turning their eyes towards His abode—the sky.

Then the faithful from the nine villages of the broad valley, and from even further abroad, converged upon the old monastery to hear the service, to worship the miracle-working ikon, to bring their gifts, and to pray for the healing of their souls and bodies.

The aged Abbot, Father Joachim, looked at the sun which had already fallen behind the huge walnut-tree of the monastery. He saw that the shadow of the long balcony had already covered half the little church, and his heart sank with a timid anxiety. The evening service was drawing near and he would have to ring the bells.

Was he ready?

He glanced at his hands to see whether they were clean, and looked at the well-swept yard and at the crowd of worshippers standing in front of the belfry, gazing upwards. Next he went upstairs, passed along the broad and lengthy balcony of the monastery-building, lined with the cells of the monks; but again with hurried steps he descended the high wooden stairs and vanished somewhere in the yard. For two whole days the kindly old man had known no rest. He wanted to be ready for the solemn festival. Everything had to be neat and straight, and shining with cleanliness. All sorts of people would be coming, the simple and the great. Even

the Bishop might come. In the church every single cobweb was swept away, every corner scrutinised. The flagstones were washed and scoured. Above all the Abbot's heart rejoiced at the golden halo with which a rich man, come from afar, had endowed the ikon of the Blessed Virgin. It was he likewise who had placed the costly purple silk curtain over the ikonostasis before it.

Many a time Father Joachim had come and stood in front of the ikon to adjust the folds of that curtain and rejoice over the halo of pure gold.

Everything was in readiness, the solemn hour was drawing near. The brethren were already in their cells, preparing for the evening service.

But the Abbot wanted to take one final look around—just in case he had forgotten something! So once again he went into the little church—the tiny low-vaulted old church, built heaven knows at what date, which, commemorating the ancient kings, had survived their enslavement to stand now and give its blessing to the new kingdom. Inside, the dusk of evening had already slipped into the nave to pray before the lighted ikon-lamps, the small flames of which flickered in front of the kindly smiles of the saints. They were movingly solemn on the eve of the great festival.

The aged Abbot halted in astonishment on the threshold. Before the holy ikon he saw the dark silhouette of a woman, holding a child. The old man grew angry. On that day no one ever came into the church before the triumphant peal of the bells. Such was the custom.

Softly he approached the intruder and looked at her intently. She was ragged and filthy, her head covered with a dirty kerchief so that only her eyes were visible. She had walked over the flagstones with bare grimy feet which had left their imprints on the floor,—a fact which still further annoyed the cleanly old man. The woman was not conscious of his presence. She was praying aloud, with tears in her eyes, and holding up to the feet of the Holy Mother her sick child, pale and withered as a last-year's flower. Its eyes were closed, it breathed heavily and moaned from pain.

"Preserve him for me and save him, dear Mother of God; he's my only one!"—whispered the woman; and she bowed low, like a tree before the wind. Her tears fell on the cold flagstones, as drops of wax fall from burning candles.

The woman drew out from her bosom a pin surmounted by a tiny blue bead and stuck it into the new silk curtain.

"Accept this gift from me, Holy Mother. I have nothing else."

"Why have you come in here?" asked the old man angrily; "the bells haven't yet been rung. Don't you know the custom?"

"I didn't know, Father," replied the woman in confusion.

"Out you go now. You can come in later on . . . later on!"

The woman turned away submissively, clutched her child to her breast and moved off. Father Joachim followed her with his eyes; and as she was caught in the light of the doorway he noticed once again how ragged and dirty she was.

The Abbot saw that on the flag-stone where she had been standing there remained dirty smudges. He noted on the curtain the cheap little pin with its blue head, standing out like a bug against the beautiful curtain—a blemish on it.

Father Joachim pulled it out and threw it into the corner. Then he crossed himself before the ikon, rearranged the curtain prettily and went out.

Apart from this incident everything else was in order. So, in the kindness of his heart, he forgot all about it on seeing the courtyard full of the faithful, who stood there holding tapers and waiting for the bells to ring before going into church. The monks too were ready. They had come down the stairs and were conversing with the people about the coming festival.

Awe fell upon the crowd on the appearance of the Abbot. The men bowed to him and the women approached him one by one to kiss his hand. The feeling of festivity surged up. The heart of the old man overflowed with goodwill and he gave aloud his blessing to all.

The sun was setting and a light breeze blew down from the mountains; it rustled gently on its way through the leaves of the walnut-tree and sped away into the deep valley to frolic with the river.

The old man washed his hands at the fountain: a young acolyte handed him a towel and he wiped them. Then he made the sign of the cross and climbed up into the tower towards the bells. The monks took up their places in front of the doorway of the church, and the people crowded behind them in humble expectation. All eyes were fixed on the bells at the top of the belfry, where the old man was standing ready to fulfil the sacred tradition.

He crossed himself again and pulled on the rope which swung the three clappers of the bells simultaneously. The three iron tongues

struck mightily on the copper mouths of the massive bells—once, twice, thrice. But the bells held their peace, and gave forth no sound. Those bronze mothers, heavy with their burden of sound, were struck dumb.

It was terrible to watch those iron tongues beat against the clear-sounding metal, while the metal remained voiceless. . . . There was something agonising in the sight. The three bells swayed and strained, terror-stricken, like so many deaf and dumb people striving to give warning of a fire, yet unable.

The old man tugged at the rope with all his might, bending right down and then straightening up : but the bells remained stubbornly silent. Fear seized the aged monk. His breath caught in his throat and everything went dark before his eyes. He let go of the rope and collapsed on the little wooden platform before the bells.

The people stood astounded in the courtyard, making the sign of the cross while none dared breathe a word. Their very hearts stood still. The monks climbed up into the bell-tower to revive the old man. They brought him down the stairs. He supported himself on their arms, pale as a corpse, crushed and stricken by this mighty miracle, and breathing with great difficulty the words .

“A sign from God ! Pray, Christian brethren ! A terrible sin has been committed.”

They led him into the church, and the crowd poured in behind him. All fell on their knees and crossed themselves, whispering prayers. The women wailed ; the children screamed in fright.

Father Joachim fell on his knees in front of the miracle-working ikon—crushed, stupefied, and despairing. He beat his forehead against the cold flag-stones and remained thus for a long time. His aged face grew moist with tears.

He realised that something fearful had happened : that the wrath of God was aroused ; the earth was weighed down with the burden of some great sin. Yet he did not know what it was and he could not find words for his prayer.

In his helplessness he lifted his eyes toward the Blessed Virgin whose image, wrought around with gold, looked at him meekly between the two purple wings of the silken curtain.

The Abbot stood up, crossed himself, and with an unconscious gesture rearranged the curtain. He let his dazed eyes wander over the ikons, the wall, the pews, and the floor. In a corner under the ikonostasis he perceived the blue head of the pin, which he had thrown away. He bent down, picked it up as if in a dream and pinned it on to the curtain.



Then, all of a sudden, from without resounded the voices of the bells, proclaiming the glory of God, ringing forth triumphant and surging jubilantly into the church.

One and all the worshippers poured hurriedly out into the courtyard, the monks and the Abbot with them. They fell down on their knees, awed by the new miracle they were witnessing.

Up in the belfry there was no one: yet the mighty bells, ringing of their own will, swung to and fro with ease, freedom, and majesty.

## A VISIT FROM MOTHER

*Translated from the Serbo-Croat of* NIKO BARTULOVICH

by A. C. NIVEN

LOVRO BILAN had buried his little girl in the morning, sent his pictures to the pawnshop and, after settling his debts in the afternoon, he had somehow put his wife to sleep. He then withdrew into the warm kitchen and began to answer his mother's letter :

"To the very esteemed Mrs Mara Bilan, widow of the Court Councillor and Knight of the Order of the Iron Cross, née de Papadopoli—Kamenari."

Bilan could not write even a single line if beforehand he did not address the envelope, with full title, and place it in front of himself like a true image of his mother, with whom he had to communicate in complete reverence and at least kiss her hand in thought.

Only then was he able to continue :

"Forgive me, dear Mother," he wrote, having first read his mother's letter, swallowed for a long time with his eyes the large and dignified letters, and managed to suppress the sobbing in his throat—"Forgive me first of all that for three whole weeks I have not answered your sweet words ; but when you hear the reason I am sure you will understand with the same goodness which until now has healed every wound of mine and which, I hope, will also heal this, the heaviest of all I have received so far. You can imagine how my heart bleeds when to you, for whom I wanted the sun to shine all through life, I must, after all the gay and happy letters, send one framed in black, which will undoubtedly cause you pain. Our little Mary, your grandchild, whom we brought up to be worthy of her grandmother by birth and virtue, died the night before last after a three weeks' illness. To-day, with painful hearts, we buried her, forcing ourselves to combat grief in the thought of you, and of our Michael for whom we still must live, to bring up in him a worthy namesake of my unforgettable father and your beloved husband.

"Do not rebuke me for not having written you before about little Mary's illness, or for not having sent you a telegram about her death. Up to the last moment I was hoping that the Doctors' care and our universal attention would save the little girl ; but when God still decided the other way my heart was breaking from the thought that I had to inflict upon you such pain without warning,

and to urge you to travel in this cold weather and in uncomfortable trains a whole day and night to Belgrade. Even now, when I am forced to send you this black message, I should like at the same time to offer you the consolation that Desa and I really did everything to save the child. The attention and sacrifice of the three Doctors, the first specialists in Belgrade, still touch me deeply. All our friends enquired after little Mary; and when God still decided to take her—if you had only seen the funeral escort!—I believe that all the condolences and all the love will somehow ease the loss for you, just as it was a balm on the wound of the children and myself, and gave us strength to withstand the blow. . . .”

Bilan took an entire hour to compose this part of the letter. He printed the words heavily upon the paper as if he would tear them from his heart and, when he carved the last letter, he sighed deeply as if he had been taken off the rack.

For three weeks his daughter lay dying and for three weeks he had carried in his inner coat pocket his mother's unanswered letter. Little Mary's illness was only the sequence of a long, endless and hopeless struggle, which for two years had tortured the entire family, and only his mother's letters had saved him from desperation and kept him alive. Everything outside those letters was one life—icy, dark and already finished—and in them alone and in the answers which Lovro sent, was another and quite different world,—the only one in which Lovro really lived and for the sake of which he carried the burden of the former. For behind those letters was this fact. Lovro Bilan became known in youth movements because he was without regular school certificates and so could not have the job of a drawing-teacher in the elementary school. Because the critics proclaimed his works as a revolution in Yugoslav art, they were classed among those things about which everybody speaks, which all praise, but which nobody buys. Bilan appeared in Belgrade at the time when the *parvenues* used to stick thousand-dinar notes upon the foreheads of gypsy band-leaders and sometimes, in a good mood, gave even him a thousand-dinar note. To Lovro it seemed that the way ahead of him was strewn with laurels, interwoven—oh, what stupidity!—with such gifts. At that time he got married. He fell in love with a girl student, who liked to sit at night “with bohemians,” and had a child before they got married. The child was a female and they had a boy after the wedding—a pride and joy to Lovro and for the name of Bilan.

Quite naturally Lovro could not tell his mother the truth about all this. Having brought from her family—the old and already

much impoverished line of the de Papadopolis—a considerable dose of haughtiness into her marriage, Mrs. Mara had been quite dazzled when her husband, an excellent lawyer and a follower of tradition, climbed from the honour of President of the Court to President of the Court of Appeals, and from Court Councillor to Assessor of the Supreme State Court in Vienna. In spite of having seen the Emperor only a few times on parades, looking like a wax figure in a museum, it seemed to Mrs. Mara that the mere fact that she lived in Vienna gave her the right to be as proud as though she dined daily with the Emperor himself—and she behaved accordingly. When her husband died she returned, with heavy heart and some loathing, to her homeland. She filled the entire house with souvenirs from Vienna and of the Court Councillor's life, and in this atmosphere she educated her son. Lovro absorbed such respect towards these forms that he regarded his mother, not as something real and familiar to whom one confides more sorrows than joys and more doubts than convictions, but as a sort of false god, a deity outside its proper form to whom one must come in festive dress, full of praise and fear, in order not to offend. Shut up with her dignity and cut off from life, which just at that time raced with hazardous speed, Mrs. Mara only paid attention to the fact that Lovro remained in the house like a pilgrim in a temple, brought home from school the right certificates, visited his relations and attended festivals, while his intimate life, especially his life outside the home, was left to him alone. The times were crazy. In Lovro's generation plots were contrived like picnics which were organised on May Days in other times, and geniuses and assassins sprang up on every corner. In his outer life Lovro began to hate the whole of his mother's Vienna, including the Emperor, the generals and even his father, about whom his friends spoke as having been too ambitious and a hangman. Although he was apparently reconciled to follow his father in the study of law, Lovro had for a long time been associated with youth newspapers, and he secretly studied painting with an older friend.

Then occurred the *coup* at Sarajevo. Lovro was imprisoned with an entire group of comrades on the same day. This was sufficient for Mrs. Mara to stay in bed for eight days with cramp, convinced that the Emperor in Vienna would write to her "So—your son killed my successor"—and that she would have to return to him her husband's decorations and pension, as well as all her Viennese souvenirs. Meanwhile, however, Lovro was transferred from the prison to the front line. He tried to desert, but did not succeed in

that venture, and after a few months found himself with a very suspicious wound in a hospital in Zagreb. From then on there was no power which could drive him away from the Theatre Café. But when the war ended and there was a danger that Mrs. Mara would take a train personally to see what her only son was doing, Lovro, armed with all his fulsome diplomas but with little hope of success, went to see his mother to convince her that the Emperor made room for the art of Titian and Rubens in the most beautiful palaces, and that she would be at least as well off as at the place of an Assessor at the Supreme State Court.

This was a difficult undertaking, for to Mrs. Mara all the results of the war were deeds of usurpation. In spite of all prohibitions she continued to keep the Austrian Imperial emblem in the house and stubbornly made her calculations in old-time florins. However, when Lovro convinced her that the Pope himself might buy his Madonna for the Vatican, in addition to Raphael's *Glory*, and that it would be just he who, having sacrificed himself for the cause, would get a chance of recognition in the new order, Mrs. Mara—not without regret, took the Austrian emblem from the wall and agreed that her only son should go with his mother's blessing to the new Mecca, the enigmatic Belgrade.

Another difficulty lay in the fact that the lady received her pension in crowns and could hardly send him anything. But Lovro believed strongly in the future, and knew positively that after one year he would be able to improve even her life. This was for him a matter of honour. It was not on account of himself but because he suffered that he quarrelled with and offended his mother. He enjoyed thinking of how he would impress this wife of a Councillor who had embittered his entire childhood with the Viennese Emperor, and who looked haughtily upon all his dreams—this pitiless Matron to whom the last idiotic Court Councillor was more important than all Velasquezes and Rembrandts. He would impress her with his success and force her to bow to him. The reason for this was that Lovro felt that his success would never be complete unless she also recognised it: not because he believed in her judgment or because he felt any particular tenderness towards her, but simply because it was she—the proud, haughty, unbreakable bronze figure, the widow of a Court Councillor and a born Countess de Papadopoli, the final example for all family questions and judgments. Lovro had revolted all his life against her, but he felt with bitterness that all her pretence was more inflexible than all his truths. From the time he knew her, she would not budge an inch while he bent like

a reed. For this reason, from the minute he arrived in Belgrade he wrote to his mother enthusiastic and quite fantastic letters about his life and successes. He felt that this woman, accustomed to pomp and tradition, could only be won over by big gestures, dignity and splendour. At the beginning he was not even conscious of lying. He was overcome by his first impressions and did not trouble to enlarge upon them; especially when he received, after his mother's long hesitations and doubts, more and more compliant answers with less allusions to the past and more interest in the future. When several years had passed and he felt how deeply his mother had taken his bait and how eagerly, together with him, she was building castles of his fame, he was unable to stop, and he could not do so even when matters went the quite opposite way.

It was then that he really began to dream. At first he quieted his conscience by thinking that the reverse was only temporary and that it would be mean to poison his mother's life because of momentary embarrassments. Deeply inside him, nevertheless, he felt that it was because of himself. However much he might have to starve because he could not sell his pictures, the Imperial emblem must not have any rights over him—on no account! To confess reverse to his mother would mean acknowledging defeat. It would mean that the Imperial emblem would be brought back from the dustheap and hung on the wall, and that he would again have to bow in front of it. What was worse—it would mean the end. This was because Lovro gave too much thought to the past instead of forgetting it and beginning life anew. His illusions lost, Lovro would become a wet rag, lose his will for everything and feel humiliated before his mother to whom he did not dare go. That was why he lied to himself and to her. Although he was not ashamed before anybody in Belgrade for marrying a poor girl student, Lovro knew too well how this would be accepted by the Countess de Papadopoli; and he did not hesitate to describe Desa to her as “a child from one of the noblest families in Belgrade—true, not exactly rich but so graceful and with so many connections that these would be more useful to him than the largest dowry.” The success was complete. Mrs. Mara, herself the daughter of poor patricians, from then onwards sent countless greetings in her letters not only to her beloved daughter-in-law but also “to all members of her highborn family whom, unfortunately, she had not yet the honour to know.” The first cloud appeared when Mrs. Mara wished to see her daughter-in-law. Lovro was even preparing to go to her “the minute his finances would improve a bit,” but instead of a

recovery, the children began to grow up and with them came greater worries and more poverty.

The correspondence in the meantime continued—"Believe me nothing is more important to me than to comply with your wish which is at the same time the wish of Desa and myself, but you will have to be patient again. A grandson was born to you. . . ." Or even better—"The rumours which some spiteful person has brought you are too stupid to take seriously or accept. I am neither ill nor in trouble. Because an enormous composition was ordered from me, I have neglected my minor works, and if I do not brag about all my great successes it is that I learned this from you who allowed small-time braggers to walk about in fine feathers while you wore a dignity which could not be bought. Desa thinks as you do and is happy with me and the children. . . ."

Bilan revelled in these thoughts. The more poverty increased, the more he felt the need for self-deceit—like a dipsomaniac who drinks because of misfortunes which he could not bear when sober. There were moments when he felt ashamed of this game, especially when fate hit him extraordinarily hard—when Mary had her first cramp, when he took his first picture to the pawnbroker and received two hundred dinars for it, or when he had to sell Desa's wedding-gown. With a stroke of his pen he felt like destroying this castle of lies and writing to Mrs. Mara Bilan, née de Papadopoli—"I and the children are perishing. Send even one hundred dinars and come off that pedestal! . . ." But what would he gain? With the few hundred dinars which his mother would eventually produce, he could not solve even a hundredth part of their misery; and the moment Mrs. Mara stepped down from her pedestal she would drag him with her.

Suddenly he began to love this mother who had remained a stranger to his most intimate self during all his youth. He dreamed of her as one dreams of distant loves. He imagined her as a statue of the Virgin Mary, crowned with silvery hair, with eyes which gave light and hands that took away worries. During all the time he had not seen her, he forgot the familiar lines and invented new ones. He did not even try to let his wife into the secret of his correspondence, and it was for this reason that she already seemed strange to him. And the children? On account of them he left his mother's letters unanswered for days, and crawled late at night into the kitchen where, cut off from illness, he was able to answer them in the way his mother would like and as his heart, eager for self-deceit, desired.

Lovro feared only one thing. This was that someone or something should come between him and his mother, and thus their relationship be disturbed. The thought that now, after Mary's death, she would invite them again or that she would wish to come and visit them, tortured Bilan from the moment the child died. It was clear that eventually he would have to go to her or she come to him; but the fact that he passionately continued his swindle gave him hope that things would one day change in spite of everything. . . . In moments of greatest despair he even thought that his mother, already old, might easily have to go to bed and illness would then prevent her from coming. . . . And he thought too, with terror, that even if the worst should occur and she died before seeing him (God forbid that this should happen!) it would be better that she should close her eyes in the belief that she had left him in luck than that her last moments should become bitter with the cruel truth. Then, at least in spirit, he could continue his correspondence with her—even though in a dream or a drunken stupor. . . .

Bilan finished the seemingly endless letter feverishly:

"I know that all I am writing," he said, "may sound too cold to you after what I have had to tell you, and that my letter may seem mean and without those feelings which I usually send you from the bottom of my heart. But do not blame me. I have not written to you for a long time because I could neither leave you in doubt concerning the matter about which you heard people speaking nor fulfil the wishes which you expressed. If to-day I do not send you the scarf and gloves about which you write, it is not because, as you kindly hint, I cannot bear the expense (it is ridiculous to me even to mention this!), but because Desa could not go out owing to the child's illness, and she personally wishes to choose something which would suit you.

"Finally, you will also understand that now, after Mary's death, it will be impossible for us to come and see you—at least not for a while. Desa was quite ready for the journey and rejoiced greatly at the thought of embracing you, but the child's death has shaken her to such an extent that she will need a long rest before being able to decide. Quite obviously, I too can hardly wait to see you, but I could not even dare to think of you taking the trouble to come to us on such a long journey and in this ice. Ten days have hardly passed since there was a train collision between Zagreb and Belgrade, and the snow which has fallen recently will certainly have buried the line in Lika—and it could happen to you. . . ."

Bilan stopped. Unusual noises on the staircase woke him from



his dreaming. It was only ten o'clock, but in the house in which he lived one went to bed at nine, because one rose at five.

He had not yet collected his wits when a strong male fist banged on the door and somebody's voice called—"Are you Lovro Bilan? Open the door!"

Lovro opened the door. He thought it might be somebody from his creditors, and he shuddered. But what he saw at the door froze him completely.

Beside the porter, who was pulling three enormous trunks and a bundle of rugs, stood Mrs. Mara, née de Papadopol—haughty like a bronze statue, with flushed face and laughing, and dressed in black silk with all the family gold on her chest. With a dignified and raised voice she exclaimed with satisfaction:

"As you did not want to come to me, I came to you. For three weeks I have received no letters from you and I wanted to surprise you. . . . And where is Desa? Where are Michael and Mary? My little angels are not already asleep? . . ."

Lovro was unable to utter a word. He could not even tender his hand. He leaned on the table to prevent himself from collapsing, and at the moment when he thought he would die he felt only one thing: that this woman, whom he had loved like nobody else on earth until a few moments ago, this proud gentlewoman who with merciless dignity, swollen with false fortune, now stepped across the door to enter into his poverty, and with this act alone to ruin all that was left to him in life—this mother of his, who had been his only light and hope until an instant ago, he now truly and unutterably hated from the bottom of his heart. . . .

## 1918-1948 : A STOCKTAKING

TEN years ago, in a time of tension and anxiety, the editors of this *Review* ventured on an appraisal of the situation in Europe, with special reference to the areas on which their attention has always been mainly centred. The time has come when a somewhat similar essay may be called for—in this case a stocktaking of a generation. The condition of international relations is hardly less critical today than it was in 1938 on the other hand the optimism so widely prevalent in 1918-1919 seems to most older people almost legendary. At the convenient distance of half a lifetime we look back across years of startling transformation, of world-shaking events which few would have contemplated in advance as possible. The nature and significance of these changes as they have affected Central and Eastern Europe, rather than the events themselves, will be the subject of the following pages. Their complexity must be bewildering to the outsider, and even one who has lived through them is often at a loss. What their consequences will be in the days ahead is altogether hidden from our eyes.

One comment may be permitted at the outset. Neither of the parties to the existing tension and rivalry in Europe can be said "to be to blame": nor can it be said that the war was not won properly this time, or that the peace-making has been bungled. Such blame as can definitely be assigned lies, more than anywhere else, with the incompetence and indecision of the politicians who let the world slide a decade ago open-eyed into war. In the five centuries of history since nation-states came into being it would surely be hard to find a more dismal period than the thirties of this century. Not a single statesman appeared whose record was such that he was trusted at home and abroad, because he was known to be thinking of the whole rather than the part, and to be aware of the urgency of the European situation. Was it that the war of 1914-1918 had taken so grim a toll of the best that only men of lesser stature were left to guide the destinies of mankind? Or must we rather admit to a general failure of our educational ideas and agencies? In any case no one need wonder if so many of the younger generation are disillusioned, restless, and even tempted to write off the traditional lines of guidance and government as outmoded and set for discard.

The paragraphs that follow can be divided roughly into three parts :

- (i) general considerations that form a background to the present picture,
- (ii) significant changes effected during a generation,
- (iii) an attempt to sort out the essential features of the present *impasse*.

## I.

The first general consideration relevant to our task is concerned with population. In the text-books of the nineties we learned that the population of Europe was about 325,000,000 souls : the estimate as of 1939 was just over 500,000,000. This means an increase of over fifty per cent.—in half a century. But that is not the whole story. Behind it is hidden another fact, namely that the chief increase has come in the eastern half of the continent, while large parts of the west have remained stationary. The reader is referred to a paper published in No. 44, pp. 350 sqq. of this *Review* over the name of "Augur," to which was attached a map orientated in an unusual way. The east was put at the top of the page and not on the right, the purpose being to suggest the pressure of a physical—not of a political—kind on the peoples living (roughly) west of the Stettin-Trieste line—so meaningful in our own day. In effect it suggested the pressure of the Slavs as a whole on the Teutonic and Romance countries ; of the land-locked peoples of agricultural Europe on the seaboard and largely industrialised world of the west.

The significance of all this had not been lost on the Germans. For some time they had been aware of what Polish investigators were expounding—the existence of a *Drang nach Westen*, to be found even inside the Reich : a far more serious business than the "thrust toward the east" about which so much had been written. One example will suffice. Already before the war Poland, with little more than half the population, was bringing to birth each year nearly as many boy-babies as Germany. Of even greater significance, because of its scale, has been the notable growth in population of the U.S.S.R. since 1917. If to this one adds the fact that eastern European peoples are accustomed to a simpler mode of living than their western neighbours and will work for far less wages, the threat seems even more evident. Taken together these facts explain the studied ruthlessness of the Nazis toward the Slavs in general and the Poles in particular during the war, beside which the methods

used by Bismarck and Buelow were those of the drawing-room or the tennis-court.

The second notable feature of what has been going on in Eastern Europe within the memory of living men is closely related to the foregoing. It has grown directly out of the coming of the machine-age into a vast area, where it was unknown before—of which more below. As organised industry with its accompanying urbanisation advanced from the west, there came also the ideas of Darwin and Comte, and above all of Karl Marx, whose *Das Kapital* appeared in Russian in 1873. Reacting against the tactics of *laissez faire* employers, the workers began to assert themselves, to organise their own forces, and to listen eagerly to the small but growing company of intellectuals of various nationalities who, though hounded by the police, felt themselves to be the saviours of society from exploitation, and the apostles of a new era. The names of the pioneers of this movement have almost been forgotten: but the younger generation, who shared in the events of 1905, went on with their work and were ready at hand to profit to the full from the general upheaval and distress of 1914-1918.

It is worth observing that these younger men, whose names have since become world-famous, for the most part knew one another and regarded themselves as comrades in a great cause. Whether Slav or German, whether Christian or Jew, they made of their devotion to Socialism a unifying bond. Nevertheless, as time went on, most of them—some earlier, some later—found themselves compelled to recognise the power of age-long ties of speech and national tradition by which Europe has lived; and National Socialism became a fact and a power in some Slav countries long before its German counterpart emerged as the corruption of a high ideal that was to drag down the Reich in ruin. What matters for our present purpose is that these organised groups of the Left, though small in numbers, played a significant role in the inter-war years, and would in time have transformed this part of the continent even if the collapse of Tsarist Russia had not provided a unique opportunity for Lenin and Trotsky in 1917. No such uniting or educative force appeared in the rural areas, however, and it is a major misfortune of the last generation that in none of the new states did the urban workers find common ground or hammer out a common policy with the people of the countryside.

The third notable background consideration is of a different sort. The upheaval that came in the high summer of 1914, undoubtedly provoked by the German powers, was the worst political blunder

made to date in European history by responsible national leaders. Had those men been willing to follow the lines of policy laid down by Bismarck, it can scarcely be doubted that in a generation the Germans could have come to dominate the continent. In spite of the vagaries of Prussian policy toward the Poles, in spite of the fact that the heir to the Habsburg throne in 1914 was known to favour "Trialism" instead of the Dualism prevailing on the Danube (indeed, one may suggest, precisely because of this), in spite of the clumsiness and arrogance of German pedagogy in regard to its neighbours to the south and east, only patience was needed for the realisation of the *Mittleuropa* Friedrich Naumann was soon to be writing about; of which the "B" railway reaching from Bonn (or even Brussels) through Berlin and Breslau to Budapest, Belgrade and Baghdad was the life-line, and which would have provided not only the *Lebensraum* but also the *Wirtschaftsraum* we were to hear so much about in the thirties. But from the day in March 1890, when "the pilot was dropped" German leaders began to have less regard for that precious virtue of patience, putting in its place a mixture of ambition and what the Greeks called *Hybris*—and with the consequences known to all. The disasters of 1918 and the Treaty of Versailles came instead. Their hold on the Baltic was broken; the Dual Monarchy, which provided them with a gateway into South-East Europe, fell apart into its natural members; the frontiers of a reunited and independent Poland lay less than a hundred miles from Berlin. Most important of all, the Allied victory was won with the help of American arms, and the Treaty was made with the help of the President of the U.S.A. in person. The famous dictum of the Iron Chancellor had come true: the fact that Britain and America spoke the same tongue was the most significant fact of modern times! German folly had brought to an end both in the United Kingdom and in the U.S.A. the century-long tradition of "splendid isolation."

And now for the fourth general consideration. While the Allies won the war they were not so successful in winning the peace. The new Russia was not permitted a place at the conference table, the blame for which rests largely with Moscow but also in part with the other side. Two centuries of history, since Poltava, should have taught statesmen that no settlement of European affairs can be made with the exclusion of one of the Great Powers. What is more, even if the newly-formed national states had shown more wisdom than they did, particularly in respect of economic collaboration, the German question was neither properly understood nor adequately

dealt with by the League of Nations, and the way was thus left open for all sorts of trouble. Unable to work together and vacillating between sternness and sentimentality, Britain and France (deserted by the U.S.A.) let opportunity after opportunity slip, and with grim consequences for all.

To make matters worse: whatever views might be held about Bolshevism (or Communism) as a basis for a social order, the statesmen of the west should have known more about Russian history. They would then have realised that the new masters in Moscow were the heirs of the "westlers" of the 19th century, and that their one compelling purpose was to bring about in their vast country a counterpart of what had happened in Japan. They were resolved to modernise Russia. They meant at all costs to make Russia catch up in a generation with the material achievements of Western Europe since the coming of the machine age. The reproach that its inhabitants were still, if not barbarians, at least "poor relations" was to be effaced once for all. The Russians could then expect to be treated as partners in the affairs of the continent, rather than as spectators or even aliens. One does not have to accept the Freudian psychology to see how far the "superiority complex" of the west and the corresponding feeling of the Slavs has been a contributing factor in creating the divided Europe of today.

The fifth consideration, a factor in creating the present tension, grows out of the previous one. Taking advantage of the mistakes just mentioned, the Germans gambled on the acceptance of Nazi leadership in 1933. For a second time an opportunity seemed to be given to this capable and industrious nation, which occupies a central position on the map of Europe. There was little union on the inner circle of their immediate neighbours—the smaller states that had emerged from the settlement of 1919. and there was as yet no real understanding between the Great Powers constituting the outer circle of the continent. In effect there was something to be found not very different from the old Eastern Question of other years. Nevertheless, whatever chances Berlin may have had of cashing in on this state of things were thrown away by the impatience of the *Fuehrer*. The same combination of ambition and *Hybris*, but worse than before, seized both the man and his helpers, and the world was again plunged into war. This time the struggle was sterner than before, but the victory was more complete and the disaster for the vanquished far more shattering. This time the German armies were beaten both in the east and the west, and their country lies partitioned and prostrate. Long-term occupation is its

lot ; and the fact that this raises serious problems for the occupying Powers can scarcely make German humiliation more palatable.

Disarmed and divided, the German nation and the area it inhabits represent a political vacuum in the heart of the continent, into which the Slavs have entered under the leadership of the "big brother"—as Russia used to be called—a brother actuated not only by a sense of grievance at the frightful destruction inflicted on his homeland by the invading German armies but also by the conviction that he is delivering even non-Russian peoples from the bonds of a worn-out capitalist order and introducing them to something new and (for them) untried but certain to bring what one and all desire—the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Conversely, along with all their gratitude for the signal contribution made to the Allied victory by the Red Army, the great majority of the inhabitants both of the western countries and of those of Central Europe regard this advance of Soviet power as an interference, and the remedy thus offered for human ills as a threat to the traditions and institutions within the framework of which they have fought their way forward since the Middle Ages. In this connection it might help if all who are startled by the steady practice of Soviet propaganda in proclaiming the decline of those traditions and institutions as a foregone conclusion would recall the announcing of precisely the same prospect a century ago by the Russian Slavophiles—though for almost opposite reasons. Is it possible that the wheel has gone full circle?

The net result is that what looked in 1945 like victory has in fact proved to be no solution of the general problem. As already hinted, the reason lies in the failure of the League of Nations—which means the larger constituent Powers—to deal with the obvious aggressions of the thirties, in the farce of "non-intervention" in Spain, and in the shame of Munich. As a consequence, what could have been at least a "council-room," if not a "concert," of Europe was allowed to be turned into a bear-garden. At this level of society the big fellows may have some chance of survival, but the little ones are at their mercy. The fate of the Baltic states is the first example that leaps to the eye ; and the condition of dependence in which the nation-states of Central Europe find themselves today needs little demonstration.

Even west of the "curtain" things are far from what they ought to be. No such controls are exercised by the Great Powers over the smaller nations as appear in the east ; yet even here all individual economic policies have to be shaped in the light of the general weal,

or rather the general destitution. Even here internal affairs are largely governed by what is going on in the outside world: nevertheless the nations of Central Europe would ask today for nothing more than to be as much masters in their own house as Belgium or Norway or Portugal.

## II

We turn now to the more specific changes which Central and Eastern Europe have undergone in recent decades, the deeper meaning of which can be appreciated only by those who have known from personal experience both the older order and what has come in its place. The following considerations stand out in relief.

(i) The first Great War put an end not only to the dynasties that had governed Europe east of the Rhine for centuries, but also to the fiction of Legitimacy, or the Divine Right of rulers, by which they functioned. In their place came popular sovereignty of one kind or another, those ruling claiming to possess their powers by the consent of the ruled. One feature of this new order, made easier—and at times almost offensive—by the achievements of technical science, has been an orgy of eloquence and propaganda—a strange contrast to the relatively tight-lipped governments of other days. How much good has come of this, where it was restrained and constructive! And how much ill, where it was prompted by emotion, or hatred!

With the dynasties there also disappeared, either in good part or wholly, the aristocracy which had played the leading role in public life through the ages. In Russia the nobility was eliminated, its property confiscated and its place in the social structure ended. Elsewhere the process was less violent; but wherever the Court ceased to exist the chief support for any aristocracy was gone, and birth or “blood” counted for less and less as time went on. Privilege based on these became little more than a memory. With the second Great War this sweeping away of the older class society is everywhere complete: it is now a matter of principle, even of pride, that no distinction exists between “master” and “man”; everyone is plain “citizen” or “comrade.”

(ii) The events of 1918 put an end in Central Europe to the age-long sense of inferiority nurtured in the Slavs by their German neighbours—and masters.<sup>1</sup> One must have seen and known for

<sup>1</sup> This was only the worst example of a too prevalent mentality in Europe, by which every nation has tended to regard its neighbours to the east as “peoples of lesser worth.” Even today this way of thinking has not wholly died out.



oneself the results of this kind of thing in order to appreciate what a change has come. The older relationship was a legacy of the Holy Roman Empire, in which the Latin used by the Church and the schools was matched by the German used at the Court and in society, while other languages were "vernaculars," spoken by the common people. But the time was now past when the Silesian peasant would talk to his dog in Polish and in the next moment salute the village-teacher, the priest or the pastor, in mostly faulty German. Yet it was still a shock for an unschooled Slovak woman, whose son had won his way into the diplomatic service, to visit him in a foreign capital in the twenties and hear matters of high state or cultural interest being discussed quite normally in her mother-tongue. She had grown up to believe that such things were only possible in German, or in Magyar.

(iii) For the first time since the modern world of the school and the press, the railways and telegraphs, of business and industry, had come into their lives, these millions of people were permitted to be themselves: to direct their own fortunes without constant interference from outside—in a word to be free. The price they paid was heavy, since tens of thousands of their sons laid down their lives in the ranks of the imperial armies, fighting for an alien cause, often brother against brother; and the privations of war and post-war years were such as no one could ever remember. But they paid that price willingly, for something like a new earth and a new heaven had dawned for them and their children. Save for Serbia and Poland Central Europe was hardly touched by devastation, and physical recovery was rapid. What is more the victors did everything possible to ensure for those set free the widest measure of the thing they most desired—known in those days as "self-determination." So great an impression did this spectacle make on a man of the soberest temper, well-read in history, the President-Liberator, T. G. Masaryk, that he was to speak with Čapek of "the golden age in which we are now living, on which people may look back in the future with longing."

(iv) Along with all this, indeed as a part of it, has gone the depriving of the Church of its traditional role in the scheme of things, in which it functioned as a second aristocracy and lent its energies far too much to the tasks of ruling when its one supreme business should have been to serve. This change was sudden and complete in Russia as a part of what happened in 1917, and was followed by a campaign (now more, now less violent) against religion as "opium for the people" and against the clergy as parasites on

society. This "line" has indeed changed in the last decade, but only to the extent that the churches are now tolerated, even supported, by the state; in return for which they render fairly well-defined services of an other than spiritual kind. Only experts can decide how far this represents a return to something very like the condition of things in pre-revolutionary days.

Save for the dissolution of the remnant that was left of the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church in the western Ukraine (what was before the second war south-eastern Poland) not much direct interference with the place and work of the churches has as yet been resolved on in Central Europe. This may be due to a variety of reasons. What should be remembered is that in this part of the continent striking alterations in the status and calling of the clergy had been going on for half a century, most of which have helped to meet the objections to the church as an institution put forward by the Communists. The one-time conditions in which the curé was the only educated man in his community (since even the squire may have been hardly more than literate), and occupied *in virtue of his office* a special station, have gone for ever. No longer can the priest or pastor depend on his "cloth" for his prestige or influence: only his character, his intelligence, and his devotion to the cause he serves, can ensure him respect or leadership. In view of this no such sweeping away of ecclesiastical institutions is possible in Central Europe as took place in Russia a generation ago. The record of courage and devotion, leading to martyrdom at Nazi hands, established in war years by the clergy of most nations would alone make it dangerous for any administration to lay rude hands on them. To balance this one has the fact which the clergy have learned long since: a large share in "the rule of souls" has passed out of their hands, and now rests with the secular agencies.

(v) Of all the changes that can be noted here, probably the one that goes deepest, reaches farthest and strikes the eye of the most casual observer is the growing industrialisation of whole countries of Eastern Europe which were innocent of mill or mine, of factory or foundry half a century ago. At that time, apart from the armaments plants in Pilsen, there was only one heavy industry region in Central Europe—that reaching north-east from the Moravian Gate, and centred (oddly enough) around the famous "corner of three empires." There was one big textile area—that of Łódź, and there was the oil of the eastern Carpathians including Roumania. In Russia there were substantial beginnings, e.g. the older Putilov

works, and—though geographically outside Europe—there was the oil of the Caucasus.

How different things are today can be seen by the traveller, or can be learned from any good reference book. Electricity for light and power is almost everywhere either "laid on" or on the way to being "laid on." The machine age has arrived. Man-power is being replaced by "horse-power," villages have become towns, towns have grown into cities; roads, telephones and air-lines are linking up people who were isolated before. Every nation is busily engaged in "processing" its raw produce, thus commanding a better market and a higher price than of old.

All this can be seen from the moment one lands in the new port of Gdynia until one reaches the Black Sea or the Adriatic, but it is "small beer" in comparison with what has been accomplished in the last twenty years in the Soviet Union. Of this industrial expansion much lies outside the borders of Europe, but it all belongs to our picture and its significance is not only economic—in the widest sense of the word, but also political and cultural: political, since it brings the new Russia nearer to an independence of all the world in either peace or war; cultural, since here as elsewhere the mental and spiritual outlook of the new city-folk differs fundamentally from that of their peasant forebears. In view of the prime place of the occupational factor in shaping the social order, the historian of a hundred years hence may well look back on this feature of the revolutionary 20th century as the great modern miracle.

(vi) Finally, one other change, of a different sort from all those mentioned, must not be passed by. What we have come to call "minority groups" have virtually disappeared from the map. The migrations of centuries, mostly in line with natural laws but in not a few cases effected by governments, had made of much of Central Europe a sort of crazy-quilt of national and religious regions, so intermixed as to defy any sorting out by the use of political boundaries. This was less of a nuisance in the days of the older empires, but it became a source of constant trouble with the setting-up of nation states in 1919. In actual fact that settlement itself effected a colossal transformation. According to a sober American estimate the number of people living under alien domination was reduced at a stroke from 95,000,000 to under 20,000,000. (This estimate did not include the Jews, who were not generally accepted as being a "national" minority.) But even with this improvement the situation was still too full of difficulties, and it was left for Hitler to set about changing things by calling "home" millions of

*Auslandsdeutsche*, starting from the Baltic and going right to the lower Danube. The war and its consequences have done the rest. The Ukrainians have all been united in a Soviet Republic, and non-Ukrainian elements have mostly, if not all, been repatriated to where they belong, e.g. to Poland. Simultaneously we have seen the clearing out of all Germans, not only from East Prussia and from the former Poland but also from all the provinces east of the Oder-Neisse frontier; just as the corresponding clearing of the Germans from the frontier fringes of Moravia and Bohemia has also been all but completed. In a word, one might say that only two "minorities" are left in Central Europe—the small group in Slovakia and the much larger "island" in Transylvania—both of them Magyars. To some this looks like a "tidying-up" of the map: to others it is something to be accepted—with regret: still others regard it as a great confession of failure. In any case what has been done creates a quite new picture, and one that will take some time to get used to.

### III

We must now look at the central feature of the last act in the thirty-year drama under review. It is of course the marked advance westward of the Soviet frontier, and the still more marked advance of the line defining the sphere of Soviet control. In part this expansion is the fulfilment of Russian dreams existing in the 17th century, in part we have to do with acquisitions which few responsible Russian statesmen of Tsarist days would have entertained as desirable.

Mention has been made already of the fact that victory came in 1918 as the work of the Allies in France. Twenty-five years later the victories that liberated the peoples of Central Europe were demonstrably those of the Red Army. The outside world knows how much those victories were due to help that came from the west; but this story, though told in part at the time to the peoples of the Soviet Union, has been largely discounted since in a campaign of purposeful glorification of Soviet achievement. As for the peoples living west of the Soviet border, set free from Nazi barbarism, they have been consistently indoctrinated with the story that they owe their liberation to Soviet valour and to it alone. This is shown by the fact that in Poland, for example, streets and squares have been named up and down the country in honour of Stalin, and his picture is to be seen in almost every public building: but no single case is

known of such recognition either for Roosevelt or for Churchill. In Prague, it is true, Belcredi Street has been renamed after King George VI.

But that is only a part of the story. During three years, as if by a planned design, the liberated countries have been submitted to a process of cleansing of all traces of influence from the west. The last major remnant of the Uniate Church, as already noted, has been liquidated. The marks of western economic tradition, whether in respect of land-owning or of big business and industry, are being eliminated. All traces of parliamentary institutions, involving party systems or two-chamber legislatures, have been removed—the last of them in the spring of this year in Prague. Monopoly controls over the press, the radio and other cultural agencies have become complete; and a beginning has been made with the subjecting of education at all levels to the demands of a single ideology. Acceptance of this ideology has already proved to be the only safe way to promotion in public service, its rejection the surest barrier to any future for old or young.

By these and similar means an ancient frontier of cultures has not only been perpetuated but even reinforced, and on a longitude far to the west of the ancient one separating Byzantine and Latin Christianity. An age-long reproach is thus removed. Whereas formerly the west fancied itself as progressive while looking on the east as backward or even stagnant, the reverse is now the case. The east says in effect: you are the reactionaries, we are progressive—more “western” than you. Your civilisation has failed: the future belongs to us!

It is not, however, this feature of the new situation (the one that undoubtedly gets the most attention in the popular press—a sign of the shock it has meant to a too-complacent civilisation!) that concerns us here, but rather the lot of the smaller nations caught geographically between the Soviet Union and the countries facing the Atlantic seaboard. Never were peoples placed in a more invidious position. Subject during periods varying from a century to thrice that time, for the most part to German domination, they won their liberties with the help of Russia and the west a generation ago, only to find that the nations which had set them free were not really interested in their development—the final proof of which was given with “Munich.” They could only draw the logical conclusion that their one sure champion was “the big brother” of which they had heard a good deal in the past. Their choice was between German and Soviet Russian patronage. The unexpected victories

of the Red Armies during 1943-1945 clinched the matter, and a legal basis for Soviet policy is found by Moscow in the decisions of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. Under German rule the smaller nations would have been subjects: as fellow-travellers in the Soviet sphere of control they are satellites—*tertium non datur*!

Evidence to show that they are restless under this new and strange tutelage has not been lacking during 1948. The breach existing at the moment between Moscow and Belgrade, whatever else it means, points to a serious tension between the strong ties of national loyalties that hold the peoples of Central Europe together and the resolve of the Soviet Union to subordinate these to the class doctrines and affinities that constitute the essence of Marxist philosophy. This conflict existed from the start both in Poland and Hungary: it has recently come to a head in the former of these two lands with the disciplining of Gomółka; and there have been enough signs in Czechoslovakia of support for Tito to show how far the Czechs are from accepting with resignation the new régime there.

In view of these trends, it may be worth our while to go back for a moment and recall the examples of Russian intervention in the affairs of Western Europe in their historical order. Only thus can we see the panorama of today in its proper perspective, and understand better what is at stake.

It started, in effect, with Peter the Great. From the early years of the 18th century the Polish-Lithuanian-Ukrainian Commonwealth was never free to act independently of St. Petersburg. But it was the occupation of Danzig on 30 June, 1733, after Russian and French troops had clashed for the first time, that marked the first milestone. Until then Western Europe had heard of Muscovy as something remote: from now on Tsarist Russia took its place, and was a power to be reckoned with. Incidentally, the issue was the Polish Succession: the French were backing a Polish candidate, Stanisław Leszczyński, while the Russians were backing—a German.<sup>2</sup>

A second and deeper penetration came almost a generation later, towards the end of the Seven Years War. A series of brilliant but pyrrhic victories, interlaced with defeats, had exhausted the resources of Frederic of Prussia, and early in October, 1760, Russian troops were during four days master of Berlin. Though forced to retire, they did not cease to menace Prussia until the first days of 1762,

<sup>2</sup> True, Peter himself had twice before this been the "guest" of the citizens of Danzig—in 1716 and again a year later. He addressed them as their "father" in Polish, and the records show that the bill for entertaining him was a heavy one.

when the Empress Elizabeth died and her son reversed his mother's policy. Russia then became the ally of Frederic against the Empire, and the first Partition of Poland came ten years later.

A third, still deeper, and best known penetration of Russia into European affairs followed the disastrous defeat of Napoleon's armies in 1812. Russian troops played a major part in the winning of the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig a year later, and within a few months they were at the gates of Paris. They shared in the occupation that followed on Waterloo, and Tsar Alexander was one of the chief architects of the settlement effected at the Congress of Vienna. By this the framework of European politics was determined for just a hundred years.

A fourth intervention, apart from the various councils of the partners to the Holy Alliance, came with the sending of Russian armies into Hungary in 1849 for the suppression of the revolutionary movement, a mission to which Nicholas I felt himself committed both by inclination and by destiny.

A fifth move made by Russia to revise the existing order in Europe took place in 1876, when armies were sent against the Turkish empire with a view to setting free the "Orthodox brethren" of the Balkans. In effect this was a revival of "the Greek Plan" of a century earlier, one of the objectives being control of the straits. As all know the Powers stepped in and at the Congress of Berlin robbed the victor of what he felt to be legitimate booty, leaving a strong sense of grievance behind.

A sixth was, of course, the sharing by Russia in the bitter struggle of the First Great War, 1914-1918, until her armies were broken, her economy disrupted and the spectre of domestic chaos walking the whole country. We have noted already the fact that in consequence of the ensuing revolution Russia was not permitted to take part in the peace-making at Paris in 1919. Instead there came the armed interventions designed to oust the revolutionaries (which were justifiably described as invasions by the Bolshevists), and the exclusion of the U.S.S.R. from international society for fifteen years.

Even a person of average intelligence, if he totals up these six items can see what they amount to. After a long period of sharing the European stage, after two major invasions from the west (three if one counts the Polish "raid" on Kiev in 1920), the Russians found themselves bowed out of the picture, treated as strangers or worse (for which they must of course bear much of the blame), and written off as a Great Power. Then, when they had "worked their passage home" and found a place in the League of Nations, their

efforts at co-operation for peace were met by the rebuff of "Munich." Their mistrust of the western Powers seemed only too well founded: Litvinov had to go, and for nine years his place has been held by a quite different type of statesman—Molotov.

Then came the seventh intervention in arms in the affairs of Europe in the shape of the invasion of Poland on 17 September, 1939, and the subsequent partitioning of that country as a partner of Nazi Germany. What followed needs no recapitulation, indeed its main stages have already been noted. By a stupendous effort, which astonished the world, the Soviet leaders transformed the disasters of 1941-1942 into a series of victories which in due course placed the U.S.S.R. "astride the continent of Europe." In the sequel Poland and Czechoslovakia, the former with its frontier thrust westward to the Oder, have been cleared of their German inhabitants—the biggest movement of peoples for centuries. On the face of it, this seems to be a gain for the Slavs, but it leaves the smaller nations dependent as never before on a single great neighbour. It would be difficult to imagine anything farther from the ideas and ideals of the statesmen of 1918-1919 than the present situation.

Since the breakdown of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in the autumn of 1947, the events of the past spring and summer in Prague, and the more recent tension over the blockade of Berlin, the prospects of fruitful co-operation for peace by the former Allies looks remoter than ever. To us in the west a deplorable feature of this whole post-war period has been the steady shrivelling up of what were even before the war still too meagre possibilities of mutual acquaintance and association between the East and the West. It has become increasingly difficult for anyone to get permission to leave the Soviet Union (even the contacts with the satellite states are strictly controlled!): and it is almost impossible for anyone of late to get into the U.S.S.R. from outside. This state of affairs is a calamity for all.

A wall of secrecy surrounds half of Europe, separating even its constituent parts. No news is to be had, unless by chance, from Königsberg, or Wilno or Lwow (now known as Kaliningrad, Vilnius and Lviv respectively); and such freedom of movement as was allowed to diplomatic circles in Moscow has of late been markedly whittled down. This may seem to those in authority in the Kremlin to be dictated by common prudence, but it betrays a measure of fear and suspicion which makes collaboration difficult.

If we add to this the often acrimonious tone of international pronouncements, and the fact that unkind and unnecessary things



have been said by people of standing on both sides, the question must arise as to whether the forms and realities of courteous negotiation and discussion can long go on. The alternative would seem to be a breaking-off of relations—usually the first step to open hostilities. In our view this would be folly of the deepest dye, since it could only bring destruction and misery to both parties. With a divided Germany and a divided Europe we have come a long way from the high hopes of thirty years ago. Mankind is asking one question today: "Where do we go from here?"

W J. ROSE.

## THE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE : 1348

It would be a grave dereliction of academic piety were any journal of Slavonic studies to ignore the sixth centenary of the foundation of the University of Prague ; for the Journal of the London School of Slavonic and East European studies to do so would be ingratitude for the many material and spiritual benefits which it owes to the people, the presidents and the scholars of Czechoslovakia. These few pages are an expression of our admiration and gratitude to the University of Prague for six hundred years of work and achievement, by an attempt to assess in general terms the part played by the University in the history of European education, particularly during the critical years of social and cultural transformation which coincided with the first two centuries of the life of the University.

When in 1346 Charles of Luxemburg usurped the Imperial throne of Lewis the Bavarian and succeeded his father, John, on the throne of Bohemia, there were already many universities in Europe ; for two hundred years there had been *studia generalia* in Salerno, Bologna and Paris where the higher study of medicine, law and philosophy had respectively flourished. In a society which was becoming rapidly more wealthy and whose needs were becoming daily more complicated, the need and the opportunity for a higher education was such that in the 13th century the schools of Paris and Bologna were swelled to bursting point. The careers in state and church open to the trained lawyer, doctor or clerk were so many and so profitable that the qualifications which a university could give were eagerly sought after by rich and poor. To the rich, a degree was a profitable investment for a son or a younger brother, or for a canon or prebendary who was ambitious for prelatical honours and emoluments or high office in the court of king or prince, to the poor man of ability and industry the university offered, often at little cost, the high road which led by the *licencia ubique docendi*, through papal provision or aristocratic patronage to benefices and offices of all sorts. But not only did the universities provide the means for satisfying the ambitious, they also, in the words of Charles's foundation charter, " set out a table of welcome for those who incessantly hunger after the fruits of learning." The appetite for knowledge grows with feeding ; late mediæval Europe could afford to feed that appetite, and the universities were an efficient instrument for its satisfaction. It is therefore not surprising that the universities which grew up spontaneously, those of Salerno,

Bologna, Reggio in Italy, Paris and Montpellier in France, Oxford in England and Valladolid in Spain, should soon have become so full of aspirants for learning and degrees that they spilled over into neighbouring towns ; there were secessions which led to the establishment of new *studia* at Vicenza, Arezzo, Padua, all early 13th-century children of Bologna ; Padua in its turn became the parent of the University of Vercelli. A similar secession from Paris produced a new university at Angers, and Cambridge was the child of Oxford dissensions. In the course of the 13th century the fame and prosperity of those cities wherein universities had spontaneously generated or whither they had been transplanted aroused the envy of the other cities who began to petition prince or pope for the grant of a charter, for it was coming to be assumed that the granting of the licence to teach everywhere was a privilege that could not be adopted by every self-constituted group of teachers and students. The jealousy of established *studia generalia* allied itself with the growing pretensions of pope and ruler to limit and control the development of the new vested interest in learning and education. Nevertheless the hundred and thirty years which separated Innocent III from Charles IV saw a great increase in the number of chartered universities : the rich cities of Italy secured papal foundation for the universities of Piacenza, Rome, Perugia, Treviso and Pisa ; the rulers of Castile and Aragon thought no papal assent necessary to them and founded universities by royal charter at Palencia, Salamanca, Seville and Lerida ; the University of Portugal, so long unsettled between Lisbon and Coimbra, was founded in 1290 by the joint action of King Diniz and Pope Nicholas IV. In France, too, it was co-operation between municipality and pope which led to the proliferation of universities : Toulouse, Avignon, Cahors and Grenoble had all received papal charters before Charles IV became emperor.

There were two other universities in existence besides those already mentioned when Charles IV succeeded : one the peripetetic university of the Roman Curia, and the other the University of Naples, the only university founded by an emperor. It had been chartered by Frederick II in 1224 during and as part of his struggle with the Papacy. No succeeding emperor, whether Hohenstaufen, Plantagenet, Castilian, Habsburg, Naussauer, Luxemburger or Wittelsbach, had founded a university.<sup>1</sup> Not that there was ever any doubt of his ability to do so ; as king of Bohemia

<sup>1</sup> The anti-emperor Frederick of Austria had granted a charter to Treviso in 1318, but it is doubtful if the University of Treviso survived the year of its foundation

and *a fortiori* as emperor he had as much right to charter a university as any king of Castile or Aragon. It is true that the Avignonese popes would have resisted any attempt of Charles's predecessor Lewis of Bavaria to charter a university, not because Lewis was emperor but just because John XXII denied Lewis's claim to the Imperial dignity. But before Charles not even the Emperors who had been most friendly to the popes, such as Rudolf I, had sought his help in the establishment of a *studium generale*.

Therefore it remained the fact that of the thirty universities which existed in Europe in 1346, thirteen were in Italy, six in France, six in the Iberian peninsula, two in England, and one moved about with the papal court; only the not very distinguished universities of Avignon and Grenoble were in territory that, except for Italy, could in any sense be called imperial. Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Scandinavia, the Balkans and Russia had not a university among them.<sup>2</sup>

It is possible to explain this extraordinarily lop-sided development of the universities of Europe in part by saying that higher education is an expensive social luxury which cannot exist without economic prosperity and the leisure which prosperity can provide. In that sense it was natural that the universities should appear in the towns of Lombardy and Emilia, in Languedoc and in the burgeoning communes of the Loire and the Seine. But this is not the whole solution of the problem. Palencia, Coimbra and Lerida had universities, and yet they were not noticeably wealthy as compared with Ghent or Cologne or Florence which had none. Economic considerations are not enough to explain why great universities should have established themselves in the bleak backwaters of Cambridge or even in the remote country town of Oxford while Nuremburg and Hamburg, Breslau and Venice, Prague, Cracow and Buda remained in unchartered darkness.

Undoubtedly political factors must also be taken into account. In war the arts are dumb, and though it would be grossly inaccurate to describe 13th-century Italy as peaceful, yet it is true that western Europe had long been free from foreign invasion, while the Mongol invasion and devastation of Russia, Poland, Silesia and Hungary had left state and society in eastern Europe in ruins in which no learned corporation could hope to thrive. Germany, though she had been free of all external danger since the middle of the 10th

<sup>2</sup> The University of Constantinople hardly attained and certainly did not survive the Latin conquest of the 13th century

century, had been subject to the destruction, expense and insecurity of civil war ever since the premature death of Henry VI in 1197. During the devastating conflicts of Welf and Staufen, of Wettins, Ascanians and Wittelsbachs, of Babenbergers, Luxemburgers and Habsburgs there was little opportunity for universities to take root and grow, though one would have thought that conditions there were no more unfavourable than in the Italy of Frederick II and Charles of Anjou. Also, it must be remembered, though there were no universities in Germany before the reign of Charles IV, there was nevertheless a great deal of learning there: Cologne, where Thomas Aquinas studied and where Albertus Magnus and Duns Scotus taught, was a focus of philosophy and theology equal to Paris and Oxford long before it received its university charter in 1388. No university of Europe in the first half of the 14th century could show a trio of scholars who could challenge the brilliance of Marsiglio of Padua, Jean of Jandun and William of Occam at the court of Lewis of Bavaria.

It seems to me therefore that neither social nor economic considerations, nor both together, completely explain why the development of universities was so long confined to countries west of the Rhine and south of the Alps. The Rhineland, Swabia and Bohemia were as prosperous as France and England, more prosperous than Spain; Bohemia, apart from the heavy but transient calamity of 1278, had known internal and external security and growing prosperity since 1197; Germany was not more troubled by war than Italy. Therefore, as it seems to me, the lateness of university development in the lands between the Rhine and the Oder is due in large measure to historical accidents: to the fluctuating struggle for supremacy between Welf and Staufen between 1197 and 1214; to the long absences of Frederick II and his hostility to urban privilege; to the nonage of Conrad IV and Conradin; to the absenteeism of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile; to the rapidity with which the imperial office passed from Habsburg to Nassau and back, from Luxemburg to Bavaria, all within less than half a century; and finally to the accident of the great quarrel between Lewis IV and the papacy, for no German community would be likely to seek a university charter from the French pope in Avignon, nor from the German sovereign who was for so much of his reign excommunicate.

There was indeed one country in central Europe where a university might have been expected to develop before the 14th century, namely, the kingdom of Bohemia, which had been immune

from Mongol invasion,<sup>3</sup> and which had been preserved by the strong hand of the last four Premyslid rulers from the barbarisation of civil conflict. Indeed King Václav II had about 1294 proposed the establishment of a *studium generale* in Prague, but the Bohemian nobles, to whom a university meant Roman law and the doctrine of royal supremacy, opposed the project "lest they should perchance lose the fruits which they had been hitherto accustomed to gather by their unwarranted innovations" <sup>4</sup> Despite such jealous feudal opposition it seems probable that a royal university foundation would have appeared at Prague decades before 1348 had it not been for the murder of Václav III in 1306 and the long period of dynastic strife between Habsburg, Carinthian and Luxemburg claimants to the throne and of its occupation for thirty-six years by the absentee and unclerklly John of Luxemburg.

The accession of Charles IV made the creation of a central European university inevitable; he had for a dozen years been regent of Bohemia and had already come to realise that the position and condition of Bohemia would provide the only sound basis for his imperial plans. Prague must be the metropolis of the empire, and the metropolis must have a *studium generale* to provide for the spiritual and administrative needs of the Christian Empire. There was indeed no obstacle to the establishment of the University of Prague. Charles had been the pupil of Pope Clement VI and was his friend and ally. Charles was a man of culture and learning and had first-hand experience of the University of Paris; he and his kingdom were rich and could well afford the endowment of chairs and colleges.

Everything went smoothly with his project: on 26 January, 1347, the pope granted a bull in which, at the request of Charles, king of the Romans, he agreed "that it would be advantageous to his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia and to the other neighbouring regions and lands, where there was no *studium generale*, to have one, and that the metropolitan city of Prague, situated in the middle and in the healthiest part of the kingdom, visited by people from divers lands, and abounding in food and the other necessities of life, was most suited for such a *studium generale* since there had long been a *studium particulare* there." <sup>5</sup> On 7 April, 1348, Charles IV in Prague issued the Golden Bull of Foundation as king

<sup>3</sup> Part of the Mongol host it is true marched through Moravia on its way from Silesia to Hungary, but its transit was complete within a fortnight, and anyhow, it did not touch Bohemia

<sup>4</sup> Such was the opinion of the monastic writer of the Zbraslav chronicle

<sup>5</sup> This bull of Clement's and the two foundation bulls of Charles are now most conveniently to be found in Chaloupecký, V *The Caroline University of Prague*, Prague, 1948

of the Romans and king of Bohemia, and on 14 January, 1349, at Eisenach confirmed all the privileges of the university by his imperial authority.

In these two bulls Charles made it clear that it was primarily Bohemia and only secondarily the empire whose welfare he wished to promote, "for more particularly our heartfelt love of our hereditary kingdom of Bohemia impels us to exalt it more generously by especial titles of privilege, for it is as a green garden to our eyes and the personal delight of our majesty." The king was anxious that "the faithful subjects of our realm who hunger unceasingly for the fruits of knowledge should not be forced to beg of others, but should find a table prepared for them in their own country. They should not have to satisfy their desires by begging in foreign lands, but should deem it glorious to invite foreigners to come to participate in the sweetness of such a grateful savour."

Here we have expressed the dual function which Charles wanted his new foundation to perform : to provide a centre for the education of his Bohemian people, and to attract thereto men of distinction from the rest of the empire, and even the rest of Christendom.

Indeed it was the historical function of the University of Prague first to plant there the fruit of the academic achievement of France and Italy, and then to scatter the seeds of the tree of knowledge throughout Germany, Austria, Poland and Hungary.

The very constitution of the University illustrated the richness and diversity of its inheritance. Charles endowed it with "all the privileges, immunities and liberties which the doctors and scholars as well of Paris as of Bologna by royal authority are wont to use and enjoy." The details of the constitution he wisely left undefined, and it was the wisdom of the first Chancellor, Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice, which first gave form and order to the new *studium* in his statutes of 1360. At first the *studium* was a university of both masters and scholars, seeking to combine the aristocratic character of Paris with the democratic character of Bologna. But experience showed that it was impossible for teachers and taught to share control ; by a curious compromise in 1372 the *studium* split into two universities, one, that of the lawyers which contrived to model itself in the student university of the Bologna law school, the other the university of the three faculties of arts, theology and medicine which steadily became more like the University of Paris, excluding all the students from all but formal participation in its government, and which came more and more under the sole control of the Council of masters elected by masters. But it was not only constitutions

that Prague took from the older universities. Though there were some Czechs, who, having been educated in Paris or in Italy, were from the beginning capable of lecturing in Prague, it was necessary for Charles to write to the general chapters of the monastic orders to invite them to send teachers to Prague. Master Stephen, who was the first to lecture in canon law in the university, and Master Walter, who was among the first in arts and medicine, were both graduates of Bologna. Though among the names of the first lecturers known to us there are none obviously French, yet the host of erudite Germans who at first flooded all four faculties had most of them been educated at Paris, where they and such Czechs as Vojtěch Raňkův, Matěj z Janova and Jan z Jenštejna, had all been members of the English nation.

It was not only Paris and Bologna that Charles brought to central Europe; less directly and less immediately the University of Oxford played its part in moulding education at Prague and among the children of Prague. The prescribed text-books in arts included the *Poetria nova* of Gottfried Anglicus, the *Tractatus de Sphaera* of John of Halifax (Johannes de Sacrobosco), the *Computus cyrometricahs*, probably by the same author, and the *Perspectiva communis* of the Englishman Johannes Pisanus. More than that the German doctors who came from Paris to Prague were to a man disciples of the British nominalistic school of Occam and Duns, just as a generation later their Czech successors in the University were influenced by Wyclif's philosophical writings to champion the neo-Augustinian realism of Oxford; indeed, after 1409, through the influence of Hus and Jerome Prague threw off the tutelage of Paris and became more Oxonian than Oxford itself.

One thing which made the rôle of Prague very important was the fact that from its foundation it contained all four faculties; the majority of its predecessors in Italy and France particularly had been predominantly law schools, some of which had never developed studies in the free arts beyond the grammar school stage, and most of which had never had a faculty of theology at all, for the popes long sought to maintain the theological monopoly of Paris. But Prague came fully fledged to life; it was intended to stand beside Paris as a centre of theological study and beside Oxford as a centre of philosophy and mathematics; as for the faculty of medicine, of which we hear very little before the 16th century, it was probably no better or worse than medical faculties anywhere else at the time.

But the greatness of Prague lies not so much in what it received



as in what it gave. The seedling planted in the broad virgin field of central Europe speedily propagated itself as soon as it became mature. Charles himself was not anxious for rivals to Prague to be planted in Germany, and indeed sought to prevent the establishment of the University of Vienna, and did prevent its having a faculty of theology; the three other universities which Charles founded or refounded by imperial charter were far away from Prague at Siena, Pavia and Orange. Indeed, apart from Vienna, no university was established in the Germanic part of the Empire while Charles lived. But the ineffectiveness of his successor, Václav, permitted ambitious princes to seek the renown and profit of establishing universities in their estates, and, in that time of papal schism, there was always one pope willing to purchase the prince's support by granting the bull of foundation. This proliferation of universities in the German lands was made possible by the difficulties of the German masters at Paris, who, since the outbreak of the schism, found it profitless to apply to the Avignon pope whom Paris recognised for benefices in Germany where he had no control. Albert of Helmstedt went from the Sorbonne to be the first rector of the University of Vienna in 1365; the great nominalist philosopher Marsilius of Inghen went from Paris to become rector of the new University of Heidelberg in 1384. But Prague also made a most important contribution to the beginning of the higher education of Germany. The learned, prolific and famous Henrich Totting of Oyta came in 1366 from Erfurt to lecture in the faculty of theology at Prague; from 1377 to 1382 he was teaching in Paris; he returned to Prague and after three years went in 1385 to the University of Vienna where he spent the last fourteen years of his life. Totting's compatriot and contemporary, Konrad von Soltau, came to Prague as a student about 1365, and stayed to become rector in 1384; in 1387 he went to assist in the establishment of the new University of Heidelberg. To the same university went a great Prague theologian and reformer of the next generation, the Silesian Nicholas Magni of Jauer, who spent twenty-five years of his life in the University of Prague and thirty years (1402-1432) in that of Heidelberg. Perhaps the most eminent of the German scholars of Prague, was the probable author of the notable *Speculum aureum de titulis beneficiorum*, Albrecht Engelschalk of Strubing. He matriculated at Prague about 1370, graduated bachelor and master in both arts and theology, was a fellow of the Charles college, twice dean of arts and once rector; he too, sometime after 1402, left for the University of Vienna.

The extent to which Vienna was populated from Prague is revealed by the number of witnesses described as "formerly student of Prague, now student of the University of Vienna" who gave evidence when Jerome of Prague was tried for heresy in that city in 1410.

There is one other university, not in the Empire, which owes much to Prague in its early years—the University of Cracow, first founded by Casimir III of Poland in 1364, and then after a period of trouble and obscurity, refounded by Wladislaw Jagiello and Queen Jadwiga in 1397. Hitherto many subjects of the Polish monarchs had gone to study at Prague, where, together with the Silesians, they constituted the Polish "nation." Some of them came home to assist in the establishment of Cracow. Jan Isner, after twenty years in Prague, became *scholasticus* in Poznan and in 1401 transferred to Cracow, to which he bequeathed his valuable library, in which were the works of Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Holkot, Totting and Matthias of Cracow; there, in the same year, the Silesian Matthew of Liegnitz, after nearly thirty years in Prague, joined him. Even more eminent was the renowned Matthias of Cracow himself; he had gone to Prague about 1360, pursued the long cursus there until in 1381 he became professor of theology. In 1391 he went home to Cracow, and three years later went on to become a professor in Heidelberg; the eminence of the service to church reform which he performed by his *De squaloribus curiæ Romanæ* was such that not even his sycophancy to the pope when at the end of his life he became Bishop of Worms could undo it.

I know no direct evidence that Prague scholars assisted in the foundation of the other universities which were chartered in the 14th century in central Europe—Erfurt (1379), Pécs (1367), Cologne (1388) and Buda (1389); but I have little doubt that a collation of promotion lists would show that scholars from Prague played their part here too. But the largest and most immediately successful contribution of Prague to German education was involuntarily made, the result of hostility rather than solicitude. Gradually the number and influence of the Czech masters at Prague had been increasing, and they gained a preponderance of numbers when the foundation of the German universities both made it unnecessary for Germans to go to Prague, and attracted Germans from Prague. But still the three preponderantly Germanic nations at Prague, the Bavarian, Saxon and "Polish" could and did outvote the Czech nation. At length in 1409 the national desire of the Czechs to be masters in their own university, the increasingly bitter quarrel between the reformist, Wiclifite Czech realists and their conservative German

nominalist opponents, and the anger of King Václav at the refusal of the German masters to support him in his plans to heal the schism, led to the publication of the royal decree of Kutná Hora, which gave three votes to the Czechs and one to the Germans. Such a position of inferiority the Germans refused to tolerate, and about a thousand of them, masters and students, shook the dust of the heretical Slav city from off their feet, of whom over forty masters and four hundred students and bachelors accepted the invitation of the two margraves of Meissen to found a university at Leipzig ; the rest went perhaps to Heidelberg, Cologne or Vienna.

The departure of the Germans transformed the character of the University of Prague as thoroughly as the expulsion of the Germans after 1945 has transformed the Czechoslovak Republic. It put an end to the ecumenical character of the University, which henceforth played a great part in the history of the Czech nation, but did so in opposition to the rest of Europe. The Hussite schism crippled the University constitutionally and narrowed its interests for long to theological and ecclesiastical polemics. After a halcyon period in the 16th century Habsburg imperialism and Jesuit counter-reformation stifled and distorted the University ; Maria Theresa and Joseph II completed its denationalisation. Not until 1882 did the Charles University again take its proper place in the academic world. In its restored vigour it once more begat and nurtured a promising family : the Comenius University of Bratislava, the Masaryk University of Brno and the Palacký University of Olomouc. As it enters, not with the happiest auguries, on its seventh century of life, we who also boast ourselves the heirs of Masaryk can but say amen to the benediction which President Benes pronounced in the University on 7 April this year ; it was to prove his last visit to Prague, and his words were his *Nunc Dimittis*. This is what he said :—

“ Three years after the most terrible war in human history, the peace that we yearn for with all our hearts does not exist between the nations. If this natural human yearning, along with the desire for freedom of belief, science, thought, and vocation, is to be fulfilled, it is imperative to cultivate and to attain a universal freedom of the spirit—the essential condition of all genuine spiritual life. This freedom, which is founded on man’s respect of man and on common tolerance, and which has always had its home in our university, will, God willing, lead the Charles University once more, and all of us with it, to a truly prosperous and happy future.”

R. R. BETTS.

London, September, 1948.

## SLOVAK POLITICS IN 1848-1849

THERE have been times in the course of history, when the weak and oppressed have understood the essential outlines of a situation and its future prospects better than those in power. This is mainly due to two facts. The power of the latter is derived from the previous developments in history, and it has persisted by the force of inertia, pursuing its own interests: whereas the weaker agents were the actual driving forces behind the events, and they expected an improvement of their former position. It is natural that the weaker agents should try to exert an influence in that direction. On the other hand humiliated and oppressed man has a finer sense of historical justice, the advancement of which can by no means be underrated nor denied, than the agents in power. The latter have often identified justice and law with their own interests, and, in a majority of instances, have opposed or at least slowed down the natural course of events. For these reasons the oppressed agents contributed more to historical evolution. The truth of all this becomes evident from a careful comparison of Slav, in particular of Slovak plans for the transformation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into national states, with the German-Hungarian plans of the revolutionary years 1848-1849.

The movements of 1848-1849 in Central Europe are interpreted under the influence of the February Revolution and the two earlier French Revolutions, in terms of the people's efforts to attain democratic liberties and humane laws. Especially the Hungarian upheaval of 1848 has been understood in this light, mainly under the influence of Marx's earlier appraisals, whereas the same author's later and more critical judgments, based upon a deeper knowledge of facts about the upheaval, which express chiefly the semi-feudal seigneurial character of the upheaval, were disregarded. It is in this light, and mainly under the influence of Marx's contemporary views, that the activities of the Austro-Hungarian Slav nations are judged. On these grounds the behaviour of the Croat, Serb and Slovak nations, who sided in arms with the Habsburg Dynasty against the insurgent Magyars, was condemned and regarded as treachery to the cause of liberty, and as aiding the victory of reaction. Furthermore, it is stated, the Slavs contended for nationalist ends; and as a result they lost liberties without achieving any remarkable results in regard to their national aims. This is roughly the prevailing view on this subject up to now. We venture to maintain that

the advocates of this view have taken a rather one-sided view and have not delved deeper than mere appearance.

The revolutionary events of 1848 had undoubtedly an economic and emancipatory significance also, but the essential feature and purpose of these struggles remained nationalist, particularly in Austria-Hungary. It was a battle for a new arrangement of international affairs within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with the ruling nations fighting to keep their highly privileged positions. The political, social, civil and economic revolutions were only an accompanying phenomenon, only a means to achieve the end really desired, viz. the preservation of national integrity.

The sacred devices "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were also conceived in a nationalist sense, although different meanings were attributed to this sense. We ought to bear in mind that without due consideration of the nationalist motives immanent in the events we cannot understand the origin and purpose of the revolution. It is obvious that the autumn upheaval in Hungary was not brought about by social or civil motives, but for reasons of State independence. The rising aimed at a forcible solution by which it was hoped to reconcile the antagonisms between the Magyars, who were attempting to build up an independent Hungarian State linked solely by a personal union with the Austrian half of the Empire, and the dynasty supported by the Slav nations, whose aim it was to preserve the unity of the Empire at least as regards its position as a power and its foreign relations. The "Greater Germany" policy as represented by the Frankfort Parliament was a threat which concerned mainly the Slavs of Austria, and this (combined with their fear of Russian absolutism) induced them to support the Empire rather than oppose it. This was by no means a cordial alliance, but one of pure interest. The fact that the Magyars had their protagonists in the Greater-German and Italian anti-Austrian camps, clearly reveals the fundamental character of their quarrel. It would be unfair to say that the social, civil and economic consequences of the Spring revolution were in any way threatened by these events, or that social and political developments in Austria lagged behind the parallel strivings in Hungary. The April-May Constitution in Austria covered about the same social and economic range as the Hungarian legislation of April. Both the Hungarian and the Austrian Parliaments began their activities without any hindrances. The exertions of Windischgrätz in Prague, the only cloud in the sky of constitutionalism, were of only a transitory character and in themselves cannot be made

responsible for the further developments. Besides, that leader's interference in Prague dealt a blow to the Slav federalist strivings and was therefore welcomed by the Magyars: it could not in the least therefore influence their anti-Austrian attitude. It was only the Vienna Revolt in October and mainly the subsequent upheaval in Hungary that encouraged the reactionary agents and their efforts in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hitherto these had been latent; but the revolutions encouraged them in taking measures and acting in a way that could be considered more centralist than reactionary. Even the March Constitution of 1849 could not be qualified as purely reactionary, although we admit that it contained restrictions which infringed the sovereignty of the people and some democratic liberties. The leading circles of the Monarchy were convinced, precisely by the previous events, that the only workable solution was to build up a homogeneous Empire which would embody all existing trends; but, as it was impossible to carry out this project in a humiliated Hungary, the idea had to be dropped also for the western provinces. It was this conviction which proved more fatal in the Monarchy's drive towards absolutism and reaction than the purely reactionary elements.

The question of liberty as opposed to reaction is not quite clear as regards the nations of Austria. It would be incorrect to maintain that the Magyars and the Germans fought for freedom while the other nations, especially the Slavs, supported reaction. The latter had a sounder view of liberty and of the prevailing ideals of political and social reforms than the Germans or even the Magyars. The Slavs were, moreover, much more concerned with social reforms than the Germans or Magyars, because they felt the urgency of such reforms far more keenly, the majority of them being members of the nation's oppressed strata. The Magyars, on the other hand, apart from a few individuals and insignificant groups, tried to reserve all social acquisitions for the well-to-do, at least for the better educated social strata—quite in accord with the spirit of the age.

Even these fugitive remarks will make it evident to the reader that the question of progress versus reaction in the fighting quarters of 1848-1849 is not as simple as it might seem in the light of historical tradition. The defect of these views is that, according to the traditions of contemporary liberalism, they take notice only of the constitutional and political, and utterly neglect the nationalist and social aspects of the Rising. In their glorification of the Magyar struggle for independence, they forgot the social and economic order for which independence was expected to serve as a prop; or,

enthusiastic about political liberties, they forgot the fact which has become quite clear to us today that national liberty is just as important a factor of progress as social liberty and that, in fact, the two cannot be separated. Least of all in an empire composed of such a variety of nationalities can there be any social and political freedom where there is no national freedom, and vice versa.

## I

The five main problems which demanded solution in feudal Hungary were the following :

- (i) that of the extension of civil liberties,
- (ii) the participation in political life of groups other than those of seigneurial status,
- (iii) equality of all groups before the law,
- (iv) equal sharing of public burdens by the noble classes,
- (v) (most acute of all) the abolition of *urbarium* (the legalised socages and burdens of the serfs), together with "aviticity" (a kind of entail) and other economic abuses.

By comparing Slovak policies, as represented by Štúr's pre-parliamentary programme of October, 1847, and confirmed in his organ *Slovenskie Národné Noviny*, with those of the most progressive Magyar circles, we can convince ourselves that the former did not lag a whit behind the latter : on the contrary Štúr emerges as the more advanced by his demand for sweeping social reforms. When we consider the official programme of the Magyar Liberal Party, the most progressive and the chief advocate of reform tendencies as set out in the summer of 1847, and the no less important programmes of certain isolated counties, we find complete agreement between them in the matters of equality before the law, "aviticity" and credits. All of them demand the establishment of the first, the abolition of the second, and the provision of credits. On the question of other reforms the Slovaks took a bolder stand than the Magyar Liberals who wavered in their claims, softening the exacting tone of the requirements by various reservations. Štúr's party demanded the abolition of the privileges of the landed nobility with regard to taxation, whereas the Magyar Liberals spoke only of a contribution by the nobility to public taxation, and about relaxing the burdens of the non-privileged classes. They wished to connect the reforms with constitutional guarantees in this respect.

Both parties agreed that the unprivileged classes should gain admission to the County Councils and to the legislature ; but whereas the liberal opposition curtailed their reform programme by

such insertions as "concerning mainly the Royal Chartered Cities and free provinces", the Slovaks made it clear that they required an improvement in the representation of Royal Chartered Cities and the admission both of the educated classes and of the representatives of freed communities. The final purpose of this reform was to extend the privilege of the nobility to the non-privileged classes, either on the basis of the representation of separate Estates, or in the form of popular representation, based on a Census of property, or on educational standing. As regards the question of the peasants there was, in principle, analogous conformity. Both programmes were agreeable to the legal abolition of *urbarium* with full compensation. The Slovaks required this to be carried out by parliamentary decree without any restrictions: the Magyar liberals thought it was desirable only to undertake preparatory arrangements. In a number of respects the Slovak programme was nearer to that of the so-called Centralists (*Doctrinaires*), who were actually the only resolute adherents of liberal principles in the Hungary of the time, than to that of the leading Magyar Opposition Party. The Slovaks, of course, disagreed with the Centralists for nationalist reasons, and in their support of the Municipal Institutions of the County System, on which point their programme came nearer to that of the Liberals, although from different motives. The up-to-dateness of the Slovak political programme was never surpassed by that of the Magyar counties before the 1847 Parliamentary Session. The draft programme of the County of Pest, which served as a pattern for a number of counties, does not come near it at all, and the draft of Borsod county could be regarded as more progressive only in the matter of juries, of which the Slovak programme makes no mention.

The latter distinguished itself from that of the Magyars by its sincerity, and the firm resolve to carry out the reforms—qualities, as was proved in the next Parliamentary Session, which were lacking in the Magyar parties. What follows will illustrate the different attitudes of the Magyar reformers who relinquished privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, and of the Slovaks, who, being largely unprivileged, were to profit from the reforms.

In spite of the conformity of the subject-matter of reforms, there were grave tactical and political discrepancies between the Slovak and Magyar parties. In opposition to the radical methods of the Magyar Liberals, Slovak political tactics were more moderate, standing closer to those of the Magyar Progressive Conservative Party, which was in power before the 1847 Parliamentary Session.



In contrast with the deductive, purely juristic proceedings of the Magyars the Slovak reformers followed a line of natural and organic development akin to the procedure of Count Széchenyi. The basic difference between the two plans of reform is to be sought in the question of Public Law. Here the Slovaks, in unison with the non-Magyar nations of Hungary, disagreed with the Magyar Opposition who aimed at the complete independence of Hungary. The reason for this was that the sovereign and the Viennese Government offset to a certain extent the Magyar pressure, which took a very aggressive form, on the national claims of the Slovaks. This, however, becomes clear only from a closer study of the developments of nationalities in Hungary.

## II

The question of nationalities in Hungary arose at the end of the 18th century, but mainly in the first quarter of the 19th century. It originated and developed as the natural consequence of the decay of the Hungarian nation as a homogeneous whole. The ethnic groups, which had hitherto constituted the Hungarian Nation, became conscious of their separate national character and under the influence of various historical agents they were singled out into separate, nationally self-conscious groups. The concept of the "Nation" as a separate ethnic-cultural unit determined by the language it spoke, had been awakened by the German Romantic movement, and it came to replace the old-fashioned territorial-political conception. Contrary to the older idea, the new concept made the nation consider itself an organic unit bound together by consanguinity and by deeply rooted moral and cultural affinities. Nations regarded themselves as organic units, above all political or geographical limitations, and therefore tried to reinterpret the old territorial concept of the nation in terms of a federation of new organic units. The culmination of this development was best expressed by a Slovak Protestant clergyman in a booklet called *Der Magyarismus in Ungarn*, published in Leipzig in 1834, in which he drew the following characteristic conclusion: "Hungary, in the strict sense of the word, is composed of Carpatho-Slavia, Ruthenia, Magyaria, Valachia, Rascia, Croatia, Vendia and Teutonia" (p. 15).

The hitherto homogeneous and simple concept "the Hungarian nation" had become a complex, unifying principle to which that of other nations, which it comprised, was subordinated. The older idea regarded the individual inhabitants, irrespective of linguistic

and ethnical differences : the new notion tried to unite the separate national groups into a more embracing whole. The latter, however, was maintained only by the non-Magyar groups of the Hungarian community.

The Magyars insisted on the territorial-political interpretation of the term. They not only did not acknowledge the existence of new and independent nations within their political frontiers, but they also tried to transform the old Hungarian nation into one which should be uniform, unilingual and Magyar. This resulted in the well-known attempt of the Magyars to enforce their own nationality on the non-Magyar units, a project which was carried on ruthlessly, and led in consequence to the alienation of the non-Magyar nations from the ruling nation.

The former Magyar, indeed the older Hungarian, idea of a nation was based on the assumption that a nation as a territorial-political unit was determined mainly by the privileged classes, irrespective of their nationality. But the only language that could by any means be considered a national tongue in the old sense of the word was scholars' Latin, which was in vogue in the 18th century not only in official and cultural spheres but to some extent also in social and private life. The first attempt to replace Latin by Magyar was undertaken in 1790 as a counteraction to Habsburg absolutism, centralism and Germanisation. When Joseph II introduced the German language as the official tongue in Hungary, arguing that Latin was obsolete and foreign, the opposing Estates tried to frustrate these plans by replacing Latin by Magyar. The raising of Magyar to the level of an official tongue was prepared by an ideological construction, by which the position of Magyar as a national language was acknowledged even during the supremacy of Latin. The privileged position of Magyar as the language of the State, i.e. the national language in the old political and territorial sense was, in line with the privileges of the Estates, derived from the rights of the primordial conquest. Even the Estates of non-Magyar origin silently adhered to this view and did not raise any material objections to the replacement of Latin by Magyar, partly on account of disappointments in the past, but on the condition that sufficient time be given for acquiring a knowledge of it. The social and class link which gradually came into existence between the Magyar Estates and those of the various non-Magyar groups during the prevalence of Latin had not lost its cohesive force even after Latin was abandoned. As a result the upper and middle classes of the non-Magyar nations gradually surrendered their

national character in favour of the Magyars. The culmination of these unifying efforts was reached in the middle forties of the 19th century when an Act of Parliament, issued in 1844, introduced Magyar as the official language throughout the whole country.

It took about half a century to raise Magyar to the position of a diplomatic language. This was due not only to the general immaturity and unsuitableness of the language for the purpose, but also to the co-ordinated resistance of the non-Magyar and more conservative members of the Parliament, mainly the Croats who were encouraged by the reluctant attitude of the Viennese Government. The introduction of Magyar into the administration was a matter of high policy from the very beginning, being in a line with the national resistance movement of the Estates, which started in 1790. It was the linguistic expression of the efforts of the Hungarian nobility to achieve emancipation from the Empire, and the Vienna Government therefore treated these efforts as a political issue. The cultural and social aspect exerted a lesser influence. Both the privileged and non-privileged classes of the Magyar still adhered to the old concept of the Hungarian nation, with no respect to the changed interpretation this term had been given in the meantime by the non-Magyar nations. The efforts to proselytise the other nations of Hungary were the consequence of this political move.

These tendencies were implicit, from the very beginning, in the official efforts to introduce Magyar as an official language in the country. What this purported to be was a welding instrument, designed to give the Hungarian nation an appearance of unity of which "Josephinism" served as the model. This was also pursued with a view to preserving the nation's integrity against aggression from Russia, the importance of which, after the Congress of Vienna, and in view of Russian expansion towards the frontiers of Hungary, was steadily growing. By casting the whole nation into a simple mould the Magyars imagined they might overcome this difficulty, particularly so since they imagined that, if it was made impossible for the Russians to insist on their lingual and religious kinship with the Slavonic nations in Hungary, the danger of Panslavism would be provided against for good and all.

The non-Magyar nations, although they gradually acquiesced in the official position of the Magyar language, developed a relentless resistance to all attempts at recasting the whole population. They claimed equal rights for their own languages in non-official intercourse, or at least the possibility of cultural and national development. These claims, however, were disregarded by the Legislature.

A long-term, embittered struggle for national liberties against Magyarisation was the inevitable consequence.

### III

The national revival, with the further development of each of the nations of Hungary, was determined mainly by the extent to which its national traits were still submerged by the old conception of the homogeneous "nation," or had emerged from it, i.e. by how far the single nation could qualify as a nation in the old sense of the term. The nation that completely satisfied these criteria, on the ground of its political autonomy, was the Croats, who considered themselves a nation confederated with the Hungarians. Consequently the Croat national defence movement was based on territorial and political independence. As far as language was concerned, an attempt had been made to replace Latin by Croatian since about the middle thirties. The organisation of an independent Serb Orthodox church and the promise of political autonomy guaranteed by charters, which promise, however, was never fulfilled, enabled the Serbs also to retain their national identity in the sense of the older concept. The Orthodox Roumanians and the Greek Catholics (Uniates) were supported by similar ecclesiastical bodies; and were virtually, although in a negative way, drawn together by the fact of their exclusion from the political and religious rights which would have put them on equal footing with the other churches. Even the Saxons in Transylvania and in the county of Spiš were granted a certain independence.

The Slovaks, oldest inhabitants of Hungary, were put on equal footing with the Magyars in all respects affecting the rights of the individual; but they did not receive anything like a satisfactory constitutional safeguard of their national individuality, as understood in those times. This accounts for the fact that the new ideas of nationality thrived chiefly among the Slovaks. Their spokesman, the man in whose writings all the new ideas were embodied, was the great poet, Jan Kollar, whose influence on the Slav nations both in Hungary and in Austria was of first-rate importance. Being influenced by the older native tradition which tinged Slovak nationalism with an All-Slav feeling, and accepting the similar doctrines prevailing among the German Romantics as well as the contemporary German tendency to unite all German territories into a single whole—favouring, in fact, both older and newer attempts of a similar character made at home or abroad—Kollar proclaimed the idea of a Great Slav nation, consisting of four original tribal

groups—Russian, Polish, Czechoslav and Yugoslav. His concept of the Slovaks as being part of a Czechoslav tribe that united Slovaks, Moravians and Czechs, though grounded in part on language and culture, remained only a nationalist postulate that had never been realised. The linguistic separation of the Slovaks from the Czechs was due (i) to the prevalence of Catholic elements in Slovakia, (ii) to the fact that the progressive liberation of the lower social strata was less influenced (even among the Slovak Protestants) by the Czechoslav cultural tradition, (iii) to the need for raising the level of political self-consciousness and culture, necessary as a defence against the Magyars but not realisable merely on the basis of a common biblical language, and (iv) to the endeavours made to win the Catholics and the nobility.

In their nationalist evolution the Slovaks were also influenced by Hegel's dialectical method and his philosophy of history. The fact that they had survived a common historical and cultural development within the Hungarian sphere helped to strengthen the idea of a separate nation inside the Slav community with a historical mission of its own. This was helped along by the experiences they acquired in their defensive moves for national self-preservation against the impact of the ruling Magyars in the early forties. The idea of belonging to a great Slavonic family was a stimulus of great value, even though the hopes of Slavonic solidarity proved to be premature and only brought down on the Slovaks accusations of disloyalty. They were also disappointed of help from the Vienna Government, which, though willing to profit from the dissonances among her subject nations, and in a way imagining it might counteract Magyar expansion by showing an inclination to help the Slovaks, allowed these hopes to remain illusory by not committing itself to any structural reorganisation of the Hungarian State on a nationalist basis. For this effort, in any case, the political conditions were lacking. The Government was driven back step by step by the Magyar demands for official recognition of their language, by which it hoped to offset their political demands. Vienna was really concerned only to preserve national peace in the country, and from time to time checked the impact of Magyarisation, when this seemed to go too far. The increasing Magyar domination in Hungary did not allow the Government to take further measures.

In such circumstances the Slovak petition intended for the 1840 Diet, which demanded the repeal of the Magyarisation laws and, in case of refusal, threatened to form an independent province with their own Diet similar to that of the Croats, was not presented.

So too, the further petition of the Slovaks to the Sovereign in 1842, in which they demanded the end of this campaign and the possibility of cultivating their own language, remained unfulfilled. Nevertheless, we cannot say that the Slovak national defence movement bore no fruit. As a result of the relentless opposition, which was particularly strong among the Protestants, and with the help of a certain amount of Government backing, the Magyars were forced to give up their peremptory efforts at Magyarisation, hitherto carried out with wide publicity. They had to adopt more covert methods, by which their tongue would appear to prevail as the official language for public intercourse. Besides this the Vienna Government also approved the Slovak political paper *Slovenskie Národné Noviny*, in 1845. On the other hand the Slovaks too were induced to check their national aggressiveness. The idea of a Hungarian confederation of nations was, at least for the public, abandoned for the older territorial conception of the Hungarian nation, within the framework of which the Slovaks should try to safeguard only their cultural and linguistic individuality. The failure of high policy and their being let down by the Slovak nobility induced the patriots, such as Štúr and others, to devote their work to improving the standard of living and culture among the lower classes; in particular to co-operative organisation and anti-alcoholism by which they sought to raise their people materially and culturally and to strengthen their national self-consciousness.

The efforts of the patriots, however, met with sulky opposition from the Magyars. To illustrate this we may mention the Tatrin-Association, which, though it only published books on cultural topics, was nevertheless not given official approval by the authorities (1844). The cultural review, *Slovenskie Pohľady*, edited by Hurban, was legalised only after several applications, and so on.

The Slovak political programme, hitherto concerned only with national problems, split therefore into two branches. One of them devoted itself to civilian problems, which were as much the concern of the Slovaks as of any other nation in Hungary, while the other was concerned with national problems exclusively—at that time limited to the very modest requirements of schooling and language. This bifurcation of the Slovak political campaign is evident from Štúr's suggestions for the draft programme intended for the last session of the Hungarian feudal Diet in 1847-1848, published in his own *Slovenskie Národné Noviny*. Štúr intended to forward this programme to Parliament in his capacity as Deputy of the Royal Chartered City of Zvolen.

## IV

The 1847-1848 Diet was the last of the feudal Diets held in Hungary. This was due more to the revolutionary events that swept the countries outside Hungary, than to the unrest inside the borders. If it had not been for the February Revolution in Paris and the subsequent events in other countries of Central Europe, especially in Vienna, the feudal character of the Hungarian Constitution would probably have remained unaltered. Undoubtedly a few changes would have been made, mainly in the matter of political rights, such as the extension of the franchise to sixteen towns, which would have meant about one-third of the total number of votes of the Counties. A further move towards expansion of rights might have occurred by allowing the educated classes and perhaps some of the villages which were not *urbarial* to be represented by elected deputies in the County Councils. So far as the equal distribution of state burdens was concerned, the privileged classes were expected to contribute to the County Funds (which, however, could have been carried out only on condition that the constitutional guarantees of those classes were enlarged), as well as to the County taxes. But in this matter the attitude of the Upper House was reserved. As for the paying by the nobility of military taxation, this had been already rejected by a two-thirds majority of votes in the Lower House, on the ground that the sort of feudal knight service laid upon the nobles had become, from the military point of view, quite worthless.

The question of civilian equality before the law was never presented to the Diet prior to the revolution. Nothing notable was done in the pre-revolutionary Diet to bring about the most important of all reforms, viz. the abolition of *urbarium*, on which, in the light of Štúr's programme, depended the fate of everything else. The Bill by which the serfs obtained the right to free themselves and their land from the landlords was accepted by the Lower House, but the Upper House remained reluctant to pass it. Even had it been passed, it would have been of no great value, since the land-tilling peasants' position could not have been materially improved without the founding of the State Credit Bank by the help of whose funds the lands were to be redeemed. Indeed very few village communities, and hardly any individuals, were able to pay the *urbarium* redemption dues of twenty times the annual value of the lands without the help of State credits. The fact that this Land Reform Bill excluded all peasants working under wage contracts or paying compensatory services to the landlord, as well as those

tilling isolated fringes of land or vineyards, from the benefits thus to be won, reduced the number of peasants profiting from this mixed Land Reform Bill to something just over half of their total number.

At this stage, the Diet reached an agreement only on the question of nationalities. It tried to fortify the supremacy of the Magyar language in the whole of public life, including those public departments (Supreme Royal Court Offices, etc.) where former Sessions, in particular the 1843-1844 Session, had not been successful. What is more, it insisted on the conception of the Hungarian nation as a homogeneous national whole. Kossuth denied the status of *nation* even to the Croats, whose possible opposition to the statement he ridiculed by calling it a mere trifle, to be disposed of at breakfast ; and the only truly radical attitude exhibited by the Lower House was on purely constitutional matters. A queer contradiction represents best the nature of these efforts : the Radicals in the Lower House clamoured for a responsible Parliamentary Government on a feudal basis !

The radicalism of the Opposition was rising, after the abortive attempt of the Government to isolate Kossuth by gaining the sympathies of the moderate fractions of the Opposition. This they hoped to achieve by carrying out a few suggested reforms, including municipal ones, release from *Urbarium* and a reform of taxation. Kossuth's clamour for constitutional rights also for the Austrian and Italian provinces, but only to the same extent as those granted by the Hungarian Constitution, was a well-contrived counter-blow.

The Spring events and especially the March Revolution in Vienna, which was the immediate occasion of the course of events in Hungary, stimulated first of all the constitutional and political radicalism of the Hungarian Diet. This body succeeded, by shrewd political moves against Vienna and in Vienna itself, and with the able assistance of the new Hungarian Palatine who was sensitive to the various promptings of the radical Opposition, in securing both an independent Hungarian cabinet for home affairs and full power for the Palatine, who would act as Viceroy, without, however, giving sufficient consideration to the unity of the Empire inherent in the Act of Pragmatic Sanction. The Vienna Government, of course, found itself in a difficult position owing to the Monarch's inability to cope with the situation.

The fairly resolute attitude of the Opposition in the other questions was largely due to their fear of the non-noble elements and other dissatisfied groups, which they thought the Court would try to win over, thereby upsetting the proportion of forces. This



had already once happened in 1790 in similar circumstances. To this was added the fear that the Russian Court might make use of possible subsequent troubles. The resolution by which the peasants were given freedom, i.e. the most important point of the Reform Bill, was passed under the compelling urge of peasant riots which a panic-stricken Assembly believed to be expanding all over the country and even menacing the capital. Parliament proclaimed the abolition of urbarial duties, for which the nobility was to be compensated from State funds. After the panic abated the Parliament tried to contrive restrictions to these general grants, which were not quite without success. Even so the peasants working on wage-contracts were not included in the grant of emancipation. Despite all these revolutionary achievements the Diet did its best to ensure the maintenance of political power in the hands of the landed nobility.

The payment of compensation by the state for the loss of urbarial dues put the nobility in an advantageous position. The political strength of the nobility was also guaranteed by preserving their electoral rights while simultaneously limiting their extension to the non-noble classes by a severe property qualification. The composition of the first Hungarian Parliament in 1848, elected according to the reformed franchise, is good proof of the above supposition. Deputies of non-noble origin were in a flagrant minority, nothing but window-dressing. By putting off the date of general taxation of the nobility until November, the privileged classes were able to draw new profits, although universal taxation, on a basis of equality, had been already ordained by the Parliament. The liberty of the Press suffered grave infringements both by restrictions and regulations provided by the Law and by exacting highly extortionate "caution-money" from political journals, to be paid before the editor was allowed to run the paper. This guarantee amounted to 10,000 florins; the original suggestion was 20,000. Consequently the only real reform which could be carried through was the Bill proclaiming equality of all before the Law.

On the question of nationality the Parliament at this stage proved to be conciliatory only to the Croats who, in addition to having previously enjoyed an altogether more liberal position in the Hungarian community of nations, were greatly reinforced by the counteraction of the Court, which thought to balance Magyar opposition by nominating Jelačić as Croatian Vice-Regent (Bán). This was devised to satisfy Croat national aspirations. Such a sequence of

political events induced Parliament to be more careful in its proceedings. The Croat suggestions, according to which they were to be put on an equal political footing with the Magyars, were nevertheless rejected. As far as other nations were concerned Parliament remained obdurate. It enacted laws by which the passive right to vote was made conditional on knowledge of the official language, i.e. Magyar, and permitted only Magyar as the official medium at meetings of the County Committees—the new institutions in charge of county administration, to which also non-noblemen could be electors.

Through Kossuth the Magyars refused the aspirations of the Serbs, who declared that they were a nation independent of the other nations of Hungary. At a memorable meeting Kossuth exclaimed “Let the sword decide between us.” He threatened to arrest the notary of a Slovak village (Hybe), Klein, who dared to present a modest petition for the use of Slovak at a Committee meeting of the Liptov County.

## V

Although the Austrian Empire had its origin in the obstinate politics of the Habsburgs, it did not discard, right at the outset, the need for defending the smaller nations which co-operated in its formation. Such help was needed at first against the Turkish invasion; and then, after the expulsion of the Turks from Central Europe, as a safeguard against the growing power of Russia, and finally against the rising German Empire. The original struggle of the Monarch (who aimed at absolute power) with the powerful Estates of the various nations under his jurisdiction, was transformed in the course of the early 19th century into a nationalist struggle among the different nations of the Empire, which based their claims on traditional rights and surviving national institutions, but on the other hand tried to reshape these institutions where they found them conflicting with their aims.

The years 1848-1849 in the Austrian Empire meant both a political and national crisis. The strongest unifying link, the Absolutism of the Monarch and Court, was practically overthrown, and the far-flung bureaucracy with all its ramifications suffered severe blows. This led inevitably to the subject nations trying to institute new organisations and new national institutions, which often threatened the very existence of the Monarchy. It is interesting to note that the two ruling nations, the Austro-Germans and Magyars, which had hitherto shared the power, were least concerned with the Monarchy's preservation, while on the other hand, the

Slavonic nations (undoubtedly on account of their political weakness) continued to look upon it as their safeguard, although they insisted on its radical reconstruction. Those nations which had once known political freedom, such as the Czechs, the Poles and the Croats, worked for its restoration, more or less on the Magyar model, although with more regard to the interests of the Monarchy ; whereas the other nations, which had not reached the same standard of development, tried to arrive at a Constitution based on Public Law. The prevailing slogan of those days was to rebuild the Empire on the basis of national equality for all subject nations, and thus form a confederation of independent nations. This ideal had been heralded even by some Austrian papers, including semi-official ones, although undoubtedly with a suspicion of High-German programme in the background.

The official Slovak programme at the beginning of the Spring was very moderate. It was centred mainly on the problem of nationality. The combined civic-nationalistic programme, of which the first half seemed to have gained its objective by the newly issued legislation, called for completion only in the second direction—that of nationality. This issue was raised by the accredited Slovak agents before the closing of Parliament, but could not be brought in for lack of time. Kollár's rather radical proposal, in which he demanded not only full acknowledgement of the Slovaks as an autonomous nation, but also a Slovak Member in the Cabinet, found expression only in a private letter. The moderate petitions put forward by the Committee of Liptov County on 28 March had to be withdrawn under Government pressure, although their wording was very moderate. They demanded only participation of the people in the County Assembly and the admission of Slovak into the schools, Courts of Justice and County administration. They also suggested the fulfilment of popular representation and the securing of Slovak national rights in public and social intercourse, and they expected the fulfilment of these hopes from the new Ministry and the Parliament. The Liptov petition set an example for the whole Slovak movement in the Spring of 1848, even after its official withdrawal. The detailed list of items to be put forward and the procedure to be taken were set out at a meeting held in Hurban's house in Hlboké on 19 March, and on 31 March by Štúr in his leading article in the *Slovenskie Národné Noviny*. Full instructions were given in Hurban's leaflet *Bratna Slováci* at the beginning of April, in which the writer appealed to the whole nation to endorse the Liptov petition as a model for all. For the signing of the petition

he suggested a meeting of a County Action Committee to which the different communities would nominate their delegates. The culmination of this movement was to be a general meeting of all Action Committees.

The designed undertaking, nevertheless, did not go through. Its failure was due partly to the tardy distribution of the leaflet and partly to the reluctant attitude of the County and local authorities, who saw in the Government's offer to secure the withdrawal of the Liptov appeal both an official hint as to the course they should take, and more or less official instructions as to their behaviour. Attempts to put through such an appeal in the form of a petition addressed to various County Councils were frustrated, and the Orava petition of 24 April of the same year, circulating among the inhabitants of that County, suffered at the hands of the County authorities. The only petition officially accepted by the authorities at that time, was that handed in by the town of Brezno. The most important one was that formulated at a people's assembly, and endorsed by the surrounding country, at Brezová, on 28 April. The endorsement action, though closely linked up with this petition was nevertheless smothered by the authorities at the outset. The envoys of the towns of Vrbovce and Hlboké, who were entrusted with forwarding the petition to the County Council, were arrested. The Government took separate action to quell disturbances in the mining district of Banská Štiavnica, where a Government Commissioner was sent with military assistance to take action against the miners, whose national dissatisfaction was closely associated with their social unrest. Similar action had been taken by the Government to quell economic, urbarial and anti-semitic riots in the Counties of Nitra and Presburg. Although these riots, directed mainly against urbarial abuses and Jewish exploitation, had nothing in common with the Slovak national movement (the leaders of the movement were averse to committing violence), and although the leaders pointed out the abuses and aimed at an amicable agreement by Constitutional means, the opponents of the national movement took advantage of the riots to discredit that movement and threatened recourse to the same use of armed force for its suppression as they had used for quelling the riots. Hence the failure of the petition was the natural consequence of the unfavourable conditions in which it had come into being. The leaders of the national movement were compelled to find other means, if they wished to submit the nation's requirements to the Parliament, and to interest the general public in them.

After the unsuccessful meeting of the regional delegates a general meeting of the leaders of the national movement was suggested by the Gemur County patriots, Francisci and Daxner, to be held in Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš on 10 May. This general meeting accepted the petition which is known under the name of *Žjadosť Slovenského Národa* which, after its approval at a private meeting of the delegates (this covert procedure was forced on them by the authorities, who declined to permit a public meeting), was to be endorsed, both privately and at public meetings, before forwarding to the Ministry.

This movement also was doomed to failure on account of increasing Hungarian measures of terror which followed the meeting as soon as it became known. Martial Law was proclaimed in the Slovak Counties and several of the patriots were put under arrest. The Government tried to enforce these measures by special commissioners who were sent to the counties where disloyalty was suspected.

In spite of its numerous failures this petition, the *Žjadosť Slovenského Národa*, marks the culminating point of the Slovak national movement in the years 1848-1849, and its impact kept reverberating during the subsequent political and military campaign, 1848-1849.

The Mikuláš petitions are noteworthy for two reasons. Firstly, for their clear declaration of Slovak national rights, and secondly for their renewed interest in economic and social problems. The Slovak political programme returned, at this stage, to its former bipolar character which had been abandoned under the impact of the spring events.

It was realised early on that the "achievements of the revolution" were from the point of view of the Slovak nation not so revolutionary; and this became even clearer as the people began to enjoy their "liberty." Instead of the right to vote, made conditional according to the recent Act of Parliament on property qualification, the Slovaks required general franchise rights on the basis of age—twenty for active rights, twenty-four for passive—including, as was natural at that time, sex discrimination. They further demanded freedom of the press, i.e. the abolition of restrictive measures and of caution-money, as well as freedom of assembly, "because," says a contemporary writer, "we must with regret complain that the liberty recently granted by the Constitution is being so much suppressed by constant menaces, oppression and violation that any public speech delivered under God's heavenly firmament tends to be regarded as rebellion."

On the social side they demanded an extension of the liberties granted to the urban peasants, together with the removal of various economic abuses relating to forests, pastures, meadows, land-fringes, etc. The prevailing franchise law excluded, and the above-mentioned abuses oppressed most of the supporters of the national movement. For this very reason the Slovaks interested themselves so keenly in the national programme, which was far ahead of the contemporary Hungarian programmes in that suggestions with regard to politics and economics were made only by a few isolated members of the Hungarian camp.

The Mikuláš petition was most advanced in the matter of nationality. It not only insisted on an extension of Slovak rights, but also formulated these so as to include all non-Magyar nationalities. Thus an attempt was made to solve the national question in the whole country. In their view Hungary ought to be transformed into a confederation of autonomous nations. Each of these should have its own National Assembly to deal with all matters of national and provincial administration. But apart from these bodies, representing the several national units in their ethnic boundaries, they wanted a federal Parliament of deputies from all the National Assemblies, which would be responsible for the affairs of the whole Confederation.

The deputies of each nation would speak in their mother-tongue and act according to instructions received from their own assemblies. In case of disloyalty or sedition, they would be subject to public prosecution. The petition also demanded the establishment of reciprocal chairs in Slovak and Magyar higher and secondary schools—of Slovak in Magyar schools and vice versa, in order to promote mutual understanding and friendship. The agenda of city and county offices were to be dealt with in the language of the area administered, and every nation would have the right to fly its own flag. The National Guards would be commanded by their own officers, and orders would be given in the speech of the country concerned. Each nation was to have its own school system—from the primary to the university, and teaching in its own tongue. Responsible offices would not be given to renegades, and disloyalty to one's nation would be placed on the same footing as high treason.

These modest requirements—the introduction of Slovak into schools and into municipal and regional offices—grew in the short space of two weeks from demands of merely local significance into a programme of national and political reorganisation for the whole country. This sudden turn of things is so surprising that it calls

for elucidation. The clue is to be sought in the speedy revival of All-Slav hopes, based in this case on some of the achievements of All-Slav reciprocity.

## VI

The national sentiments of the Slovaks have always been rooted in a feeling of Slav community. The pre-revolutionary years compelled them to damp down these sentiments. Nevertheless they reverted to the idea of Slav solidarity as soon as the new age, proclaiming Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, permitted. The Mikuláš petition built on the same foundation as the abortive one of 1840. The facts that explain such a development are inherent in part in the general trend toward nationalism, federalism and national equality of the Spring of 1848, but to a lesser extent in the circular issued by the French Foreign Minister, Lamartine, on 2 March. This referred to the possibility of restitution of the rights of suppressed nations, and the Slovaks—though mistakenly—considered it to affect them too. The extension of Slovak political demands found its greatest stimulus, however, in the contacts established in the Spring of 1848 with other Slav groups in Vienna and in Prague.

Vienna, as the capital, became in the Spring of 1848 also a meeting point of all national-political groups. This led to numerous conferences of national groups or of their representatives. Here the Slovaks had already established contacts, in particular with Czechs and Moravians. The result was the formation of a Slavonic Committee, the aim of which was to maintain relations with other Slavonic nations by issuing circulars or other written communications. In it the Slovaks were represented by Štúr, who was forced to quit Bratislava for fear of Magyar prosecution even before the dissolution of Parliament. The other delegate was Hurban, who was stationed in Vienna at that time. Among the numerous suggestions drafted, the most interesting was the common petition handed over to the Monarch by the representatives of all Slavonic nations in the Empire, denouncing annexation to Germany. The unity of Slavonic nations, and in particular, the more concrete and, at that time, only realisable plan of the establishment of a Slavonic confederacy in Austria, were the most notable features of these negotiations.

In such circumstances the Slavs, particularly those living in Austria, considered the maintenance of the Empire as the only way to balance the aspirations of the Germans and their Greater Germany programme on one hand, and at the same time to check Magyar

aggression. They had also in mind the threat of Russian absolutism. Naturally such an Empire, meant to be the bastion of their liberty, was conceived on a basis of absolute national equality. The idea of the Austro-Slav programme found its most determined supporters among the Czechs, who had gained large liberties by a recent Cabinet Decree of 8 April, ensuring the realisation of their national aspirations, in that it granted them their own Ministry and a Parliament for Bohemia. Even the other Slavonic nations, although their secret aspirations extended beyond those limits, regarded the Empire as providing a firm safeguard for their national existence. The idea of the Empire found least support with the Poles, who made no secret of their desire to remain inside only as long as it provided a backing against Russia, but otherwise desired the restoration of an independent Poland. The Slovaks, already at that stage convinced that a conflict with the Magyars was inevitable, were promised the support of all the other Slavonic nations.

The most important stages in the development of Slovak policy were Štúr's conferences with the representatives of the Czechs in Prague, where he lived for the last ten days of April. The fact that Hurban's manifesto, which had been drafted in Vienna, is essentially still in a line with the Liptov petition, and that the growth of the Slovak political programme became evident only in Mikuláš after the return of Štúr from Prague, is sufficient testimony of the importance of the above-mentioned conference. In Prague the Czechs and Slovaks were reconciled after the recent breach caused by Slovaks who aimed at a literary and national autonomy; on lines suggested by Štúr, who sacrificed language unity for the sake of spiritual unity. During Štúr's stay in Prague, and mainly at his instigation, the *Slovenská Lipa* was founded, the aim of which was to facilitate Slavonic co-operation and publicise the idea of Slavonic unity. The culmination of these joint activities was the Slavonic Congress, which was to be held in Prague from 31 May, in the preparation of which Štúr took a very active part.

Slovak political concepts were, from the beginning of the Spring national movements, centred on the Slavonic ideal. They thought of including the Russians too, if they could be released from the yoke of Tsarist absolutism. The confederation of the Slavonic groups in Austria was considered only a preliminary and transitional stage. It is possible to understand the full significance of the Mikuláš petition only against this background. The postulate of Slovak independent national existence—with its own Congress, to which at the Slavonic Congress a standing National Committee was



added as its executive, was meant to make it possible for Slovaks to be represented both at home and abroad, particularly in Slavonic countries. It is a matter of particular interest, and to a great extent characteristic of the movement, that the Slovaks did not demand an independent administration they wanted to nationalise only the existing County administration, and asked for a purely national institution more or less on the lines of the Serb National Congress.

Under the more realistic influence of the Czechs the Slovaks adopted the Austro-Slav programme in their proceedings both in the pre-Congress preparatory activities and during the Congress. They were, nevertheless, the first to abandon it and revert to their original project of an All-Slav programme. This was manifest in the early days of the Congress, before Libelt's suggestion, involving a considerable readjustment of the main aims of the Congress and adapting it to the above-mentioned programme, was agreed on. Already in those days Štúr was laying more stress on the Slav than on the Austrian component in the Austro-Slav programme. "It is not Austria we ought to preserve, but Slavonic solidarity" —was his reply to the adherents of Austria. Austria ought to be catered for only as long as it helps to preserve the Slavs.

In their relationship with the Magyars the Slovaks at the Congress were in line with the Mikuláš petition. They did not want a rupture with Hungary. Under the impact of the Yugoslavs, who had attained almost complete independence and were gradually approaching open conflict with the Magyars, the Slovaks intended to break away only from the Magyar Ministry and renounce obedience to it. This decision was to be implemented only at the proper moment, to match the move the Yugoslavs were in progress of making.

The reason for such caution was not only the general untimeliness of such an enterprise, the Slovaks having no trained military forces to compare with the Yugoslav frontier guards, but also the fact that the majority of Slovak patriots, in spite of being prepared to defend their national rights (if necessary even in battle), did not consider it advisable to effect a complete break with Hungary. It was believed, both at home and abroad, that there was still a possibility of amicable reconciliation with the Magyars, and the Slovaks had both hopes and faith in the support of the Slavonic Congress and in a possible intervention by the Poles. The majority of the latter, mainly on account of their anti-Austrian attitude, sympathised with the Magyars and vouched for a reconciliatory solution of the national question in Hungary. In the meantime,

irrespective of the above, preparatory measures were being taken in Prague to fight the Magyars, should attempts at a reconciliation prove abortive. The outbreak of the Whitsun disturbances and the disbanding of the Slavonic Congress frustrated all hopes in both directions.

The Magyars and Germans took a hostile attitude to the proceedings of the Slavonic Congress from the very beginning. The possibility of a unified front and of co-ordinated activity by all Slavs, or even of the Slav groups in Austria, filled them with alarm. That is why both parties attempted to effect a split in the ranks. The Magyars were mainly concerned with the Poles. In accordance with their policy they acted on behalf of the Poles in Vienna on 15 April, demanding that the Government should concede the Poles at least equal liberties to those of the Czechs, granted in the Cabinet Decree of 8 April. On the other hand the Magyars were inclined to sacrifice the Poles, if Austria would break with the Croatian Vice-Regent. The Frankfort Parliament planted a bait for both Czechs and Poles in the form of a National Equality Programme, with a view to winning the former for the cause of the Empire while reconciling the latter on a basis of national concessions. When this move failed, both hostile parties tried to proscribe the Slavonic Congress as an All-Slav movement endangering the other nations and their culture. The Prague disturbances were interpreted as the effect of an All-Slav conspiracy directed mainly against the authority of the Austrian Empire.

We have now sufficient historical evidence to prove that there was no such conspiracy. The Prague disturbances were the result of the clash of the more progressive elements with the reaction, which was precipitated by an incident which took place in front of the Military Headquarters. These disturbances had, nevertheless, no direct connection with the Slavonic Congress, except perhaps for the fact that the general enthusiasm of such a Congress, which was to a certain extent a manifesto of Slavonic solidarity, might have given a more radical zest to the agents of disturbance. There is even less reason to presuppose any preparations for a conspiracy in Slovakia, which never had any conspiratorial centres or organisations. The few cultural and national centres were declared conspiratorial only by Magyar nationalist intolerance. The only really revolutionary movements in Slovakia were linked with preparations of a quite different kind, namely, the raising of support among the nobility for a projected upheaval in Galicia at the instigation of the Poles.

There is therefore no reason to believe that a sudden break would have occurred, or a shift in the relations with the Austrian Empire in Slavonic politics, as a result of the breaking down of the Congress. We have seen that Slav policy was mainly favourable to the Empire, both before and after the Congress. After its failure in Prague, that policy was forced to stress more the Austrian than the Slavonic component—hitherto it had been the other way round. The failure of Slav policy in Prague meant a great blow for Slav and an even greater one for Slovak hopes; some contemporaries likened the disaster in Prague to that of the battle of the White Mountain in 1620. The Germans and Magyars, on the other hand, were relieved of their fears of Slavonic co-operation, which naturally bore immediate results in the further development of their national politics. Slovak hopes, as far as they had reposed in the Czechs and Prague, vanished. Only one last hope remained, namely, the Croats and their Vice-Regent, Jelačić, who still flew the flag of resistance against the Magyars. That is why the eyes of the Slovak patriots, such as Štúr and Hurban, were directed to Zagreb, while Hodža remained for a time in Prague amid the débris of the Congress. Yet even he left Prague for Vienna at the opening of the Reichstag to carry on further work in defence of Slovak ideals.

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*(To be concluded)*

# THE SOCIAL VISAGE OF POLAND IN 1848

THE Polish revolution of 1848 was composite in character, just as, in its origin, its course, and its consequences, the European revolution was composite. What happened in that memorable year was (i) an imitation of the events in Western Europe, in particular of the strivings of the townsmen after political rights; (ii) yet another effort to recover independence, profiting from the temporary weakness of two of the partitioning Powers, Prussia and Austria; (iii) that year became for the Poles, as for all the peoples of Central Europe, a moment of crystallisation of national feelings, in sharp opposition to other nationalities—the Germans in Poznań and the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. Finally, quite apart from these political and national aspects, “the Spring of the Nations” had also its social countenance: it was a great shock for all the social strata, an important step in their internal development. It is with this last feature of the whole phenomenon, something less known to Anglo-Saxon readers, that the present paper is concerned.

## I

Among the lands of the older Commonwealth, inhabited for the most part by Polish-speaking elements, the Congress Kingdom (under Russian rule) numbered at the middle of the 19th century 4,900,000 souls, the Austrian-controlled province of Galicia 5,000,000, and the two Prussian-ruled provinces of Poznań and West Prussia 2,300,000. One should add as well Upper, i.e. Prussian Silesia with about 1,000,000 inhabitants; but the quite different structure of this province would mark it out for special treatment.

Over the whole area two social strata distinguished themselves clearly from the rest of society—the landed gentry and the peasants. The former had emerged as a separate group out of the older nobility at the end of the 18th century. At that time the political rights belonging to all the “well-born” had disappeared with the collapse of the state: and the partitioning Powers, levelling out Polish conditions with those obtaining in Russia, Prussia and Austria, had conceded special rights to the owners of landed estates. Of these there were at the middle of the century between 5,000 and 6,000 in the Kingdom, about 4,000 in Galicia and some 1,500 in Poznań.

Apart from the last-named, where one-fourth of the landowners were Germans, virtually all of this group were Poles. During the preceding generation, particularly in the Kingdom, there had forced an entrance into its ranks a small number of non-nobles—baptised Jews or wealthy burghers. The differences of wealth inside the group were substantial, especially in the eastern regions; but even there one found a steady gradation from the owners of single villages to the lords over great *latifundia*. The antagonisms of interest between these magnates and the modest “landed citizens” did not of themselves create a class distinction.

The peasants represented the most numerous and also the most neglected part of the nation. Their lot had followed its own course in each of the “partitions.” The least striking changes had come during a century in Galicia, where the Austrian government had indeed taken the peasants under its protection in the face of undue exploitation by the landowners, but had maintained serfdom. The peasants were in control of 70 per cent. of the tilled land, but they had to do from two to three days per week of *corvées* for their landlords. The number of adult landless of both sexes in this province did not exceed 70,000.

Quite different was the lot of the peasants in Poznań. Here the Prussian government had undertaken in 1823 the introduction of peasant ownership. The better-placed farmers, to the number of 25,000, got possession of their land, though they were bound still to pay rent in cash to their one-time landlords. There remained, however, a much more numerous body of peasants with dwarf holdings or with no land at all, who were indeed liberated from serfdom but were still dependent on the lords of the manors. Of all Polish regions, Poznań stood highest in regard to its general economy. The majority of the landowners went over from a “natural” economy to that of money; and they were glad to be rid of the older serfdom, using on an ever-growing scale paid labour.

In the Congress Kingdom this same division of peasants was effected, into possessors and an agricultural proletariat, although by other paths. Thanks to Napoleon serfdom had disappeared in 1807, but the rulers of the Duchy of Warsaw did not concede to the liberated peasants any rights to land. Whoever did not wish to lose the acres his father had tilled, had to do the *corvées* as of old; and the more enterprising landlords began even to take land away from the peasants and incorporate it in their own estates, thus forcing the farmers down to the level of wage-earners. This path was taken chiefly by the owners of smaller properties; while

the great lords, who did not themselves work the land, got rid of serfdom in another way—by changing it into a system of rents. This was more convenient for them, and—naturally—for the peasants. Serfdom was disappearing gradually in the Kingdom, as a left-over from an older epoch, in spite of the fact that successive governments did not intervene nor did they take the peasants under their protection. By 1848 only 48 per cent. of the villagers were doing *corvées*, while 22 per cent. were paying rent, and 30 per cent. had become landless.

It is much more difficult to speak of the heterogeneous and liquid middle stratum than of the landed proprietors and the peasants. These smaller gentry, numerous in the older Poland, lived on their own farms but, though regarding themselves as the equals of the magnates, they had lost their significance thanks to the hostility of the partitioning Powers. Only in the north-eastern parts of the Kingdom did there survive about 150,000 of these "yeomen farmers," counting their families with them. Many more were to be found farther east, in Lithuania and Bielorrussia (the home-country of *Pan Tadeusz*): in some provinces they represented 9 per cent. of the population. In the main, however, they were turning to other professions. From their ranks were recruited in the first place the officials of the larger manors, who became more numerous with the advance of modernised husbandry—serving as managers, overseers, foresters and local officials. Some of them went through a middle stage of being renters of properties and in this way reached the level of landowning gentry. So too, the majority of the lower clergy came from the same yeomen-gentry elements.

In the cities of Poland, among the wealthier business class, the foreign element had always been fairly numerous, but it had become assimilated in a couple of generations. At the middle of the 19th century the urbanisation of the country was still in its infancy. Warsaw numbered 167,000 inhabitants, Lwów 70,000, Cracow and Poznań about 40,000 each, while Łódź—the future Manchester of Poland—had barely 19,000. The smaller towns were still half agricultural in character. A large percentage of the townsmen everywhere were Jews, whose numbers in the Kingdom were 523,000, in Galicia 330,000, in Poznań 80,000. In the two former areas the Jews did most of the business, while in Warsaw the big banks belonged either to them or to Christians of Jewish blood. Polish industry was still very modest. It included the mining and foundry plants of the Silesia-Dombrowa region in the south-west—owned mainly by Germans or by the governments, and the textile mills

in the Łódź area, also owned mostly by Germans and Jews, and only in part run by machinery. The first spinning of cotton had begun in Łódź in 1828, the first weaving by machines came in 1854. On the estates could be found refineries of spirits, sugar-beet factories and breweries; and a few magnates had begun as amateurs to establish various other factories, but mostly without success. The majority of the lesser burghers, concerned with arts and crafts, were Poles in spite of the fact that the guild tradition had come from Germany; and the apprentices and journeymen were the mainstay of the urban masses, along with the numerous servant class and the casual labourers. The factory proletariat in the Kingdom had certainly not as yet reached 50,000 souls, and in the other parts of Poland it was even smaller.

It remains for me now to mention the new, and steadily growing social group, known as the intelligentsia. This was recruited from the townsmen themselves, from outsiders, from the landowners and the lesser gentry. At the middle of the century the character of this group was different in each part of the country. In Poznań its tone was determined by the professions, in the Kingdom by the officials, in Cracow and Lwów by the universities and the law-courts. The Bohemian world of arts and letters was everywhere active. Not being strong, and having no government behind it, the intellectuals were dependent for their living on the possessing classes, above all on the landowners.

A peculiar feature of Poland's position after the disaster of 1831 was that the leaders of that time, the élite of the nation, had been living abroad ever since. The "Great Emigration," composed of people of every class, were living on the favour of foreigners. Cut off from earning their living and devoted almost wholly to politics, this group presents a typical intellectual *milieu*. Enjoying the freedom of speech and action that were denied at home, and collaborating with the progressive thought of the West, they worked out programmes for the reconstruction of Poland, and continued the fight for independence. By means of the written word, secretly smuggled into all three "partitions," as well as through their emissaries, the *émigrés* exerted on Poland the influence of a living ferment, and thus hastened on both social and intellectual evolution.

The influence of the *émigrés* followed two paths. The leader of the Conservative wing, Prince Adam Czartoryski, maintained contacts with the wealthy landowners. He kept encouraging them to legal activities in economic and cultural fields, for improving the

lot of the peasants and for assisting the growth of the urban population. He kept pointing out the need for peasant ownership of the land and for the preparation of an armed insurrection. The far more lively democrats of the Left found their way also to the manor houses, appealing to the younger nobility, on grounds of patriotism, to renounce their rights and hand over the land to their subjects: but they carried on their work above all among the lesser gentry and townsmen, showing them that precisely they were called to the leadership of a democratic Poland. The propaganda of the *émigrés* never reached the masses. it was regarded as risky and superfluous. Even the "reds" saw in the peasant a creature still unripe for political independence, thinking it enough to promise him the land, and he would then join the fight for freedom.

In the middle of the forties the relations of the various strata of Polish society to the partitioning Powers and to the cause of independence varied considerably. The high aristocracy was hostile to revolution. Threatened, if they took part in conspiracy, with the loss of their possessions, they now served the dynasties, now worked for Poland—but only on legal lines. The middle landed-gentry joined the rising in throngs in Poznań, where there was no fear of a social upheaval. A large percentage of the landowning class also took part in Galicia, out of hatred of the Austrian officialdom, which had taken the part of the peasants against them. Landowners also joined the conspiracy in Lithuania and in the Ukraine, knowing well that the Tsarist government was in any case pledged there to root out everything Polish. In the Kingdom on the other hand, where the government supported the economic interests of the nobility, and where secret activities involved the greatest risk, the landowners mostly kept clear of politics. The bigger financial circles of Warsaw were ultra-loyal to Russia: conversely the burghers of Poznań, forced into rivalry with the Germans, were patriotic—though holding to legal methods like the wealthier nobility. The higher clergy remained loyal in Catholic Austria, regarded Orthodox Russia with fear and suspicion, and maintained sharp opposition to Lutheran Prussia. The lower clergy followed for the most part the example of the manors, and precisely in Galicia were possessed most of all by patriotism for Poland.

The reactions of the Polish "third estate" to the national question were everywhere the same. Craftsmen, officials, the poorer intelligentsia of the professions, the artists and men of letters were to a man democrats and conspirators. On the other hand, the peasants lent an ear to Polish propaganda only in the districts where



serfdom had disappeared and social antagonisms had been moderated, notably in Poznań. In Galicia and the Kingdom, by contrast, social antagonisms took precedence over national. The more patriotic the landlord or the overseer, the greater the indifference of the oppressed peasant to any thought about his country. As for the Jews, they suffered most under Austria, and were best treated in the Prussian-ruled provinces. The wealthier Jews held with the Powers, while the masses remained in artificial isolation from Polish society—indifferent to its fate. The still tiny but progressive group of Jewish intellectuals was drawn to the Germans in Poznań and Lwów, but to the Poles in Cracow and Warsaw.

In Upper Silesia the situation was quite different. The national division here followed strictly religious and social lines. On the one side were the Polish Catholic rural population, shamelessly excluded from the land and thrust on to the level of a proletariat—to work in mine and foundry: people who for centuries had remained loyal to Polish customs but had been cut off all the time from Polish culture and political tradition. On the other were the aristocrats, industrialists and officials—German and Protestant, who governed as in a conquered colony. The masses resisted this foreign régime, which denied them even schools in their mother tongue. They objected to Germanisation even though it assured them of better social prospects. But these masses had no leaders, nor had they any support from without. Neither did they understand the independence ideal of a Poland of the gentry. The political development of Silesia was different from that of the rest of the country, similar rather to that of Bohemia, Serbia or the Ukraine. It began with the poorer intellectuals—teachers and clergy, who were rooted in the folk culture and of themselves found the way step by step to patriotism. It was they who in time became political leaders. In the forties this movement confined itself still to the publishing of readers, song-books and guides for farmers; or to the organising of parochial Temperance Brotherhoods to fight drunkenness, or finally to modest petitions for the right to use their mother tongue.

## II

Two years before the “Spring of the Nations” Poland experienced a shock which influenced decisively the nation’s behaviour during the general revolution. The impatient conspirators at home broke away from the control exercised by the *émigrés* and pushed

the country, all unprepared, into armed action. The rebel Manifesto proclaimed in Cracow on 22 February, 1846, called for war on the three Powers, for a levelling of the social classes, and for landownership for those who tilled the soil. In the spirit of St. Simon it even mooted the organisation of work and social insurance. The strength of the insurgents was not equal to these watchwords. In Poznań the treachery of one leader permitted the Prussians to make the needful arrests in time, and to paralyse the undertaking. In Galicia the peasants, urged on by Austrian officials, took up arms against the insurgents; and when they saw that the government approved, they threw themselves on the manors and in a few days had murdered or imprisoned the owners and their stewards in a third of the whole province, or else forced them to flee for their lives. The rising in Cracow broke down at the news of this massacre. As for the Congress Kingdom, almost nowhere was there even a sign of unrest.

The Galician massacre was a terrible blow to the conspirators. It took away their faith in the common people, on whom they had counted so much. It also called forth a violent reversal of the attitude of the gentry, of whom a large fraction had helped with the rising. In the first days after the disaster these people burned with wrath at Austria for daring to arm peasants against their landlords. On this background there appeared expressions of sympathy for Tsarist Russia, of which the most striking example was that of Wielopolski in his famous "Letter to Prince Metternich."<sup>1</sup> This sentiment soon passed, when it was seen that Austria had no intention of pursuing a radical social policy in Galicia. Already two months later the imperial army was using clubs to compel the peasants to resume their *corvées*. In a country stained with blood the Vienna government felt itself to be master; the more so as in the summer of 1846 influential Polish landowners made advances to it with a view to an understanding—as if anticipating the politics of the Cracow Conservatives of twenty years later!

The landowners of the Congress Kingdom washed their hands of insurrection even more zealously when Nicholas I, roused by the massacre in Galicia, began for the first time to interest himself in the lot of the Polish peasant. Here too they had the threat hanging over them of a stirring-up of the masses by government agents against them. In Poznań, on the other hand, there was no occasion for any such fears; and just for that reason the nobility maintained after 1846 its loyalty to the cause of independence.

<sup>1</sup> Cf the paper in No 66 of this *Review*, pp. 90 sqq.

Yet even here the failure of the movement sobered many leaders, and for a time gave the upper hand to those who wanted only legal opposition to Prussia.

Meanwhile the *émigrés* had drawn this conclusion from the massacre, that they should direct their propaganda for insurrection directly at the common people ; passing the gentry by, though bearing in mind the brotherhood of all the classes in the struggle with foreign foes. Attempts made in 1846 and 1847, however, to reconstruct the network of conspiracy bore little fruit. Those of democratic views who escaped disaster were afraid to go to the masses with the spoken word, not wishing to cause fresh trouble. The common people themselves, on the other hand, seem to have gained self-confidence and a sense of their own powers. They did, it is true, find themselves at sixes and sevens when the Austrian authorities restored serfdom. In the sequel the peasants had gained no advantage, the rest of society turned from them in horror, while the priests bade them from the pulpit do penance for their crimes. The countryside felt itself morally disarmed, the rest of the nation no less. Not knowing what the peasant thought no one dared to contemplate a fresh rising ; and just on this point there followed a break between the country and the Poles abroad.

This condition of affairs was bound to affect Polish capacity for action in the year 1848, when the general revolution opened up what seemed to be such vast opportunities. Polish patriots developed in that year unusually live activities *outside Poland*. In the country itself, on the other hand, revolution advanced only so far as it was permitted by what was going on in the respective partitioning empires. No part of Poland succeeded in creating a *fait accompli*, or in openly breaking with its ruling Power. In the Kingdom, under the control of a Russia untouched by any unrest, not a move was made. In Poznan the movement began when the news arrived of the *coup* in Berlin ; and it lasted seven weeks—until the moment when the Prussian king, backed by his generals, compelled the liberal cabinet to give up its anti-Russian and pro-Polish policy, begun in March. In Galicia the rising lasted longer, for the central authorities in Vienna fell into worse disorder than in Berlin. But even in Galicia everything was over on 2 November, i.e. at the first news of the conquest of Vienna by Windischgratz. Only in Poznan was there open conflict with the rulers : it lasted ten days and, as we shall see below, it ended not with a victory by the enemy but with the voluntary laying down of their arms by the insurgents.

## III

These events, though everywhere indecisive, nevertheless left a deep impression on all strata of society both in Poznań and Galicia. In the relation of all classes to the revolution one can distinguish (perhaps a bit over-simplified) three underlying attitudes :

(i) Those groups occupying a middle position between the land-owners, and the common people, i.e. the intelligentsia, the smaller business people, the lesser gentry and the minor officials on the estates, played a zealous part in the movement from beginning to end. In Poznań Libelt and Moraczewski, both of them scholars and publicists, took the lead, as did also the lawyer, Krauthofer. In Galicia two barristers, Smolka and Ziemiałkowski, did likewise. Street demonstrations in Poznań, Cracow and Lwów were started by the students, while the apprentices of the crafts' guilds formed the crowd. Freedom of the press, of assembly and of association opened the widest field for action to writers and orators, especially in Galicia. In the countryside it was the servant class from the manors, the foresters and the stewards, as well as the smaller farmers, who joined the insurgents or (in Galicia) the National Guard, first. Both here and in Poznań a most fruitful work was done by the clergy, to whom the major rôle was given (notably in the open country), since they had the legal right to preach. All these groups were unreservedly behind the movement, and they grieved over its collapse. On their lips democratic slogans were closely bound up with the fight for independence : the levelling of the classes was equally desired with the guarantee of Polish schools and a Polish civil service.

The greatest emphasis was here laid on the solidarity of the whole nation as a brotherhood, which in practice meant the acceptance of intelligentsia leadership by both the gentry and the peasants. What is more, everyone was talking of the Poland of pre-partition frontiers. But it is a remarkable thing that only a few of the democrats at home committed themselves to a struggle for Poland as a whole, the majority locking themselves up in the house of their own region, entering on negotiations with the progressive elements in Berlin or (still more) in Vienna, and trying to exercise an influence on the course of the revolution there. By the same token they dropped rather swiftly the active waging of war for Poland as a whole, which meant of course war with Russia. Right here is to be found the major divergence of views between the democrats at home and the

*émigrés* who, like Mierosławski in Poznań and Heltman in Lwów, tried in vain to turn the armed front against the Tsar.<sup>2</sup>

(ii) The attitude of the *possidentes*, i.e. of the landowners and of the higher business and industrial people who mostly followed their directive, was less uniform. For a time the great majority of the gentry took the side of the rising, and even the fraction that did not want to be committed at least maintained a show of support. The landlords joined the movement in view of the exceptionally promising chance of recovering independence, or at least national autonomy. They sought to gain control of the rising and to direct it, in order to keep it from turning against themselves. Carried away by the general enthusiasm, they renounced their family titles, rents and overlordship of the peasants—for the sake of their country, without however giving up in the least their fortunes or their leadership. Even more than the democrats, the gentry emphasised the cause of each "partition," and the need for negotiating with the Prussian and Austrian governments; fearing deep in their hearts the danger of a social war. This fundamentally common point of view revealed itself in various nuances depending on individual temperament or other circumstances. Alongside the landowners—outstanding people—like Lipski and Raczyński in Poznań or Smarzewski and Borkowski in Galicia, who adopted sincerely the "red" programme, there were not lacking others who from the outset only pretended to be zealous revolutionaries. Their tactics in the long-run were seen to be effective: the gentry secured a prevailing influence over the groups that directed the movement—the National Committee in Poznań and the National Council in Lwów.

The further unfolding of events brought with it, nevertheless, a gradual withdrawal of the nobles from their revolutionary position. For one thing the movement was breaking down all over Europe. There could be no thought of a restored Poland, and a high-and-mighty attitude might entail the loss of even the modest gains that had been won in March. For another, collaboration with the democrats threatened the landowners with further, serious, material losses. In Poznań the National Committee had promised three acres of

<sup>2</sup> One word about the Jews. In Poznań the majority held with the Germans, to whom they inclined up to this time. In Galicia the Jews supported for the time being the Poles in their struggle with the Metternichian system. Having secured in Vienna the promise of annulment of the discriminatory laws against them, they then for the most part withdrew from the Polish ranks. The masses maintained a passive attitude, nowhere taking sides against the Poles. Individual Jewish leaders, like Rabbi Meissels in Cracow, collaborated with the Polish democrats to the end.

land to every peasant who took up arms ; and in Galicia the Left was bidding the gentry renounce all compensation for the losses they would sustain with the abolition of serfdom. One further point : the popular movement was growing, and was getting more independent, so that the fear was at hand of its simply turning against the nobility. In these circumstances the " moderate " camp of the gentry began to consider means of checking the current. In Galicia the early autumn saw a small group of the aristocrats organise a Conservative Party, ready to take the part of the Court against the revolution in Vienna, following in this the example set by the Czechs and the Croats.<sup>3</sup> This fraction was to be joined in time by more and more of the landowners. As for Berlin, we lack the data about agreements between the Polish gentry and the government. The Poznanian landowners did not withdraw from their anti-Prussian stand, but they established the principle of refraining from armed action and conspiracy, in favour of legal political action. In keeping with the swifter collapse of the rising here, the reversal of front by the gentry was more quickly effected, and in more drastic fashion, than in Galicia. Right after the victory at Miłosław on 30 April the majority of the gentlemen-officers scattered to their homes of their own accord, with the result that the slender Polish forces were soon dispersed.

(iii) And what of the relations of the rural masses to the revolution ? On the face of things one cannot grasp in a single picture the two contradictory phenomena of peasant behaviour in Poznań and in Galicia in 1848. In the former the majority stood with the movement, went gladly to their rendezvous and fought longer and more gallantly than their leaders with coats-of-arms. In Galicia the common people held themselves mistrustful, if not openly hostile towards the rising, generally declaring their fidelity to the emperor. This difference is easily explained. In Poznań there was no serfdom, and there had been no massacre. The Germans had won the dislike of the peasants by their tiresome administration, carried on in a foreign tongue. The rest was achieved by the patriotic preaching of the clergy, by the promise of land, and, finally, by the brutalities of the Prussian troops towards the villagers. In Galicia, conversely, the gulf between the manor and the village had got deeper since 1846 ; the peasant had learned for two generations to see in the Austrian official a protector ; and the great deed of the Polish democrats in abolishing serfdom exploded in the air, since

<sup>3</sup> On this see the paper by Professor Rapant on pp 67 sqq. of this number of the *Review*

the *Statthalter*, Count Stadion, had got there first and himself announced this reform in the emperor's name.

Undoubtedly we should not be hindered by these differences from seeing the inner similarities between the two peasant groups. Both in Poznań and in Galicia the majority remained passive at the start. Both here and there the readiness to take part mounted gradually: in both regions the masses were beginning to liberate themselves from the patronage of their earlier protectors. In Poznań in the first days of the rising the landowners drew after them only their hired men and the manor servants, forming their military units from these. In turn there came volunteers to the number of nearly a score of thousands, chiefly landless or dwarf-holders, while the rent-paying farmers showed more reserve. The majority of the country people took up arms only at the middle of April, i.e. when the possessing classes were beginning to withdraw. The attitude of these scythesmen was by no means identical with the principles of the leaders, even those of the democratic wing. The rising had begun, fundamentally, with the slogan of brotherhood with the Germans; yet the peasant from start to finish was anti-German in sentiment. Both the Committee and Mierosławski strove almost throughout to limit the number of peasants under arms; and the scythesmen mutinied when their leaders wanted to send them home. After Miłosław the officers went home, but the peasants wanted to fight though they had no one to lead them. Religious and patriotic feelings were linked with the slogan "the land for the insurgents!" Every day the peasant became more and more an independent political force.

In Galicia, in spite of seemingly striking differences, we have to do with a not dissimilar situation. The victory of the revolution surprised the peasants at the outset. They saw in it a new attack on their own liberties. But they soon discovered that opportunity was knocking at the door. The two contending parties—the Austrian government and the Polish patriots—were outbidding one another in overtures to the masses, trying to win them, showing them beneficence. In this way Galicia got the abolition of serfdom five months before the rest of Austria. In such a situation the peasants took up a by no means stupid position, from their own point of view. It was in a word: wait and see! They refrained from violence, took from both sides what was offered them, did not show hostility either to the government or the insurgents, but at the same time did not commit themselves. After the abolition of serfdom they went to work for the most part willingly on the estates,

but saw to it that they were well paid. Trusting no stranger, they had no leaders of their own, so it is not surprising that they made political blunders. When the elections to the Austrian parliament came on they refrained from voting, through prejudice and fear of signing the election lists. On the other hand, wherever the peasant decided to vote he did not elect a single German official,<sup>4</sup> or a landowner or an intellectual—but only a peasant, or by turn a priest. It is indeed the case that these peasant deputies, not knowing any German, played a rather sorry part in the *Reichsrath*, voting on political issues mostly on the side of reaction. But in economic questions, where their own interests were at stake, they knew how to oppose the government. They voted against compensation for the landowners when serfdom was abolished, though the cabinet made the issue a vote of confidence. In the autumn of 1848 it became more and more obvious that the Galician peasant, though illiterate, ignorant and uncultured, would not be a passive tool in the hands of any of the contending parties. Both the Poles and the Vienna government had to reckon with him as an independent factor in their skirmishing.

#### IV

The attitude, thus set forth, of the several social strata in Poland was not the cause of the defeat of 1848, but it did affect the circumstances of that defeat. The fate of the Polish rising was decided not in Poland but in Berlin and Vienna. It is hardly likely that the Poles alone could have turned the course of history, even though their nation was united and ready to fight to the death. What interests us is the *manner* in which they last out. As we have seen, the possessing classes were the first to give up the struggle, which was likely to turn into a social war, waged by the common people. But the democrats also withdrew, declining to lead the latter against the gentry. They stood by the myth of national solidarity, and trembled at the thought of another massacre. In the face of mounting reaction they now found themselves isolated. It was the issue of the villages and their future that disarmed the Polish nation in 1848. True, a hopeless struggle was thus spared to all, and the horrors of defeat were made less grim.

The course of events in Silesia demands special treatment. The risings in Berlin and Vienna rocked the masses of that province also. The Silesian movement was both social and national, for the peasants

<sup>4</sup> The one exception was Count Stadion himself, who won his election solely with the help of the Uniate clergy



rose *en masse* against the German lords of the manors, destroyed the homesteads and plundered the forests. Hunger riots broke out in the mining region. But at the same time the communes began everywhere to demand the introduction of Polish in the schools and local offices. A handful of educated men of folk origin (like Father Szafranek and the school-teacher Józef Łompa in Prussian Silesia, and the journalists Stalmach and Cienciala in the Duchy of Teschen), tried to direct the movement, and they were helped by a few progressive Poles from near-by Cracow. The first Polish newspapers and clubs made their appearance, and the elections to the Prussian *Landtag* took a similar course to those in Galicia: the peasants voted either for peasants or for clergymen. But the movement grew slowly, and only in the autumn when the constitutional crisis was on in Berlin did it assume serious anti-government forms. The German burghers then capitulated to the government under fear of a social upheaval, and the whole enterprise collapsed in Silesia also. The newspapers and clubs were shut down, yet a victory had been won on two fronts: the Diet put an end to the last traces of feudal obligations, and it permitted the introduction of Polish into the common schools. With this the national aspirations of the Silesians were quieted for a generation, and their thoughts of secession dissipated. On the other hand the process of germanisation was also slowed down, and the seeds were planted of the elemental Polish revival that was to come later on.

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It remains only to sum up the consequences of the year 1848 for the internal alignment of forces in Poland. We have already noted the tendency to look at the issue in terms of the part rather than the whole. In this connection we have to note, during the succeeding decade, a weakening of conspiracy and a return to legal methods of agitation, even by the Left. The period of overwhelming influence on the homeland from the side of the *émigrés* is ended, and precisely they are now to be blamed both by the Right and by the Left for all the failures of "the year of madness." At the same time, in this period of growing nationalisms, antagonism to neighbouring peoples gets stronger—to the Germans and Jews in the west and to the Ukrainians in the east.<sup>5</sup> Poznań enters on a period of conflict with the Germans by legal means, and this will be waged

<sup>5</sup> While appreciating to the full the significance of the Ukrainian problem for the history of 1848, the author refrains from entering upon it in the present brief survey.

by all classes of society under the leadership of the landowners. In Galicia the atmosphere will be governed by the compromise policy of the new *Statthalter*, the Conservative Count Gołuchowski. In the Kingdom the confusion will be deepened with the escape abroad of some thousands of youths whose one thought was to carry on the fight for liberation.

This triumph of conservatism in Poland during the fifties is only a reflection of the general revival of reaction in Europe as a whole. But this should not obscure for us one other fact, viz. that the year 1848 strengthened the active forces of all classes in the provinces ruled by Austria and Prussia. The aristocracy which, notably in Galicia, had hitherto remained indifferent to public service now takes its place in politics, standing at the head of the Conservative camp. The landowning leaders, accustomed to social activities within their own districts or at most inside the province, now enter the wider arena, serve as deputies in Berlin and Vienna, and form contacts with their fellows in other parts of the country. The politicians of the towns had been able to force their will on the nobility in the past only with the help of secret societies: the year 1848 saw in this respect a quite new phenomenon—that of lawyers and men of letters taking their places at the head of a movement and drawing people of means after them. The part played by the clergy was greatly enhanced, and this is one feature of the Polish expression of a general European phenomenon. The Conservatives took on a definitely Catholic colour, while the clergy take the lead as the political educators of the common people.

Finally, in the heat of the revolution these common people also gained a sense of their own power. We have spoken above of the growth of the independence of the village. The same thing was even stronger among the lower classes of the towns,—the tradesmen of Lwów, Cracow and Poznań, the foundrymen and miners of Silesia. Of course this awakening deepened social antagonisms, and in Galicia for example it weakened for the time being the chances of the nation in its struggle with its oppressors. All the same, in the long run the nation was the gainer, since its political maturity was speeded up, and the age-long neglect and slighting of the common people came to an end. This first step on the way to the political maturity of society as a whole was to prove the chief gain which the Poles derived from the failures and defeats of the "Spring of the Nations."

STEFAN KIENIEWICZ.

## THE CROATS IN 1848

So far as the year 1848 is concerned the Croats are known chiefly for their war against Hungary and for their active participation in the Slav Congress held in Prague. What is less known, however, is that in 1848 they acted as a political nation in the full meaning of the word, according to a national programme which defined their attitude to all the political problems of the time. A better appreciation of this fact would give a clearer explanation of the general Croat position of those years. It would also be a good guide to an understanding of their past conduct in general, as well as of subsequent events.

By far the most characteristic document of 1848 is the Address of the Croat Sabor (Parliament) to the King in June, in which national rights and policy were defined. For that reason I propose to quote here the essential parts of this historic document.

“ It is a well-known fact that the three United Kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, though connected with Hungary during seven and a half centuries in good and evil fortune, have nevertheless always preserved their former rights and their national liberties, and up to the present day they have never recognised the usurped hegemony of Hungary. Even at the very beginning of their common life with Hungary the first joint king of Hungary and Croatia, Koloman, was separately crowned with the Crown of Croatia, and in later times the three United Kingdoms elevated to the Hungarian throne several kings whom they had elected of their own accord—notably Charles Robert and Charles the Less. In Žadar the nation of these three kingdoms, assembled in the Diet, elected as Kings Ladislav of Naples and Tvrdko I of Bosnia; and in that decisive epoch, when the House of Habsburg began to assert its rights to the Hungarian throne, the Croats in the year 1527 at Cetin elected Ferdinand I as their king (after the Hungarians and Bohemians had already done this), thereby of themselves establishing the fortune and fame of the present glorious Dynasty. In the same way our nation affirmed our national and parliamentary independence when, under the Charles VI, it adopted the Pragmatic Sanction several years earlier than the Hungarians or any other people of the Austria of to-day. It also signed, quite independently of Hungary, the so-called Pacification of Vienna and the document of the Pragmatic Sanction. Thus these kingdoms were governed in every way as a free nation absolutely equal to the Hungarian—a fact shown not only by the above data but also by the circumstance

that these kingdoms received from several Kings special Coronation Diplomas, and that our kings pledged themselves on oath to protect not only Hungary but also these kingdoms in their rights and liberties.

"The independent position of these three kingdoms is proved still more clearly by the existence of their own Sabor, which has survived up to the present day quite independent of the Hungarian Diet, and in which up to the days of Ferdinand I the kings themselves presided, being usually elected and proclaimed as Kings of Croatia and Dalmatia as well. In this Sabor these kingdoms to this day possess their own legislature and have preserved into recent times their own government—formerly entrusted to princes of the blood royal and to Bans depending on the king. The envoys of these kingdoms often did not appear at all in the Hungarian Diet, but when they did so they were regarded as representatives of the said kingdoms solely in respect of our joint Hungarian-Croat state affairs. Moreover, the laws passed in the Diet were not regarded as binding within the boundaries of these kingdoms until they were recognised as such in the special Sabor of the kingdoms. Consequently, it often happened that such laws for our countries were drawn up in the Hungarian Diet solely by the representatives of these kingdoms with their protonotary, and then submitted to the king for approval. From all this one can easily see the reason why those laws relating exclusively to these kingdoms are always entered separately in the *Corpus Juris*.

"The dignity of Ban, as is shown by countless charters and laws, extended from the Drave and the Danube to the Adriatic, and was always exercised independently of the kingdom of Hungary and its dignitaries by Bans who were subject to the king alone. Indeed, it is an uncontested fact that while Hungarian judges were forbidden to exercise their office on this side of the Drave our Voivodes and Bans coined their own money distinct from the Hungarian. . . .

"Let Hungary separate from the Habsburg Monarchy and consequently from these kingdoms, if it has the inclination and the strength; but Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia are independent countries, and as such they not only do not wish to loosen the existing bond with Austria but rather declare openly and unreservedly that they desire to enter into a still closer connection with the now constitutional Empire of Austria, on the basis of complete equality of all nations. For, if we and our fathers were deterred from a similar step by the fact that the old Austria had an absolutist government, we now for our part no longer see any obstacle to such a connection in view of the transformation of Austria to-day.

\* \* \*

"We therefore submit in all humility for Your Majesty's

approval the following Resolutions of our Sabor, composed of elected representatives and meeting on 5 June 1848 :

(1) Since for the above reasons we do not recognise the Hungarian government as master of these countries, we regard all decrees issued by the Hungarian Ministry in violation of our rights and with offence to the dignity of our Ban, as unlawful and illegal. At the same time we would beg Your Majesty to declare invalid all such actions of the Hungarian Ministry as are injurious to us, and to shield and protect us in the future from its fatal influences. Consequently the present provisional government, augmented by certain personalities—in particular from Lower Slavonia—should continue its present activity, for which we confidently await Your Majesty's approval, by requesting for the future that a government be formed for these kingdoms under the presidency of the Ban responsible to the Sabor of these Kingdoms. But in order the better to ensure the unity of the Monarchy as a whole, we are ready to subordinate even this our own government in matters affecting the whole state to the responsible central government of the Monarchy as a whole. These kingdoms have all the more reason to hope that this Resolution will be sanctioned, seeing that it can be gathered from the above that they have been governed since remote times independently of Hungary. This shows that these kingdoms do not aspire to anything new but simply wish to revive their former inalienable rights—the more so as to-day the old joint Hungaro-Croat Dicasteries, through which Your Majesty governed the so-called Hungarian territorial complex, have ceased to exist.

(2) The conduct of finance and of matters of defence and trade are to be assigned to the responsible joint Ministries of the whole Empire. Nevertheless, in order that the interests of our kingdoms may be duly represented there, a Council of State responsible to the Sabor of these kingdoms should be appointed by Your Majesty in connection with the Central Power, which should countersign every measure of the central government relative to these kingdoms.

(3) The Entire Military Frontier of these kingdoms should also be subordinated, in the spirit of complete constitutional freedom, to the proposed government of these kingdoms in all matters other than purely military : only purely military matters should be left to the central War Ministry. The chief command over the entire military forces of these kingdoms should however, in accordance with ancient rights, be entrusted to the Ban of these countries.

(4) The official language in the whole of public life shall without exception be the national Slav tongue as it is spoken in these countries, and this order so carried out that even the decrees of the central government relative to these countries shall be published exclusively in this language.

(5) All matters relating to internal administration shall fall

within the sphere of the Sabor of these kingdoms ; but, in respect of those affairs which proceed from the mutual relation of these kingdoms with the state as a whole, they shall submit to the decisions of the central government, to which also the Central Ministry shall be responsible for its actions.

(6) Since it is natural that kindred peoples should exercise an attraction each for the other, and since the kingdom of Dalmatia both in view of ancient chartered rights and of the Coronation Oath and the solemn promises of Your Majesty forms an integral part of these kingdoms, the said kingdom of Dalmatia shall in respect of both legislation and administration be completely reunited to these kingdoms. What is more, the remaining Southern Slav parts of the Monarchy, i.e. the restored Serb *Vowodina*, which we desire to see confirmed by Your Majesty in accordance with the ancient rights conferred upon the Serb nation, together with Lower Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria and Gorica, shall be brought into closer relation with the said kingdoms.

(7) These kingdoms desire to maintain further their friendly relations with the peoples of Hungary in the spirit of the Pragmatic Sanction, and on the basis of the liberty, equality and fraternity of all nationalities linked together under the crown of Hungary. However, how this is to be carried out is for the nation inhabiting these kingdoms to decide after these, its just wishes, have been fulfilled by Your Majesty, and when the true situation of Hungary in respect to the state as a whole has become clearer

(11) Finally, we most solemnly declare that, since under Article XI of the year 1608 the power of the Ban extends from the Drave to the Adriatic, we regard as integral parts of these kingdoms the counties of Požega, Brod and Petrovaradin, which are known legally and historically under the name of Lower Slavonia, as well as the districts of Rijeka (Fiume), Bakar and Vinodol, which on the strength of Royal privileges, history and numerous laws belong to Croatia. We shall manfully defend and protect all these as our lawful inheritance against every hostile attack.

“ These are just Resolutions passed in our Sabor up to the present—wishes expressed by our nation which we desire to see approved and fulfilled by Your Majesty. We confidently hope that Your Majesty will not withhold your royal sanction from these urgent and just Resolutions. Even though it be assumed that, as king of Hungary, Your Majesty might feel prompted to make various generous concessions, and therefore could not agree to any disposition without the Hungarian nation, nevertheless this very true assumption does not exist in respect of our three United Kingdoms. The kingdoms of Dalmatia, Slavonia and Croatia also have their own king, who by a solemn oath has pledged himself to defend unimpaired their rights and liberties just as much as those of the

kingdom of Hungary, and who has nowhere and never, through any action of ours, been deprived of his traditional royal authority."

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In the Address the Sabor established first the fact that Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia constituted of themselves a sovereign state, pointing out that

"although connected with Hungary during seven and a half centuries in good and evil fortune, they have nevertheless always preserved their former rights and their national liberties,"

as well as their "independent position."

A detailed enumeration of the cases in which during the century-long common life with Hungary sovereign rights were exercised independently by the Croats, shows that the latter have never in their history ceased to be conscious of their rights as an independent nation. In addition to this it affords evidence that they used to act independently of Hungary whenever they considered it in their national interest. The subsequent declaration of war on Hungary is only another instance of their determination to maintain that independence even in the year 1848.

The Croats of that time were well aware of their precarious position as a state. The Triune Kingdom was partitioned and its position as a state seriously threatened. Dalmatia had emerged from the Napoleonic Wars as a province of Austria, and was ruled from Vienna. The so-called Military Frontier was under a special military control from the central government of Austria. "Medjumurje," the region lying between the Drave and Mur, belonged to Hungary.<sup>1</sup> The Hungarians, moreover, were advancing claims to other parts of Croatia and Slavonia. They were claiming the counties of Požega, Brod and Petrovaradin and in the Croat Littoral the towns of Rijeka (Fiume) and Bakar with the District of Vinodol.

The Sabor of 1848 dealt abundantly with the territorial problem and determined the national boundary. Regarding Dalmatia it said in the Address :

"Since the kingdom of Dalmatia forms an integral part of these kingdoms it shall both in respect of legislation and administration be completely reunited to them."

In dealing with the Military Frontier it was emphasised in the Address that the entire frontier should be placed under the government of these kingdoms in all matters other than purely military,

<sup>1</sup> The Medjumurje was annexed by Croatia immediately after the beginning of the war with Hungary.

and that only the latter should be left in the charge of the Central War Ministry.

Moreover the Sabor refuted categorically Hungarian claims to lower Slavonia and the Croat Littoral, and the Address therefore proclaimed that these territories would be defended at all cost against hostile attack.

Bosnia and Herzegovina were not mentioned in the Address, since at that time they formed a part of another (the Turkish) Empire. The question of their reunion with the Triune Kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia was raised by the Sabor thirty years later, immediately after the occupation of the two countries by the Austro-Hungarian forces in 1878.

The Address defined the powers of the Triune Kingdom in the same precise way as it defined the territorial limits. To quote :

“ All matters relating to internal administration shall fall within the sphere of the Diet of these kingdoms. . . . The chief command over the entire military forces shall, in accordance with ancient rights, be entrusted to the Ban of these countries. . . . A government shall be formed for these kingdoms under the presidency of the Ban, who shall be responsible to the Diet. The official language in the whole of public life shall, without exception, be the national Slav tongue which is spoken in these countries. . . .”

At the same time the three United Kingdoms expressed their readiness to maintain, or even to strengthen, connections with the people of the Austrian Empire.

“ Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia are independent countries and as such not only do not wish to loosen the existing bonds with Austria, but declare openly and unreservedly their desire to enter into a still closer relation with the now constitutional Empire of Austria, on the basis of complete equality of nations ”

The Address explained immediately the reason for this decision :

“ If we and our followers were deterred from a similar step by the fact that the old Austria had an absolutist government, *we now for our part no longer see any obstacle to such a connection in view of the transformation of Austria to-day.*”

It went on to suggest what should be joint matters to be handled by the Empire as a whole :

“ The conduct of finance and of matters of defence and commerce are to be assigned to the responsible joint Ministry of the whole Empire.”



Nevertheless, in order to protect the interests of the Triune Kingdom in all decisions dealing with such joint affairs the Address continues :

“ That our Kingdom’s interests may be duly represented there, a Council of State responsible to the Sabor of these Kingdoms shall be appointed in connection with the central Powers, and shall countersign every measure of the Central Government relative to these kingdoms.”

Thus, in its resolutions regarding the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia as well as the reorganisation of the Austrian Empire, the Sabor of June, 1848, set out clearly both its national and its constitutional aims. It maintained the position of the Triune Kingdom as a state, while at the same time demanding “ a government responsible to the Sabor of the Kingdoms.” It was in favour of the Austrian Empire on the condition that it be reorganised on the new basis, and ruled constitutionally.

It is interesting to note that the Czech attitude to the problems of this time, particularly with regard to the reorganisation of the Empire, was the same. This position was shared also by the other Slav nations of the Empire, and was proclaimed to Europe in the Manifesto of the Congress in Prague, addressed to the Nations of Europe. In view of the realisation of their general programme, in particular as regards the reorganisation of the Empire on the basis of equality, the Croats attached the greatest importance to the co-operation of all the Slav peoples of that Empire. The “ Ban’s Conference,” a body entrusted with the elaboration of the electoral law for the first elected Sabor, unanimously proposed in April, 1848 the calling of a Slav Congress. The new Sabor sent its delegation to the Congress and one of its representatives, Stanko Vraz, was elected a vice-president of the meeting.

The Slav Congress in its Manifesto, proclaimed at the same time as the above Address, made the following declaration :

“ We have proposed to the Austrian Emperor, under whose constitutional rule the majority of us live, that the Imperial State be converted into a federation of nations, all of them enjoying equal rights, with the provision that regard will be paid not less to the various needs of these nations than to the needs of the United Monarchy. We are determined to ensure for our people in Austria, by all the means in our power, a full recognition of the same rights in the state as the German and major nations already enjoy ”

In his letter to Frankfurt, the great Czech leader, František

Palacký, said in April, 1848, as follows: "I am convinced that even now it is not too late for this fundamental rule of justice to be publicly and sincerely proclaimed in the Austrian Empire, and to be energetically carried out by common consent in all sectors."

Similarity of conviction prevailed not only in attitude but also in spirit. The Croats of 1848 were equally in favour of co-operation with the other Southern Slav nations of the Austrian Empire, i.e. with the Serbs and the Slovenes. In respect to the Serb *Voivodina*, the Sabor says in its Address to the King: "We desire to see the Serb *Voivodina* confirmed by Your Majesty in accordance with the ancient rights conferred upon the Serb nation." Speaking generally of the Serbs and the Slovenes the Croats expressed their expectation that they too shall "be brought into closer relation" with the Triune Kingdom.

Finally, in its Address the Sabor expressed itself ready to resume relations with Hungary also, "on the basis of the liberty, equality and fraternity of all nationalities under the Crown of Hungary . . . when these just wishes of the Sabor have been fulfilled by Your Majesty, and when the true situation of Hungary in relation to the state as a whole has become clear."

In the Address the question of the abolition of serfdom and feudal dues was not mentioned, because they had already been abolished six weeks earlier by the newly appointed Ban, Jelačić. The first months of the Jelačić government were full of important decisions, the most important being the electoral law worked out by the "Ban's Conference," which put an end to the feudal Sabor of Croatia. According to this law every male citizen was eligible for election to the Sabor, "regardless of his social position, provided he was literate and had reached the age of twenty-four."

On the basis of this electoral law three general elections were held in Croatia in 1848, 1861 and 1865, and all these Sabors are renowned for the high standard of the elected members. The same "Ban's Conference," as already mentioned, proposed the calling of a Slav Congress.

The popularity of Jelačić was enormous, not only with the people of the Triune Kingdom but also in Bosnia and Herzegovina and indeed among the Serbs of the *Voivodina* as well. Jelačić was enthroned as the Ban of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia by the Serbian Patriarch, Rajačić, who was present only as a guest and a representative of the *Voivodina* at the first session of the Sabor. At the same session there were also present the Czech delegates, Dušan Lambl and Jaromir Erben. Addressing the Sabor after his

enthronement Jelačić said among other things, and amid general enthusiasm :

“ If the Hungarians continue to behave as oppressors and not as brothers towards us and our compatriots in Hungary, they should be made to understand that the times are past when one nation could dominate another, and that we are prepared to repeat with sword in hand the words of the Great Ban, Ivan Erdody : ‘ *Regnum regno non præscribit leges.* ’ ”

What subsequently took place is too well known to need repetition here. The disappointment of the Croats was acute. Perhaps it was best expressed in a letter addressed to the Ban in August, 1849, by a leading Croat personality of the time, Ivan Kukuljević :

“ Since acting for fifteen years personally, and for nine of them in a political capacity, on behalf of the nation and with the nation, I have never known such great sorrow and dissatisfaction among our people as now. The keenness of the dissatisfaction has been caused by the way in which Vienna desires to impose a new constitution on us. Our people, who for centuries have been accustomed to discuss and adopt laws concerning their lives and their future, realise that attempts are being made to deprive them by force of their liberties, inherited from their forefathers. If our nation were willing to-day to accept any patent or rescript—even a useful one, brought about in an illegal way, no one could guarantee that it would not have to accept to-morrow a most pernicious decree, brought about in the same way.”

The Croat Sabors elected in 1861 and 1865, after the fall of the Bach absolutist régime, spoke with the same voice as the Sabor of 1848. Succeeding years down to 1918 were full of attempts to circumvent the will of the Croat nation by force and by artificial solutions, which contributed largely to the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the moment when it was put to the serious test of the first World War. It might be added that a clue to the attitude of the Croat nation even in later times can also be found in the spirit which animated the Sabor of 1848.

JURAJ KRŃJEVIĆ.

## NICHOLAS I AND THE PARTITION OF TURKEY

AT various times during his reign Nicholas I of Russia tentatively approached other governments with suggestions about a new order to replace the Turkish empire in Europe. These approaches were far from meaning that the Tsar was deliberately bent on destroying Turkey. On the contrary, he agreed with the view expressed in 1829 by a specially appointed Committee on the Affairs of Turkey which had reported that the advantages of maintaining Turkey in Europe outweighed the disadvantages, and that its collapse would be opposed to Russia's real interests.<sup>1</sup> But the Russian government were never sure that they would succeed in maintaining Turkey indefinitely, and the Tsar in particular was always expecting it to disintegrate through internal weakness and decay. The result was that he felt unable to neglect the problem of creating a new order if and when Turkey collapsed. The Tsar never seems to have aimed at a solution by Russia alone and was ready to negotiate with the other Powers, as the Committee of 1829 had recommended.<sup>2</sup> What he apparently contemplated was a solution which would ultimately be agreed to in a conference of the Great Powers, probably sitting at St. Petersburg. But he was determined to safeguard Russia against unpleasant surprises and unsatisfactory arrangements, partly by being ready for the temporary seizure of strategic points such as the Bosphorus,<sup>3</sup> and partly by trying to ensure that if a conference met Russia would be neither isolated nor outvoted nor faced with the establishment of a new order which would jeopardise her vital interests. These considerations pointed to the need for a previous understanding between Russia and at least some of the interested Powers, and they help to explain why Nicholas I sometimes approached other governments with suggestions about a new order in European Turkey. At first it appears to have been the Tsar's intention to limit this previous understanding to Russia and Austria.

<sup>1</sup> F. Martens. *Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances Etrangères*, St. Petersburg, 1874-1909, Vol. IV, Pt. I, pp. 438-40; Vol. XI, pp. 412-13. Also N. K. Shilder: *Nikolai Pervyi*, St. Petersburg, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 548-50; and T. Schiemann. *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I.*, Berlin, 1904-1919, Vol. II, pp. 367-68.

<sup>2</sup> Martens: *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, Pt. I, p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> The Committee of 1829 urged that if the death-knell of Turkey in Europe sounded Russia should take the most energetic measures to prevent the entrance to the Black Sea from falling into the hands of any of the Great Powers.

He believed that they were the Powers most directly interested in European Turkey, and that if they stood together the less interested Powers would be obliged to follow their lead. In addition, for the greater part of the 'thirties the Tsar was too deeply suspicious of France and Britain to approach the French and British governments. But events gradually convinced him that an understanding with two Powers would be more likely to succeed than an understanding with only one, and in the 'forties and 'fifties he made approaches to Britain as well as to Austria.

## I

The first of the Tsar's approaches was made to Austria in 1833. It came at a time of dangerous crisis for the Turkish empire. In 1833 the Sultan was waging an unsuccessful war against his vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt, and in January and February it was feared that Egyptian forces would advance on Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> This threat to the Turkish capital brought an offer of help from the Russian government.<sup>5</sup> But the situation was so ominous that the Tsar also resolved to make approaches to Austria, and on 20 February he unburdened himself to Count Ficquelmont, the Austrian ambassador in St. Petersburg. He told Ficquelmont that the Sultan had refused Russian help, and that even if he had accepted it, probably it would have been too late to save him. The Tsar added that Russia would still be prepared to help Turkey if the Sultan changed his mind.

But that is all I can do [he went on]. I lack the power to give life to a corpse, and the Turkish empire is dead. It will perhaps be possible for us to check the present crisis. But even if we succeed in doing so, I have no confidence in the maintenance of this ancient body; it is breaking down on all sides; a little sooner or a little later, it will collapse.<sup>6</sup>

But Turkey's collapse would give rise to many difficulties, and the

<sup>4</sup> On December 21, 1832, the Turkish army had been severely defeated at Konieh by Ibrahim Pasha and the Egyptian forces. The Sultan tried to stop the Egyptian advance by proposing negotiations for a settlement. But Ibrahim Pasha refused to halt until ordered to do so by Mehemet Ali. On the contrary, he talked of advancing to Brusa on the ground that provisions were scarce at Konieh.

P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), F O. 78/212. Mandeville to Palmerston—28 Dec /32, No. 65; 78/221. Same to Same—8, 13, & 26 Jan./33, Nos 6, 15, & 18. Also G. Doun: *La Première Guerre de Syrie*, Cairo, 1931, Vol II, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> S. Goriaïnow. *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles*, Paris, 1910, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> W(iener) S(taats)A(rchiv), Berichte aus Russland. Ficquelmont à Metternich—13/25 fév./33, No 234 A. "Mais voilà tout ce que je peux. Je n'ai pas le pouvoir de donner de la vie à un mort, et l'Empire turc est mort. Il nous sera peut-être possible d'arrêter la crise actuelle. Mais quand même nous pourrions y parvenir, je n'ai aucune confiance dans la durée de ce vieux corps; il est en dissolution de tous les côtés; un peu plus tôt ou plus tard, il tombera."

best way to minimise them would be for Russia and Austria to reach an understanding by discussing the problem fully and frankly. The Tsar assured Ficquelmont that Russia had renounced the projects attributed to Catherine the Great and was now working to maintain Turkey. Even if it collapsed she neither wanted nor needed anything from its ruins. But the matter could not be left to chance.

What is to be done [the Tsar continued]. The thinking of the Powers has always been taken up with the idea of partition. I assure you that I am afraid of the intrigues which France and England such as we unfortunately see them to-day will not fail to stir up at Constantinople. The consequences of this dismemberment would be enormous; how to prevent them from becoming dangerous to us? That is what exercises my mind and that is what we ought to reach an understanding about.<sup>7</sup>

Ficquelmont replied by suggesting that the Turkish empire was too big and diversified for the whole of it to be dismembered. He admitted that some parts of it might be partitioned. But there would still be the problem of dealing with the rest. The Tsar said that he agreed. But when the collapse came something would have to be done, and as the Turkish empire had followed the Greek empire by conquest, and as there was still a largely Christian population in the provinces of the old Greek empire, even on the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus,

Why should we not try to recreate a Greek empire if the Turkish empire destroys itself through its own incapacity? There is the beginning of a Greek state. I do not know King Otto; I do not know whether he is of the calibre for such a future. For my part I see nothing better to do.<sup>8</sup>

Ficquelmont now pointed out that he lacked the authority to discuss such questions, and that his instructions merely covered the problem of saving the Sultan from the dangers which threatened him. The Tsar replied that he himself wished to save the Sultan. But it might prove impossible, and as Austria and Russia had more at stake than

<sup>7</sup> W.S.A., *Berichte aus Russland*. Ficquelmont à Metternich—13/25 fév./33, No 234 A. "Que faire? L'idée d'un partage est celle qui a toujours occupée la pensée des puissances. Je vous avoue que je crains toutes les intrigues que la France et l'Angleterre, telles que nous avons le malheur de les voir aujourd'hui, ne manqueraient pas de venir susciter à Constantinople. Les fuites de ce démembrement seraient immenses, comment prévenir qu'elles nous deviennent dangereuses? Voilà la pensée qui m'occupe et sur laquelle nous devons nous entendre."

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid* "pourquoi, l'Empire turc se détruisant lui-même par sa propre incapacité, ne cherchions nous pas à rétablir un Empire grec? Il y a un commencement d'état grec. Je ne connais pas le Roi Othon, je ne sais pas s'il est de mesure pour un pareil avenir. Je ne vois de mon côté rien de mieux à faire."

other Powers and ought not to be forestalled, "the Emperor and myself ought to be in agreement in case events compel us to raise these questions with the other powers."<sup>9</sup>

The Austrian government were anything but receptive to the Tsar's plea for an understanding on the shape of a new order in the Turkish empire. Metternich's main concern was to turn Vienna into a diplomatic centre through which the Powers could co-operate in supporting the Sultan and restraining Mehemet Ali,<sup>10</sup> and what really interested him was the assurance that Russia had now abandoned Catherine II's policy and was anxious to maintain the Turkish empire. The Tsar several times renewed his plea for an understanding about the future both through Ficquelmont and also through Tatischev, his ambassador in Vienna.<sup>11</sup> But Metternich was unwilling to be drawn very far. Early in March he told Tatischev that Austria objected to the idea of reviving a Greek empire.

Austria [he insisted] could not be a party to this combination now a Bavarian prince has been placed on the Greek throne, for it would be unwise of her to have the same foe at her back as facing her.<sup>12</sup>

He also said that he appreciated the Tsar's readiness to associate Austria in a task which Russia might have wanted to discharge alone. But when Tatischev urged him to send instructions to Ficquelmont as soon as possible, he stressed the difficulty of advancing beyond vague generalities. Early in April Tatischev tried to coax him into expressing his views by giving him a written sketch of the "geographical relations" between Turkey and Russia and Austria and of the action which the two Powers might take either separately or in common. A month later Metternich reopened the discussion and echoed Tatischev's suggestions as though he had thought of them himself.<sup>13</sup> But even these suggestions were not very far-reaching. If Turkey collapsed, Austria would oppose the establishment of a state which might constitute a danger to Russia

<sup>9</sup> W.S.A., *Berichte aus Russland* Ficquelmont à Metternich—13/25 fév/33, No. 234 A "il faut que l'Empereur et moi soyons d'accord pour le cas où les événements nous forceraient à aborder les questions avec les autres puissances"

<sup>10</sup> R. de Metternich: *Mémoires, documents, et écrits divers, laissés par le Prince de Metternich*, Paris, 1880-1884, Vol. V, pp 459-60. Also P.R.O., FO 7/240 Lamb to Palmerston—14 & 19 Feb/33, Nos 18 & 20, 7/241 Same to Same—13 April/33, No 54.

<sup>11</sup> W.S.A., *Berichte aus Russland* Ficquelmont à Metternich—24 avril/6 mai/33 priv. and No 245 A sec.

<sup>12</sup> A(rkhiv) R(evolutsi) i V(neshnei) P(olitiki), Moscow. Réceptions, Vienne Tatischev à Nesselrode—27 fév/11 mars/33, No 39, rés. "L'Autriche ne saurait se prêter à cette combinaison depuis qu'un Prince de Bavière a été placé sur le trône de la Grèce, car il serait imprudent à Elle d'avoir le même adversaire au dos qu'Elle a en face"

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, Tatischev à Nesselrode—23 avril/5 mai/33, No 82 rés.

and herself, and would like most of all to see the component parts of European Turkey becoming independent, sovereign states. Finally, the ruler who acquired Constantinople and the shores of the Bosphorus was not to be given the title of Emperor.<sup>14</sup>

When the Tsar learned of Metternich's objections to the idea of reviving a Greek empire, he told Ficquelmont that he was pleased to know what Austria wished to avoid and that he still felt the need for an Austro-Russian understanding.<sup>15</sup> But developments in Turkey itself were already making the Russian government much less alarmed about the immediate future, and the Tsar seems to have relaxed his pressure for discussions on the shape of a new order if Turkey collapsed. Early in February the Sultan had finally asked for the help of Russian ships and troops, on 5 May he had come to terms with Mehemet Ali, and on 8 July he virtually put himself under Russia's protection by signing the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.<sup>16</sup> These events left the Tsar less pessimistic than earlier in the year, and when he met the Austrian Emperor and Metternich at Munchengrätz from 9 to 19 September there is no evidence that he made any very determined attempt to start detailed discussions on the shape of a new order in European Turkey.<sup>17</sup> Instead, Austria and Russia signed a secret convention which pledged them to maintain the existing Ottoman dynasty, to oppose any attempt at changing it or at substituting a regency, and to prevent Mehemet Ali from acquiring direct or indirect authority over any part of European Turkey. The convention also stated that if Turkey broke up, Austria and Russia would concert together in establishing a new order of things and in preserving their own security and the balance of power in Europe. But it made no attempt to define this new order, which meant that although the Tsar had now committed

<sup>14</sup> Martens *op cit.*, Vol. IV, Pt I, p 444. Martens quotes Tatischev's despatch to Nesselrode of 23 April/5 May as his source. But he omits to point out that according to Tatischev, Metternich's views were only an echo of those which Tatischev himself had put forward early in April. He also says that Metternich told Tatischev that his instructions to Ficquelmont would be drawn up in this sense. But no such instructions appear to exist in the Wiener Staats Archiv. All this suggests that Tatischev extracted much less from Metternich than Martens implies.

<sup>15</sup> W.S.A., *Berichte aus Russland*. Ficquelmont à Metternich—24 avril/6 mai/33, No 245 A sec.

<sup>16</sup> H. Temperley *The Crimea*, London, 1936, pp 66-71.

<sup>17</sup> Metternich said twenty years later that at Munchengrätz the Tsar had asked him at table "Que pensez-vous du Turc? C'est un homme malade, n'est-ce pas?" At first he had pretended not to hear. But when the Tsar had twice repeated his question, he had finally answered indirectly by asking, "Est-ce au médecin ou à l'héritier que Votre Majesté adresse cette question?" Metternich added: "Kaiser Nikolaus blieb mir die Antwort schuldig und hat mir nie wieder von dem 'Kranken Manne' gesprochen." Vitzthum von Eckstadt *St Petersburg und London in den Jahren 1852-64*, Stuttgart, 1886, Vol. I, p 29.



Austria to joint action with Russia if Turkey collapsed, he was still very far from having settled the precise ends to which this Austro-Russian action would be directed.<sup>18</sup>

Ficquelmont made some instructive comments on the Tsar's approaches to Austria during the spring. He believed that their primary purpose had been to draw control of Near Eastern affairs into the hands of Russia and Austria and to establish St. Petersburg as the proper diplomatic centre for working out a settlement. He also believed that the Tsar was expecting Turkey to break up, that he wanted to forestall the intervention of Britain and France, and that he relied on an intimate Austro-Russian understanding as the best guarantee against any unsatisfactory new order. But Ficquelmont doubted the Tsar's sincerity in suggesting the revival of a Greek empire.

It is a neutral idea [he wrote], put forward as a means of taking the initiative in an overture without raising the difficult sides of the problem.

Even Nesselrode, the Russian vice-chancellor, readily admitted that it would be an impossible idea to carry out, and the Tsar himself abandoned it as soon as Metternich objected. From hints which were dropped to him by people in the Tsar's confidence, Ficquelmont gained the impression that if Turkey collapsed the Russians would really like "dismemberment into small states." He pointed out that Russia was already trying to give a political organisation to Serbia, the Principalities, and Montenegro and that her plan seemed to be to put these countries

in a strong enough position to give them rights to an independent, legal existence if the Turkish empire should come to break down.

He also reported that in the opinion of several people who knew the views of the Russian government, the most satisfactory arrangement would be to organise these small, independent states into a confederation under Austro-Russian protection. Ficquelmont himself was suspicious of the plan which he regarded in a sense as anti-Austrian. He believed that the Tsar was sincere in not wanting to expand further into European Turkey because Russia had already reached the natural limits of her expansion in Europe and was now aiming at aggrandisement in Asia Minor towards the Persian Gulf. But he emphasised that Russia also wanted to prevent Austria from expanding in European Turkey and, if Turkey broke up, she hoped

<sup>18</sup> Martens : *op. cit.*, Vol IV, Pt. I, pp. 445-47 ; Gornainow : *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

to succeed through an Austro-Russian agreement for the establishment of small, independent states.<sup>19</sup>

## II

The Tsar began his next series of overtures about a new order in Turkey during the autumn of 1843, two years after the termination of another round of hostilities between the Turkish government and Mehemet Ali of Egypt. These further overtures, which have for the most part been overlooked by historians,<sup>20</sup> were originally directed towards Austria. But in view of Austria's extreme caution and reticence, the Tsar also tried to extend them to Britain. Unlike the overtures of 1833, they were prompted by no immediately menacing crisis in either Turkey's internal or external affairs. But the general condition of the Ottoman empire was so disturbed and unsatisfactory even when major crises were lacking that some of Turkey's best friends could not help feeling gloomy about the empire's stability. During the long-drawn-out crisis of 1839 to 1841 which had seen the Sultan and Mehemet Ali staging their final trial of strength, the armed intervention of the Powers had eventually enabled the Turkish government to curb Mehemet Ali's power and

<sup>19</sup> W S A, *Berichte aus Russland* Ficquelmont à Metternich—24 avril/6 mai/33 priv and No 245 A sec "C'est une idée neutre mise en avant pour avoir un moyen de prendre l'initiative d'une ouverture sans aborder les côtés difficiles de la question" dans une situation assez forte pour leur donner des droits à une existence légale indépendante dans le cas où l'Empire turc viendrait à crouler"

A R V P, *Rapports à l'Empereur* Memo of 7 Jan/33 This memorandum, which is partly illegible, asks whether Russia would propose partition or the establishment of "états fédératifs" in the event of Turkey's collapse. It recalls Dashkov's memorandum to the Committee of 1829 and says that the Tsar and the members of this Committee all seemed to agree that "une combinaison basée sur la création d'Etats fédératifs serait plus conforme aux intérêts de la Russie qu'un projet de partage pur et simple" It adds that since 1829 the main tendency in Russian policy has been to secure a certain degree of independence for various parts of European Turkey under the sovereignty of the Sultan. For example, Greece has been created, Serbia has been organised under a chief who can be regarded as enjoying *de facto* independence, while the Principalities possess a form of government under which they could easily become a separate state Martens *op cit.*, Vol IV, Pt I, pp 441-42, gives a brief summary of the memorandum

This memorandum fits in with the comments of Ficquelmont and suggests that Temperley (*op cit.*, p 67) is wrong in describing the Tsar's remarks to Ficquelmont in February as his "authentic thought," at any rate when he spoke of replacing Turkey in Europe by a Greek empire

<sup>20</sup> For example, the proposals for an ultimate partition of Turkey which the Tsar made to Austria in 1843 are not described in Temperley, *op. cit.*, though he has a long note on p 461 on "The Three Partition Plans of Nicholas in case of the dissolution of the Turkish Empire"; in A M Zaronchovski *Vostochnaya Voina*, St Petersburg, 1908, or in E V Tarlé: *Krimskaya Voina* Moscow, 1944. They are mentioned briefly in A Stern: *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1894-1924, Vol. VI, p 64, and in V J. Puryear: *England, Russia, and the Straits Question*, 1844-1856, California, 1931, pp 39-40, who bases himself on Stern

ambition and win back Syria ; and when the Sultan promised much-needed reforms in the Decree of Gulhané in November, 1839, it looked for a short time as though the cohesion of the empire would be greatly strengthened.<sup>21</sup> But once the threat from Mehemet Ali had been effectively broken, reformers like Reschid Pasha lost influence in Turkey and were replaced by reactionaries whose main concern was to enforce Moslem supremacy over the Christians, to strengthen and increase the army, and to reassert the Sultan's authority in the outlying parts of the empire, particularly in the European areas.<sup>22</sup> Stratford Canning, who became British ambassador at Constantinople in 1841, worked tirelessly to reverse the tide of reaction and promote further reforms. But even Canning was depressed about the general state of Turkey during the early years of his embassy, and in December, 1843 he felt obliged to warn his government of

an approaching crisis and the multiplication of those chances of disaster and confusion to which a decaying empire is ever liable.<sup>23</sup>

Lord Aberdeen, the British Foreign Secretary, refused to share Canning's pessimism.

A question may arise [he told him in January, 1844] whether it is safe or wise to judge Turkey by the standard of Christian Europe. There appears to be in Turkey a principle of vitality, an occult force which sets at nought all calculations based upon the analogy of other states. . . . H.M. Government would fain believe that there is less reason to despair of the maintenance of Turkey as a substantive power in Europe than might be inferred from the tenor of Your Excellency's observations.<sup>24</sup>

But although Aberdeen's cautious optimism proved in the end to be not entirely unjustified, it is clear that during the 1840's the general weakness of Turkey was hardly calculated to inspire the Tsar with any feeling of confidence in the empire's stability and future.

During the crisis of 1839 to 1841 the Russian government had adopted different tactics from those which they had followed in 1832

<sup>21</sup> Temperley: *op cit*, pp 160-63

<sup>22</sup> P.R.O., F.O. 78/476 Canning to Aberdeen—27 March/42, No. 67, 78/479. Same to Same—7 July/42, No. 147; 78/516 Same to Same—18 Feb/43, Sep & Conf., 78/519 Same to Same—16 June/43, No 124; 78/520 Same to Same—31 July/43, No 159

<sup>23</sup> P.R.O., F.O 78/523 Canning to Aberdeen—13 Dec/43, No 260

<sup>24</sup> P.R.O., F.O 78/552. Aberdeen to Canning—20 Jan/44, No 7 Canning and Aberdeen also differed substantially in their views on the permissible degree of foreign interference in Turkey's internal affairs. See, e.g., 78/477 Canning to Aberdeen—23 April/42, No. 83, and 78/437. Aberdeen to Canning—24 May/42, No. 57

and 1833. In brief, the Tsar had agreed to forgo the advantages of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi and work with Britain in upholding the authority of the Sultan, reducing Mehemet Ali's power to more reasonable proportions, and negotiating a five-power agreement on the Straits question which made Russia feel reasonably secure in the Black Sea.<sup>25</sup> One great merit of this policy in Russian eyes was that it helped to estrange Britain and France and completed the breakdown of the Anglo-French entente, which had served as a "liberal" counterweight to the league of the three "conservative" Powers—Russia, Austria, and Prussia. But in spite of its partial success the new policy proved to be less advantageous than the Tsar had probably expected. First, the Egyptian crisis was hardly over before the Whig government in Britain were replaced by a Tory government with Peel as Prime Minister and Aberdeen as Foreign Secretary. The Tories were in general less hostile to Russian policy than Palmerston and some of the Whigs during the middle 'thirties. But the Russian government had been able to effect a great improvement in their relations with Palmerston during the recent crisis in the Near East, and they now found that the new Tory government were inclined to be reserved and cautious about Russian policy, particularly towards Turkey. Secondly, the Tsar was uneasy about the views and intentions of Frederick William IV, the new King of Prussia, and about the possible effects of his policy on the intimate understanding established between Russia, Austria, and Prussia after the revolutions of 1830. Russia's co-operation with Britain during the recent crisis had also led to a certain weaken-

<sup>25</sup> Goriaunow. *op. cit.*, pp. 52-91; Temperley: *op. cit.*, pp. 87-151. In July, 1840, Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia signed a convention dealing with the Near Eastern crisis, and in August when they were preparing to communicate the text to France they also considered the possibility of an accompanying declaration which would pledge them not to seek territorial aggrandisement or exclusive advantages in any settlement of the Turco-Egyptian dispute. In a memorandum to the Tsar, Nesselrode supported the idea of a four-power declaration, and in a marginal comment the Tsar acquiesced provided the declaration remained valid only as long as the Turkish empire continued to exist. He continued: "Je ne puis pas me lier les mains pour l'avenir peut-être assez rapproché, où il n'y aura plus d'empire de ce nom. . . . Ce cas fort malheureux étant donc devenu une des possibilités du moment, et même fort probable, il faut penser à l'avenir de la manière la plus sérieuse, la plus profonde et échanger nos opinions quand nous nous rencontrons. Il ne s'agira que l'héritage du défunt sera assez grand pour satisfaire tous, en laissant Constantinople à tous—c. à d. à personne. La garde du Bosphore à nous, celle des Dardanelles à l'Angleterre et l'Autriche. Voilà où en sont mes idées—n'allez pas en conclure que je le désire, mais au contraire que je prie Dieu de nous préserver de ce nouveau malheur, sans pour cela vouloir me laisser prendre au dépourvu si la chute . . .", here the Tsar's writing becomes illegible. A R V P, Rapports à l'Empereur, 1840. Nesselrode to the Tsar—9 août/40.

ing in her relations with Metternich and the Austrian government, and the Tsar was anxious to reverse the process and reinforce the league of the three Eastern Powers as a bulwark of order and stability in Europe. Thirdly, the Tsar doubted whether even Mehemet Ali's defeat had really improved Turkey's prospects of survival, and when signs of the Sultan's weakness continued to show themselves, he returned to the idea that it would be prudent to face the possibility of Turkey's collapse and try to agree on what was to replace her. All these different considerations seem to have weighed with the Russian government in the years immediately following the settlement of the Near Eastern crisis in 1841, and they undoubtedly influenced both the Tsar's policy towards Turkey and his attitude towards Austria and Britain, which was itself closely bound up with the Turkish problem.

The Tsar's anxiety about the state of Turkey increased during 1843. In August, 1842, the Serbians rebelled against their prince, and the ensuing complications which dragged on for many months threatened at one point to cause serious friction between Russia and Turkey. Metternich helped to avert a breach by inducing Britain and France to acquiesce in Russia's terms for a settlement of the Serbian problem.<sup>26</sup> But the Tsar gained the impression from Britain's general attitude that the Tory government were already tending towards the traditional view of Russia as a Power intent on overthrowing Turkey for the sake of her own territorial aggrandisement, and as soon as the worst of the crisis was over, Nesselrode suggested to Metternich in May, 1843, that Russia and Austria might best convince Britain of their desire to uphold the Ottoman empire by making the British government confidentially acquainted with the Convention of Münchengrätz of 1833, which had pledged them to maintain the existence and independence of Turkey under the reigning dynasty and to act in concert with each other if Turkey collapsed. Nesselrode made it clear that he had no intention of inviting the British government to become a party to the Convention. All that he wanted to do was firstly to strengthen Aberdeen's position against a number of British ministers who were said to feel that the Foreign Secretary was too deferential to advice from Metternich, and secondly to accustom the British government to

<sup>26</sup> Schieman: *op cit*, Vol IV, pp. 31-34, PRO, FO 78/513. Aberdeen to Canning—20 March/43, No 40 and 6 April/43, No 51, 27/666. Cowley to Aberdeen—27 March/43, No. 118. Canning was very disappointed at the attitude adopted by the British government and Aberdeen had to rebuke him sharply for not adhering to his instructions. FO 78/518. Canning to Aberdeen—18 April/43, No 77, and 78/513. Aberdeen to Canning—20 May/43, No 67

the idea of acting with Austria and not with France in any future difficulties in Turkey.<sup>27</sup>

Metternich objected to Nesselrode's proposal on the grounds that the British government would want to know why Russia and Austria had kept the Convention secret for ten years. It would be different if the Tories had only just taken office. But they had already been in power for two years, and the Russian and Austrian governments could not at this stage represent the communication as "a tribute to the conservative principles" of the Tories. Instead, Metternich suggested that it would be preferable for Austria and Russia simply to give the British government a brief, retrospective survey of Austrian and Russian policy towards Turkey during the past ten years in order to prove to them that events had justified the confidence which Austria had repeatedly expressed in Russia's intentions. The two Powers could add that when the Tsar and the Austrian Emperor had met at Münchengrätz in 1833 they had exchanged pledges "never to depart from the principles of conservation" in their policy of upholding the Turkish throne and empire.<sup>28</sup> But this Austrian counter-suggestion met with little more success in St. Petersburg than Nesselrode's original proposal in Vienna. Nesselrode replied at the end of June that the Tsar preferred either a full and frank communication or complete silence. The kind of "half-confidence" which Metternich had recommended might easily end by arousing British suspicions, and the Tsar thought it wisest for the moment to let Aberdeen continue with his present policy of following the advice of Austria. It would be time enough to consider Metternich's plan more seriously if Aberdeen's policy subsequently changed. In the meantime, Austria and Russia should adhere to the line of policy agreed on at Münchengrätz. "It has already borne fruit," Nesselrode said, "and meets all current needs in its existing form. . . ." <sup>29</sup>

Later in 1843 the Tsar made a more determined attempt to tackle some of the external problems which were exercising his mind. During the early autumn he arranged a meeting with the King of Prussia in Berlin; and he also invited Metternich to Warsaw for a discussion of various important matters, including a project for a marriage between the Grand Duchess Olga of Russia and the Archduke Stephen of Austria, which he was very anxious to see

<sup>27</sup> W S A, Russland, Varia Nesselrode à Mettem—8/20 mai/43, conf

<sup>28</sup> W S A, Russland, Varia Metternich à Nesselrode—10 juin/43.

<sup>29</sup> W S A, Russland, Varia Nesselrode à Metternich—30 juin/43 "L'œuvre a déjà porté ses fruits; elle répond dans sa forme actuelle à tous les besoins du moment . . ."

arranged. Metternich felt unable to accept the Tsar's invitation, apparently on account of the disturbed state of Northern Italy and the need for discussions with Hungarian political leaders which were said to require his presence at home.<sup>30</sup> But he sent a deputy to Warsaw in the person of Count Ficquelmont, the former Austrian ambassador in St. Petersburg, and Ficquelmont had four important interviews with Nicholas I on 21 and 23 September. During these interviews the Tsar raised the questions of the projected marriage alliance, of the King of Prussia, of a meeting between himself, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and their advisers, and also of the Ottoman empire, the state of which was in his view becoming "more dangerous every day." He told Ficquelmont that he favoured the proposed marriage alliance for political reasons. "Believe me," he insisted, "the world needs to be convinced that the bonds which unite us are unbreakable." He also said that although he had been "very satisfied" with the King of Prussia, he was more uneasy than ever about his future policy. "We were three"; he added, "I feel sadly convinced that we are now only two." This was one of the reasons why he wanted a meeting of the three rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. He thought that some of the King of Prussia's measures had cast doubts on the solidarity of the alliance between the three Powers and that

it would be useful for Europe to have the three new rulers occupying the same position as the three old ones.

The King of Prussia with the two Emperors on each side of him will be stronger in his own country [the Tsar maintained], and we shall be more tranquil in ours.

When sounded, Frederick William IV had readily agreed to attend a meeting of the three rulers, which the Tsar thought could best take place the following year during a visit which he intended to pay to Germany.<sup>31</sup>

The Turkish problem was by far the most weighty of the issues which the Tsar raised at Warsaw. During his second interview with Ficquelmont on 21 September, he said that the Ottoman empire no longer gave any guarantees of internal peace or even of durability, and that Russia and Austria could not afford to leave matters to

<sup>30</sup> W S A, Russland, Varna Metternich à Orlov—9 sept /43 The Tsar later said that it was Metternich's health which had prevented him from going to Warsaw. *Ibid.*, Aus Staats Kanzlei, Russland, fasc 49.

<sup>31</sup> W S A, Berichte aus Russland. Ficquelmont à Metternich—3 oct /43, Litt. A, B, & C, Vienne. "Il sera utile à l'Europe que les trois nouveaux Souverains occupent la même position que les trois anciens Le Roi de Prusse entre les deux Empereurs sera plus fort chez lui, et nous serons plus tranquils chez nous."

chance or to the intrigues of the persistent meddlers. Instead, they ought to agree about what they wished to do. The Tsar added that everyone accused him of wanting to seize Constantinople, and attributed everything that happened to his alleged schemes for preparing the ground. Even the Turks had been led astray by the suspicions of Europe, and had not given Russia credit for what she had refrained from doing. This had prevented them from taking advantage of Russia's carefulness in handling Turkish affairs, and a "catastrophe" was "inevitable." The Tsar insisted that unless Russia and Austria arranged something in advance, the "catastrophe" would hit both of them, and particularly Austria, by causing a war which would settle nothing. As Ficquelmont knew, he did not want Constantinople for himself even as a gift from the Powers, because possession of it would alter the character of his empire, and "it is a Russian empire," he said, "which I want to preserve and leave to my son." On the contrary, he thought that Austria was the Power which ought to have Constantinople in view of her position and population.

I shall never cross the Danube [the Tsar said], and everything between this river and the Adriatic ought to be yours. . . . This combination is the only one which can save us from a frightful upheaval; it has pre-occupied me daily for a long time; I find no other which can take its place.

In conclusion, the Tsar invited Metternich to think over his proposal and communicate his views orally through some confidential intermediary. Ficquelmont himself disclaimed any authority to pass an opinion on a subject of this kind. But after expressing his uneasiness that the Russian proposition might be "a sort of ultimatum" of the Tsar's thoughts, he added that in his own view the Austrian government would not be receptive to it. The Tsar said that he would refrain from enquiring into Ficquelmont's reasons for anticipating a refusal. It was for Austria alone to decide what she wanted and what she could do. But he felt obliged to add that if Austria could not bring herself to join Russia for action, he was determined to go ahead and act alone.

I cannot go on with a system [he said] which you see is not leading to anything good because it is merely negative, I cannot in this way abandon such grave matters to influences to which I do not wish to leave the advantage of the initiative.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> W S A, *Berichte aus Russland* Ficquelmont à Metternich—4 oct./43, sec. Vienne For the full text of Ficquelmont's report, see below pp 278 sqq



On 23 September Nicholas I gave Ficquelmont another interview, and this time Ficquelmont took the initiative in an effort to discover what the Tsar had meant by saying that he was determined to go ahead and act alone if Austria rejected the idea of joint action. The Tsar at once replied that his conduct would be "simple." If Russia and Austria were in agreement he knew what he could want because the two Powers acting together would be strong enough to carry their policy. But if Russia remained alone, he knew what he did not want.

I do not want the re-establishment of a Byzantine empire [he said] ; I will never permit it I do not want the French or the English, either together or separately, to occupy Constantinople or give it material protection. I shall resist these three combinations with all my forces.

The Tsar was clear in his own mind that Austria would not be able to hold aloof and that she might find herself drawn into a "quarrel" without knowing beforehand what she wanted and how she would extricate herself.

Is it not better [he asked] to anticipate events and assume the direction of them ?

He told Ficquelmont again that Russia wanted nothing beyond the Danube, that Austria had a right to everything between the Danube and the Adriatic, and that the King of Prussia, to whom he had revealed his plan, had finally understood the reasons for it in spite of his initial surprise.

If you occupy Constantinople [he went on] you will need a bridge-head in Asia ; that goes without saying.

The British could take Egypt if they wanted it, and they and the French could also divide the islands of the Archipelago.

That is all the same to me [the Tsar insisted] and I think it would then be a matter of equal indifference to you. You see [he said in conclusion], I am as determined on what I do not want as on what I want.

Ficquelmont's only reply was to suggest that Metternich would wish to wait for the proposed meeting of the three sovereigns and their advisers before giving his views on the Tsar's overture.<sup>33</sup>

The Prussian government not unnaturally took a lively interest in Austria's reaction to the Russian proposals. Though the Tsar had made Frederick William IV his first confidant, he had asked

<sup>33</sup> See below, pp 278 sqq.

the King not to disclose Russia's plans to the Austrian government on the grounds that he intended to communicate them to Metternich himself. But late in October Bülow, the Prussian Foreign Minister, decided to discuss the matter with the Austrian representative in Berlin on the assumption that the Tsar would already have informed the Austrian government of his views through the intermediary of Ficquelmont. Bülow himself did not explicitly reject the idea of partitioning Turkey, and while he continued to assert that the Tsar had made no promises of territory to Prussia, he later admitted that he anticipated an offer of a slice of Poland as Russia's price for Prussian support. But he was clearly uneasy both about the extent and turbulence of the Turkish territory which the Tsar was proposing to assign to Austria, and also about the possible consequences of the projected meeting of the three rulers at which he assumed that the Russian plan for partitioning Turkey would be discussed. He believed that a meeting of this kind would seriously alarm the other Powers, who would soon connect it with the Turkish problem and with the idea of partitioning the Turkish empire. The exclusion of British representatives would also help to throw Britain into the arms of France and revive the Anglo-French entente which it had cost the three Eastern Powers such great efforts to break.

Moreover [he asked], how is it possible to reach decisions on affairs of such gravity without admitting the British government? . . . As for France she is also strong enough . . . to open for herself a road to participation in the discussions in question. . . .<sup>34</sup>

Bülow felt sure that Metternich would take the same view.

Metternich himself appears to have made no direct reply to the Tsar's overtures. But towards the end of November he defined his attitude in a communication to Berlin. He said that Austria did not regard the collapse of Turkey as imminent, and that as she had no wish for territorial aggrandisement the partition which the Tsar had proposed was "valueless."

We are convinced [Metternich added] that the attempt to bring about the overthrow of the Porte would turn against those who conceived the plan and would inevitably cause a tremendous political upheaval in Europe.

<sup>34</sup> W.S.A., *Berichte aus Preussen* Trautmansdorff à Metternich—22 oct /43 Lett partic and 5 déc /43, Lett partic " . . . Et cependant, comment prendre des conclusions sur des affaires d'une si haute gravité sans admettre le cabinet britannique ? Pour ce qui concerne la France elle est également assez forte . . . pour s'ouvrir la voie à une participation dans les délibérations en question . . . "

He admitted that the Ottoman empire might be destroyed by that force of things against which the most prudent conceptions fail. But we must leave it to time [he went on] to develop these germs of dissolution progressively, for if it brings the evil, it also places the remedy by its side, it indicates . . . the routes to be followed to achieve . . . safety.

Metternich confessed that he had been unable to fathom the Tsar's motives in putting forward a plan which was contrary to all his previous approaches to Austria and which would inevitably lead to a general war. He also told Bulow that Ficquelmont had been careful to gain time for Austria by warning the Tsar not to expect a statement of her views on Turkish affairs until the proposed meeting of the three sovereigns was held. "Up to the present," Metternich added, "we have been absolutely silent on this subject towards the Court of St. Petersburg." He was also critical of the Tsar's proposal for an early meeting of the three rulers and their advisers. On the basis of his experience of the gatherings which had taken place between 1813 and 1823, he argued that reunions of rulers and their cabinets were useful only when they had a "formally recognised" aim and had been sufficiently well prepared to ensure "perfect agreement." Otherwise they were full of danger, not only because they would fail to achieve their aim but also because they might easily lead to the very developments which it was desired to avoid. Metternich conceded that these considerations were only partly applicable to informal meetings of rulers, and that if the Tsar were to take the waters in Bohemia during the following summer, "nothing will be more natural than the visits which would be paid to him." But as time was a "good counsellor," he suggested that it would be best to leave the nature and date of these visits to the future.<sup>35</sup> Even the Tsar's plan for a Romanov-Habsburg marriage alliance encountered serious difficulties in Vienna. But this was due not so much to Metternich as to religious issues and the opposition of the Habsburgs themselves.<sup>36</sup>

Though Metternich forwarded no statement of his views to St. Petersburg, his silence failed to deflect Nicholas I from his purpose.

<sup>35</sup> W.S.A., Weisungen nach Preussen. Metternich à Trautmansdorff—23 nov /43. For the full text of Metternich's despatch, see below, p. 280.

<sup>36</sup> W.S.A., Berichte aus Russland. Ficquelmont à Metternich—3 oct /43, Litt. B Vienne. The Tsar was prepared to agree to any issue of the marriage being brought up as Roman Catholics. But he felt unable to let Olga herself join the Roman Catholic church. He ultimately gave up the idea of a marriage alliance at the end of 1845 and betrothed his daughter to the Prince Royal of Würtemberg. But the attitude of the Habsburgs irritated him intensely. *Ibid*, Esterházy à Metternich 22 jan /3 fév /46, No. 6.

On the contrary, in March, 1844, the Tsar made another approach to Austria through Count Orlov, one of his closest advisers, whom he sent to Vienna to discuss the Turkish problem, the projected marriage alliance, and the need for a firm policy in Polish affairs. A few days after Orlov had set out, the Tsar saw Count Colloredo, the Austrian ambassador, and spoke to him about the object of Orlov's mission and particularly about the Turkish problem. He said that although an effort must be made to preserve the Ottoman empire as long as possible, it was no use pretending that it was not breaking down. Though nobody believed him, he could give his word of honour that he did not want Constantinople for himself. He was equally opposed to the establishment of "French and English dependencies" at Constantinople, and in view of the incompetence of the Greek King, he also excluded the possibility of reconstituting a Greek empire. The only possible solution would be for Austria to become Turkey's heir. The Tsar told Colloredo that the Tsarevich held the same view. "But I assure you," he added, "that we stand alone; those around me who have been initiated are not convinced." Apart from himself and his son, the only other persons who knew of the plan were Metternich, Ficquelmont, Nesselrode, Orlov, and now Colloredo himself; and the Tsar put Colloredo on his honour not to breathe a word to a soul. He admitted that what he proposed would be very dangerous and difficult and that Britain and France would oppose it. But at the same time it was the "least dangerous" solution, and Russia could be relied on to back Austria with all her forces. "By this means," the Tsar said, "I believe that we can face the danger." The Tsar also referred to Queen Victoria's visit to Louis Philippe at the Chateau d'Eu and to the way in which Britain and France were parading their "union" on every possible occasion. "We must do something on our side," he argued, "to prove that our alliance is as close as ever it was." The King of Prussia had already offered to attend a meeting of the three rulers and had even said that it would be easy to induce Queen Victoria to take part. "I am not meddling in this," the Tsar told Colloredo, "I have taken it upon myself to make the first approaches to you."<sup>37</sup>

The results of Orlov's mission to Vienna are not known in detail. But it is extremely unlikely that he had any more success in the Turkish problem than the Tsar himself during the preceding autumn. What is significant is that the projected meeting of the three rulers

<sup>37</sup> W S A., *Russland, Varia*. Colloredo à Metternich—17/29 mars/44, No 2 Lett partic

failed to take place and that early in June, 1844, the Tsar paid a surprise visit to Britain and discussed the Turkish problem with Peel and Aberdeen. Two months later, Nesselrode also spent some weeks in Britain, ostensibly to take a holiday at Brighton. This meant that the Tsar had now decided to work for an agreement not only with Austria but with Britain as well, possibly in the hope that if Russia could settle with Britain, Austria herself would be more forthcoming. He assured Peel and Aberdeen that Russia would do everything possible to maintain the Turkish empire. But he was convinced that she would not succeed, and that if the Powers wished to avoid an explosive situation and not be caught unawares

we should keep the possible and eventual case of Turkey's collapse honestly and reasonably before our eyes . . . deliberate reasonably and endeavour to come to a straightforward and honest understanding on the subject.<sup>38</sup>

The Tsar found Peel and Aberdeen only too ready to co-operate with Russia in upholding the Turkish empire. If it collapsed, they were also prepared to concert with the Tsar about a new order. But there is no evidence that they were at all responsive to the Tsar's tentative efforts to induce them to express their views about the possible shape of this new order.<sup>39</sup> Later in the year Nesselrode embodied the substance of the Tsar's exchange of views in a memorandum submitted to Aberdeen and to the Tsar himself, and both parties accepted it with one important modification suggested by Nicholas. In brief, the memorandum laid stress on the "equal interest" of Russia and Britain in working together to strengthen the Ottoman empire and remove the dangers which might jeopardise its security. But if they foresaw that Turkey must collapse, they

<sup>38</sup> Baron Stockmar. *Memoirs of Baron Stockmar*, London, 1872, Vol. II, pp. 107-09.

<sup>39</sup> Stockmar. *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 106-09. According to Stockmar, the Tsar told Peel that he did not claim an inch of Turkish soil for himself and would not allow anyone else to take any. Peel is said to have replied that "England in regard to the East was in a similar position except that in one point, the policy of England was slightly modified, namely in regard to Egypt. Too powerful a government there—a government that might close the commercial road across Egypt against England or refuse the transit of the English overland mails—could not be agreeable to England." It is surprising to find Tarlé: *Krimskaya Voina*, Vol. I, p. 78, commenting on the basis of Peel's remarks: "In other words, Robert Peel not only listened but himself expounded schemes for the partition of Turkish possessions and even named in advance the part he wanted." See also *The Russian Review*, Liverpool, Vol. I, Pt. III, p. 98. This asserts that the Tsar said to Peel and Aberdeen: "There are some things I wish; there are others I do not wish. I do not wish to establish myself in Constantinople. I shall never consent to either England or France establishing herself there, nor am I at all in favour of the setting up of a Byzantine Empire."

were to concert in advance about the establishment of a new order which would disturb neither their own security, their treaty rights, nor the maintenance of the European balance of power. It added that Austria was at one with Russia on this issue, and that if Britain acted with them, France would presumably have to accept whatever the three Powers agreed on. An exchange of letters between Aberdeen and Nesselrode reinforced this memorandum, at least in the eyes of the Russians, and copies of it were placed in the archives of both countries. But constitutionally it was not binding on the British government or on later Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries, though Brunnow, the Russian minister in London, tried to see that Aberdeen's successors at the Foreign Office were made aware of its existence.<sup>40</sup>

After these approaches to Austria in September, 1843 and March, 1844, and to Britain in June, 1844, the Tsar temporarily relaxed his drive for agreement on the shape of a new order if Turkey collapsed. But during a short visit to Vienna at the end of December, 1845, he had a long interview with Metternich which ranged over a number of problems including the relations between the three Eastern Powers and the Turkish question. The Tsar made it clear that he was far from happy about his relations with his two neighbours.

Never forget [he told Metternich] that we used to be three and are now not more than two and perhaps not more than one and a half; this may well end in reducing us to not more than one.

He was equally frank about the Turkish question, and Metternich described his references to it as the weightiest part of the interview. After expressing regret that Metternich had been unable to meet him in Warsaw two years earlier, he said that he intended to repeat now what he would have said to him then. He wanted to see the Ottoman empire continuing and the Powers doing their utmost to maintain it. But the only two Powers which could properly fulfil the role of tutors were Turkey's neighbours. He did not covet Constantinople for himself, and if Turkey collapsed, he would never let it go to anyone but Austria.

<sup>40</sup> There is a copy of the memorandum in the handwriting of Baron Brunnow in the P.R.O., F.O. 65/307. The endorsement on the back was altered when the memorandum was published in *Parliamentary Papers*, session 1854, Vol. LXXI, *Eastern Papers*, VI. For opposing views on the binding character of the memorandum and of the exchange of letters between Aberdeen and Nesselrode, see Puryear: *op cit*, ch. I, on the one hand and Temperley *op cit*, pp. 254-57, and G. B. Henderson: *Crimæan War Diplomacy*, Glasgow, 1947, pp. 2-4 on the other. Puryear's view is clearly mistaken. For the text of the letters, see *The Russian Review*, Vol. I, Pt. III, pp. 108-09.

It is Austria [he insisted] which in the general interest ought to receive the heritage of European Turkey. If English, French, or any other forces wish to seize Constantinople, I shall chase them away, and I do not believe in the chances of expulsion, for I shall be on the spot before either of these forces. Once in Constantinople, I shall not withdraw.

The Tsar added that he had told Aberdeen all this during his visit to London; and when Metternich enquired how Aberdeen had reacted, Nicholas replied that he had "opened his eyes wide." Metternich's account of the interview makes it clear that he once more turned the Russian approaches aside. He told the Tsar that the problem was too grave and vast to be dealt with in passing and that he would discuss it with Nesselrode who was due to be travelling through Vienna in a few weeks. But he took the opportunity of insisting that the real task which faced the Powers was to aim at measures for helping to preserve the Turkish empire, and that in this respect Austria had nothing to modify in her policy.<sup>41</sup> Just what Metternich and Nesselrode said to each other about Turkish affairs is not known. But in view of their earlier and subsequent attitudes it is almost certain that they concentrated their attention on how to uphold Turkey rather than on trying to define the shape of a new order if Turkey collapsed.

Colloredo, the Austrian ambassador in St. Petersburg, wrote some interesting comments on the Tsar's plan for making Austria the heir to the Turkish empire in Europe. He insisted that even from the Russian point of view the plan was impracticable.

No Emperor of Russia [he said] will ever be able to bring his armies and fleets to conquer these provinces for another Power; he will never be able to use them to set any other cross than a Greek cross on the ancient basilica of St. Sophia. The Emperor who knows his people so well, the strength and weakness of his position, is convinced of this.

<sup>41</sup> W S A., *Aus Staats Kanzlei, Russland*, fasc 49. A section of Metternich's report is printed in Stern, *op cit*, Vol VI, pp 608-09.

"N'oubliez jamais, que Nous avons été trois et qu'aujourd'hui, nous ne sommes plus qu'à deux, et peut-être même plus qu'à un et demi; cela pourrait bien finir par n'être plus qu'un!"

"C'est à l'Autriche que, dans l'intérêt général, doit appartenir l'héritage de la Turquie européenne. Si des forces anglaises, françaises, ou toute autre, devaient vouloir s'emparer de Constantinople, je les en chasserai, et je ne crois pas à la chance de l'expulsion, car je serai sur les lieux avant l'une ou l'autre de ces forces. Une fois dans Constantinople, je n'en sortirai plus!"

If the Tsar really told Aberdeen that Austria ought to be the heir to European Turkey, it is strange that the memorandum embodying his exchange of views with Peel and Aberdeen should say that if Russia and Britain foresaw Turkey's collapse they were to work for a new order which would not disturb the European balance of power.

Colloredo put a different interpretation on the Russian proposals. He believed that the Tsar was anxious to find some means for acting when the time seemed ripe, which would leave him free to declare that he was acting for a friendly and allied Power and not for Russia which wanted nothing for herself. But when the deed had been done and the time came for discussing and deciding what was and was not possible, he would put forward the idea of setting up a state united to Russia by interests, principles, and religion, governed by a Russian prince, and a better guardian of the Straits for Russia than Turkey could be.

Russia can never lose sight of this aim [Colloredo maintained] It is a necessary condition for the fulfilment of her destiny. The longer you live here and the more you watch the normal development of her forces, . . . the trend of national feeling, the more you become confirmed in this conviction. Present-day Greece would be swallowed up in the new state.<sup>42</sup>

### III

Though the Tsar made little headway in trying to secure agreement on the shape of a new order in Turkey, he embarked on a new series of overtures during the early months of 1853. They were first made to Britain, and began at a time when the Turkish government were being subjected to increasing pressure from the Great Powers and when Europe was anxious about the possible ambitions of Napoleon III. The Franco-Russian dispute about the Holy Places had been dragging on at Turkey's expense ever since the middle of 1850, and during the spring and summer of 1852 the French government had twice resorted to displays of naval might to reinforce French demands and secure concessions at Constantinople and in Palestine.<sup>43</sup> These French successes inevitably angered the Tsar, who interpreted them as a sign of Turkish perfidy and weakness and as a blow to Russian and Orthodox influence in the Near East; and towards the end of 1852 he prepared in his turn

<sup>42</sup> W S A, Russland, Varia. Colloredo à Metternich—1/13 avril/45, *partic.*

"Jamais un Empereur de Russie ne pourra mener ses armées et ses flottes à la conquête de ces Provinces pour le compte d'une autre puissance, jamais il ne pourra les employer à planter sur l'antique basilique de Ste Sophie une autre croix que la croix grecque. L'Empereur, qui connaît si parfaitement ses peuples, le fort et le faible de sa position, en est convaincu."

"Jamais la Russie ne saurait perdre de vue ce but. C'est une condition nécessaire de l'accomplissement de ses destinées. Plus on l'habite, plus on observe le développement normal de ses forces, la tendance du sentiment national, plus on est confirmé dans cette conviction. La Grèce actuelle serait englobée dans le nouvel état."

<sup>43</sup> Temperley. *op cit*, pp 281-97.



for armed pressure on the Turks and for the despatch of a special mission to Constantinople to seek redress for Russia's grievances and guarantees for the future. He also promised the Sultan Russian help if France supported her claims on Turkey by force of arms.<sup>44</sup> This spurt of tension between Turkey, France, and Russia coincided with serious differences between Turkey and Austria over Turkey's attempts to occupy and subdue Montenegro with five armies under Omer Pasha, one of the Sultan's leading soldiers. The Austrian government were afraid that this invasion of Montenegro might provoke a revolt in Bosnia and Serbia and unsettle Austria's own Yugoslav subjects; and in January, 1853, they decided to insist on a Turkish withdrawal by sending Count Leiningen to Constantinople with a virtual ultimatum for the Turkish government.<sup>45</sup> Nicholas supported this vigorous Austrian intervention, and at one point he even promised the Austrian Emperor that if the issue came to war between Austria and Turkey, Russia would be found at Austria's side.<sup>46</sup>

In December, 1852, the Tsar drew up a short memorandum outlining some of his ideas on Russia's future policy towards Turkey. This memorandum shows that he was determined to secure redress for the past and guarantees for the future, and that he was already wondering whether he would be able to achieve his aims by negotiation or whether he would have to pass to intimidation and ultimately to the use of force. Under the heading of "force," he mentioned a declaration of war, a Russian occupation of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and a surprise attack on Constantinople. The Tsar showed most concern about the possibility that Turkey would refuse to yield, that Russian forces would occupy Constantinople and the Dardanelles and put the Turkish army to flight, and that Russia would be faced with Turkey's collapse. This would raise the problems of whether Turkish rule could be restored with any chance of success and of what could be set up to take Turkey's place. Nicholas insisted that Russia would find it impossible to keep all the Sultan's possessions in Europe, inconvenient to keep

<sup>44</sup> Zaionchkovski *Vostochnaya Voina*, Appendix, Vol. I, pp. 351-57 Reports of Nesselrode on Eastern Affairs—13 & 20 Dec /52

<sup>45</sup> Temperley: *op cit*, pp. 221-22 and 301-02 Some observers felt that Russia and Austria were fomenting "a great and general Slavonic movement" in Turkey. British Museum, Additional MSS. 38981 Longworth to Layard—6 Feb /53, ff. 222-33. Longworth later doubted whether Austria had been behind the troubles in Montenegro But he still thought that she was willing to allow panslavism free scope in Turkey while repressing it as much as possible in her own dominions. *Ibid*, ff. 254-60.

<sup>46</sup> Zaionchkovski *op cit*, Appendix, Vol. I, pp 368-69. Nicholas I to Francis Joseph—11/23 Feb./53.

Constantinople and the Dardanelles, and impossible to keep Constantinople by itself. He also excluded the possibility of reviving the Byzantine empire or uniting Turkish territory to Greece. The only principles which he seemed ready to admit were division into "independent provinces" and partition among the Powers; and in the concluding part of his memorandum he combined these two principles in a scheme which he described as "the least bad of all the bad combinations." This proposed that if Turkey collapsed Russia should have the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia together with Bulgaria as far as Constanza, that Serbia and Bulgaria should be independent, that Austria should take the littoral of the archipelago and the Adriatic, that Britain should have Egypt and perhaps Cyprus and Rhodes, and that France and Greece should respectively take Crete and the islands of the archipelago. Constantinople was to become a free city with a Russian garrison in the Bosphorus and an Austrian garrison in the Dardanelles. The Tsar also referred to Turkish possessions in Asia-Minor, though without indicating his opinion of what ought to be done with them.<sup>47</sup>

In view of the danger of a really serious crisis in the Near East, Nicholas I also conceived the idea of making an approach to Britain, partly to reassure her about the aims of Russian policy and keep her from supporting Napoleon III, and partly to try to reach some sort of agreement with her about a new order in Turkey if the Ottoman empire collapsed. He may have viewed it as a development of his talks with Peel and Aberdeen in 1844. But when he broached the matter in December, 1852, Nesselrode warned him that it would be a "great mistake" at the moment to put forward "proposals for partition and plans for an uncertain future." He insisted that Russia's enemies would hasten to twist them against her, and that some people might regard them as proof that Russia was trying to use the dispute about the Holy Places to cause Turkey's collapse. Nesselrode's own view was that Russia should try to preserve Turkey and aim at securing redress for her grievances through a special mission to Constantinople, supported by military preparations. He wisely pointed out that Britain and Austria would be ready to help Russia in maintaining peace, and would probably urge moderation on France and Turkey if Russia reassured them about the "purity of her intentions" and the "nature of her grievances." But if it came to war, they would either turn against her or at best adopt an attitude of "armed neutrality." He argued

<sup>47</sup> Zaionchkovski: *op cit*, Appendix, Vol I, pp 357-58. Note of the Tsar on the Eastern Question—Dec /52.

that the Tsar's wisest plan would be to withhold the ideas expressed in his memorandum "until the eventuality to which they apply actually comes about." It would be "dangerous and useless," Nesselrode said, to approach Britain along these lines. She would never pledge herself about the future, and the Tsar would simply show Russia's hand without discovering Britain's views in return.<sup>48</sup>

Nesselrode put forward these considerations in a report dated 1 January, 1853. On 6 January news reached St. Petersburg that the Tory government of Lord Derby had fallen and had been succeeded by a coalition of Peelites and Whigs, with Aberdeen as Prime Minister and Lord John Russell temporarily at the Foreign Office until Lord Clarendon was ready to take his place. On 9 January the Tsar met Seymour, the British ambassador, at a dinner given by the Grand Duchess Helen and told him of his "great pleasure" at the new government and of his wish to be remembered kindly to Aberdeen "for whom he entertained equal regard and esteem." He invited Seymour to call on him to discuss Louis Napoleon's new title of Napoleon III and stressed that it was "very essential" for himself and the British government to be on the best terms.

When we are agreed [he said] I am quite without anxiety as to the West of Europe. As to Turkey that is another question: that country is in a critical state and may give us all a good deal of trouble.

The Tsar shook Seymour's hand and prepared to move on. But Seymour, who was anxious about Russian military preparations, immediately asked for a "few words" of reassurance on the Turkish problem. At first the Tsar was a little hesitant. He said that Turkey seemed to be falling to pieces, that its collapse would be "a great misfortune," and that Britain and Russia ought to reach "a perfectly good understanding" and not take any decisive step without informing each other. When Seymour signified his approval of this method of treating the Turkish problem, the Tsar began to speak more openly.

We have a sick man on our hands [he insisted], a man who is seriously ill; it will be . . . a great misfortune if he escapes us one of these days, especially before all the necessary arrangements are made.

When Seymour suggested that it was for the strong and generous to deal gently with the sick and infirm, the Tsar brought the con-

<sup>48</sup> Zaionchkovski: *op. cit.*, Appendix, Vol I, pp. 354-57. Report of Nesselrode on Eastern Affairs—20 December/52.

versation to an end, though not until he had repeated his intention of giving Seymour an audience in the next few days.<sup>49</sup>

This talk between Nicholas and Seymour proved to be the beginning of a series of exchanges which continued until late April, 1853. During this time Seymour had four further conversations with the Tsar and a number of meetings with Nesselrode to discuss points arising out of them. The British government also sent three despatches to Seymour for communication to the Russian government and received two Russian communications in return.<sup>50</sup> The Tsar's real aim was to persuade the British government to discuss and agree on a new order to be set up if the Turkish empire collapsed. He emphasised that he wished to maintain Turkey if possible, that he wanted no more territory or power for Russia, and that "nothing better for . . . [Russian] interests can be desired" than Turkey in its existing state.

But I repeat to you [he said to Seymour] that the Bear is dying; you may give him musk, but even musk will not long keep him alive.

He feared that the disputes about the Holy Places and Montenegro might lead to a war which could easily end in the downfall of Turkey. Alternatively, a

catastrophe . . . might be brought about at any moment . . . by a feud between the old Turkish party and that of the "new superficial French reforms," or again by a rising of the Christians already known to be very impatient of shaking off the Mussulman yoke.

The Tsar also insisted that the Sultan's authority could never be revived if once it broke down, and he asked the British government through Seymour

whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency than to incur the chaos, confusion, and the certainty of a European war, all

<sup>49</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, session 1854, Vol. LXXI, *Eastern Papers*, V. "Communications respecting Turkey made to Her Majesty's Government by the Emperor of Russia, with the Answers returned to them, January to April, 1853" Henceforward cited as *E P V* Seymour to Russell—11 Jan/53, pp 1-3

<sup>50</sup> *E P V* Seymour to Russell—22 Jan, 21 Feb, 22 Feb/53, Russell to Seymour—9 Feb/53; Seymour to Clarendon—9, 10, 12 & 16 March, 20, 21 April/53; Clarendon to Seymour—23 March & 5 April/53, Nesselrode to Seymour—21 fév, 15 mars/53, pp 1-25 The text of most of the despatches printed in *E P V* was "edited" for publication The complete texts can be found in P.R O, F.O 65/420, No. 38 (from Russell); Nos 23 & 36 (from Clarendon), 65/424, Nos. 87, 88; 65/426, No. 188 (from Seymour). See also 65/424 Seymour to Russell—22 Jan./53, No. 26, Sec & Conf; 65/426 Seymour to Clarendon—5 April/53, No 162, Sec & Conf For the Tsar's comments on the first communication from the British government, see Zaionchkovski. *op cit*, Appendix, Vol I, pp 359-62.

of which must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly and before some ulterior system has been sketched.<sup>51</sup>

As the exchanges proceeded, Nicholas shifted his ground somewhat by telling Seymour that he was "not so eager about what should be done when the bear dies" as he was "to determine with England what shall not be done upon that event taking place." But he ended by outlining the kind of new order which he thought could be established as well as changes which he was determined never to accept. He added that he did not ask for a treaty or a protocol; "a general understanding is all I require," he said, "—that between gentlemen is sufficient."<sup>52</sup>

Unlike the Tsar, the British government were chiefly concerned to turn this exchange of views into a lesson on the need for forbearance towards Turkey and on the importance of settling existing disputes without recourse to military and naval demonstrations. They expressed their general agreement with the Tsar's views on the changes which could not be permitted if the Turkish empire collapsed. But in their despatches to Seymour for communication to the Russian government they concentrated on showing the difficulties and dangers inherent in any agreement about the shape of a new order in Turkey, and on arguing that the Sultan's authority was not weakening and that it was in the interest of all the Powers to see it upheld.

The main object of H.M. government [Clarendon wrote on 23 March] . . . is the preservation of peace, and they desire to uphold the Turkish empire from their conviction that no great question can be agitated in the East without becoming a source of discord in the West and that every great question in the West will assume a revolutionary character and embrace a revision of the entire social system, for which the continental Governments are certainly in no state of preparation. . . . H.M. government believe that Turkey only requires forbearance on the part of its allies and a determination not to press their claims in a manner humiliating to the dignity and independence of the Sultan . . . in order not only to prolong its existence, but to remove all cause of alarm respecting its dissolution.<sup>53</sup>

To begin with, Seymour seems to have been less disinclined than his government to contemplate some sort of an Anglo-Russian

<sup>51</sup> P.R.O., F.O. 65/424. Seymour to Russell—21 Feb./53, No. 87, Sec. & Conf. Same to Same—22 Feb./53, No. 88, Sec. & Conf., *E.P.V.* Seymour to Russell—22 Jan./53, pp. 3-6.

<sup>52</sup> P.R.O., F.O. 65/424. Seymour to Russell—21 & 22 Feb./53, Nos. 87 & 88, Sec. & Conf.

<sup>53</sup> P.R.O., F.O. 65/420. Clarendon to Seymour—23 March/53, No. 23, Sec. & Conf.

understanding about a new order if Turkey collapsed.<sup>54</sup> But the Tsar's insistence on the imminence of Turkey's downfall soon made him highly suspicious of Russia's real intentions, and by 21 February he was telling Russell that the Tsar's words offered "matter for most anxious reflection." He also conjectured that the Tsar's aim was

to engage H.M. government in conjunction with his own Cabinet and that of Vienna in some scheme for the ultimate partition of Turkey and for the exclusion of France from the arrangement.<sup>55</sup>

The following day in a despatch describing the most important of all his conversations with Nicholas, Seymour said that his government might be able to extract additional information from the Tsar if they could state

any point or points in which their opinion may agree with that of the Emperor as to the course or courses which are not to be pursued at Constantinople.

But he himself was already becoming anxious to restrict the scope of the exchanges and his report suggested that

some expressions might be used in the despatch . . . which might have the effect of putting an end to the further consideration, or at all events, discussion of points which it is highly desirable should not be regarded as offering subject for debate.<sup>56</sup>

Nesselrode's attitude was more akin to that of the British government than to that of his master. When Seymour told him the gist of the Tsar's first overtures, he replied that Nicholas was too much inclined to see the black side of Turkish affairs and was too much preoccupied with the possible consequences of Turkey's downfall.

Its existence is precarious [he said] . . . but let us concern ourselves above all with prolonging it as long as possible—nations have more vitality than they are usually credited with.<sup>57</sup>

Towards the end of the exchanges, Nesselrode frankly admitted to Seymour that he agreed with the British government in finding

inconvenience in the prolonged discussion of a matter of so much delicacy as that upon which the Emperor has spoken.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *EPV* Seymour to Russell—22 Jan /53, pp 3-6

<sup>55</sup> *P R O*, *FO* 65/424 Seymour to Russell—21 Feb /53, No. 87, Sec. & Conf.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, *FO* 65/424 Seymour to Russell—22 Feb /53 No. 88, Sec & Conf

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, *FO* 65/424 Seymour to Russell—22 Jan /53, No 26, Sec & Conf

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, *FO* 65/426 Seymour to Clarendon—5 April/53, No 162, Sec. & Conf

The Tsar expressed decided views about the kind of new order in Turkey which he would never be prepared to accept. He insisted that he would never allow Constantinople to be held by any of the Great Powers, including Russia herself, though he made it clear that he might be driven to occupy Constantinople temporarily if no previous understanding were reached. He also rejected any idea of reviving a Byzantine empire or enlarging Greece into a powerful state and was even less disposed to see Turkey broken up "into little republics, asylums for the Kossuths, Mazzinis and other revolutionists of Europe."

Rather than submit to any of these arrangements [he said], I would go to war and as long as I have a man and a musket left would carry it on.

The Tsar also argued that if Turkey collapsed, it might be less difficult to make "a satisfactory territorial arrangement" than was commonly believed. What he suggested was that Serbia and Bulgaria should be given the same sort of government as Moldavia and Wallachia which he described as "in fact an independent state under my protection." He added that at the same time Egypt might go to Britain in view of its importance to her.

I would say the same thing of Candia [he went on]; that island might suit you and I do not know why it should not become an English possession.

Seymour reported that he was unable to remember the precise terms which the Tsar had used when referring to "the commercial policy to be observed at Constantinople" after Turkey's collapse. But the tenor of it was that Britain and Russia "had a common interest in providing for the readiest access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean." The Tsar also told Seymour at one point:

when I speak of Russia, I speak of Austria as well; what suits the one suits the other; our interests as regards Turkey are perfectly identical.<sup>59</sup>

Though the exchange of views produced less than the Tsar was really aiming at, it was far from valueless even from the Russian point of view. Both parties promised not to make any agreement on what was to be done if Turkey collapsed without previously communicating with each other. The British government also disclaimed any wish to take Constantinople for themselves and agreed with the Tsar that it could belong to neither Britain nor Russia. They similarly agreed with the Tsar that any revival of the Byzan-

<sup>59</sup> P.R.O., F.O. 65/424. Seymour to Russell—22 Feb./53, No. 88, Sec. & Cont.

tine empire or any enlargement of Greece was out of the question and

that as there are no materials for provincial or communal government, anarchy would be the result of leaving the provinces of Turkey to themselves or permitting them to form separate republics.<sup>60</sup>

But they refused to let themselves be drawn beyond this. When the Tsar suggested that Britain might ultimately take Egypt, Seymour promptly replied that

English views upon Egypt did not go beyond the point of securing a safe and ready communication between British India and the mother country.<sup>61</sup>

The British government were even more explicit, and in a despatch of 23 March Clarendon bluntly told Seymour :

England desires no territorial aggrandisement and could be no party to a previous arrangement from which she was to derive any such benefit.<sup>62</sup>

This meant the failure of the Tsar's attempt to steer the exchange of views into a discussion and agreement on the shape of a new order in Turkey. But the talks ended on a friendly note with each side feeling that it had achieved something useful. The British government were particularly pleased at the Tsar's assurances that Russia intended to uphold the independence and integrity of the Turkish empire, and in a despatch of 5 April Clarendon expressed

the earnest desire of H.M. government that the Representatives of the two Powers may henceforward co-operate together in carrying out this intention by giving similar advice in the same friendly spirit to the Porte.<sup>63</sup>

But the good-will in which the talks ended was soon to be dissipated by increased Russian pressure and menaces at Constantinople and by what the Tsar regarded as the unfriendly reactions of the British government. This led to resentment on both sides and accelerated the "drift" into the Crimean War.

On 3 July 1853, the Tsar sent his troops across the Pruth to occupy the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. He realised that this move would increase the danger of war, and that war might be a signal for the Christian population of European Turkey

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, F O 65/420. Clarendon to Seymour—23 March/53, No. 23, Sec & Conf

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, F O 65/424. Seymour to Russell—22 Feb/53, No 88, Sec & Conf

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, F O 65/420. Clarendon to Seymour—23 March/53, No 23, Sec & Conf

<sup>63</sup> *E P V* Clarendon to Seymour—5 April/53, pp. 22–23



to rise in revolt against the Sultan. This made him doubly anxious to keep the goodwill and support of Austria, and from July onwards he tried to reach agreement with Francis Joseph about the future of Turkey's European provinces. He said that if war began, he could not act as in the past and would no longer be able to restrain the Bulgars, Greeks, and other nationalities "who are impatient and beginning to despair." If they revolted, fleets would be useless against them and the consequence would be the collapse of the Ottoman empire in Europe. The Tsar emphasised that he wanted no territory for Russia and that the "simplest decision" would be to recognise the independence of the insurgent peoples within existing boundaries such as Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia, Bulgaria. But he added that these small, new states would need to be under a joint Russo-Austrian protectorate. He also told Francis Joseph that if Constantinople were taken from the Turks, he could see no other solution than to make it a free city under a European guarantee and to demolish the fortifications of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. But the Austrian government were repelled rather than attracted by these references to a rising among the Balkan Christians, and neither in July nor later on were they prepared to treat with Russia along the lines which the Tsar had suggested. Instead, they pressed for assurances that Russia would respect the territorial integrity of Turkey and not send troops across the Danube.<sup>64</sup> The result was that Austro-Russian relations slowly deteriorated, and in March, 1854, Russia found herself isolated and at war with Turkey supported by France and Britain. Contrary to the Tsar's predictions to Seymour, the war ended not in Turkey's downfall but in the defeat of Russia herself.

#### IV

It was one of the major tragedies of Nicholas I that his reign ended in a war over the Turkish problem which he had worked for so long to solve by peaceful and negotiated agreement. The Tsar was undoubtedly much too pessimistic and despondent about the stability and vitality of the Turkish empire. In 1844, for example, he is reported to have told Peel and Aberdeen that there were two views about Turkey current in Russia. The first was that she was on the point of collapse and the second that she had collapsed already. "The first view is held by Nesselrode," the Tsar said, "the second by myself."<sup>65</sup> But once due allowance has been made

<sup>64</sup> Zaionchkovski *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt I, pp. 546-50 and 561-71.

<sup>65</sup> *Istoricheski Vestnik*, St. Petersburg, Vol XXIII, p. 620

for this obsession, it seems clear that his various attempts to agree on a partition of Turkey were prompted not by any Machiavellian determination to encompass the Sultan's downfall as much as by a genuine and natural desire to safeguard Russia's vital interests and avoid the risk that Turkey's collapse might take the Powers unawares and provoke a general war by leading each of them to act independently. This anxiety to preserve peace by arranging a settlement in advance was in itself creditable and laudable, as even Seymour acknowledged early in 1853.

A noble triumph would be obtained by the civilisation of the nineteenth century [he wrote] if the void left by the extinction of Mohammedan rule in Europe could be filled up without an interruption of the general peace in consequence of the precautions adopted by the two principal governments the most interested in the destinies of Turkey.<sup>66</sup>

But the Tsar gave too little weight to two other important considerations. First, he seems to have underestimated the difficulty of deciding on the precise shape of a new order to replace the Turkish empire. Though the problem of a new order exercised his mind for over twenty years, he was far from consistent in the views which he advanced, even when he limited himself to stating what he was determined to avoid. This makes it all the more understandable why other interested statesmen were so reluctant to face the issue and preferred to avoid it as long as possible by concentrating on ways and means of preserving Turkey, which in any case they believed to be less decrepit than Nicholas I imagined. Secondly, the Tsar underestimated the risk that secret arrangements about a new order might leak out and cause anarchy in Turkey and war in Europe; <sup>67</sup> and that his various proposals for partition might come to be regarded as evidence of a Russian plot to pull the Turkish empire down. On the contrary, he believed that personal charm and diplomatic frankness would dispel suspicion and engender confidence, and that if agreement could be reached, it would promote stability and enable statesmen to control themselves and events. Yet, as he ultimately discovered to his own and Russia's cost, personal charm and diplomatic frankness cannot in themselves banish hard political realities, and even good intentions cannot excuse blunders in statesmanship and may sometimes pave the road to war.

G. H. BOLSOVER.

<sup>66</sup> *E.P.V.*, p. 6 Seymour to Russell—22 Jan /53

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, V, pp. 19-20. Clarendon to Seymour—23 March/53

## THE MOSCOW RISING OF 1648

IN view of the "legendary meaning" which the words "Forty-Eight" have acquired,<sup>1</sup> and of the fascination they still possess, it is worth while to devote a few moments to remoter associations which the various centenaries commemorated this year are bound to evoke—in this case to the year 1648. In retrospect that year stands out in the history of Europe as prominently as the later "48," and from a historical point of view both dates have a lot in common. The two distant periods are even connected by a direct link inasmuch as the Parliament of Frankfurt with its vain attempts to create a unified German state can be said to have been the anticlimax to the Westphalian Peace which had split Germany into more than 300 independent units. There is also an unmistakable analogy between many events two centuries apart: e.g. both years have seen fierce struggles for national independence—1648 in the Ukraine and 1848 in Hungary. But what arrests attention most is the fact that 1648 was also a year of revolutionary movements, and that these events in number and intensity definitely equalled those of "48." In the words of H. A. L. Fisher:

"Revolution was in the air. There was, in that year 1648, revolution in Naples, in Catalonia, in Portugal, in England, and how could Paris fail to experience the general tremor? The market women cried for Masaniello, the Neapolitan fisherman, who had dared to defy the King of Spain, while the greybeards of the Parliament meditated the more substantial precedents set by an assembly of like name to their own, which sat at Westminster and had just brought the English monarchy toppling to the ground."<sup>2</sup>

It might be argued that the events in this country of which most people are likely to think in the first instance were neither an opening nor a closing chapter, but merely a transitory stage of a protracted civil war, while on the other hand—to be quite exact—the revolution in Naples had by 1648 already reached its bitter end. But no kind of doubt will arise with regard to the Fronde—the great political strife in France. Complete with barricades, this struggle in 1648 was a perfect counterpart of the Parisian events of 1848. On both occasions the infectious revolutionary atmosphere was not limited by any state boundaries, with the only difference that the current

<sup>1</sup> "1848," *Slavonic Review*, No 67, p 301.

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Europe*, in one volume, p. 633.

was switched in opposite directions. In 1848, it was the February Revolution which started a chain of explosions all over Europe, while in 1648, as just mentioned, the revolutionary mood in Paris was obviously stimulated by contemporary events in other countries. In 1648, indeed, there was more revolution "in the air" than the summary by Fisher suggests: even distant Muscovy experienced severe shocks of an outspoken revolutionary nature, and this coincidence is of particular interest in view of a queerly contrasting parallel two centuries later. In 1848 England, the foremost parliamentary state, and Russia, the extremest autocracy, were the only two great powers not engulfed by the tide of unrest: in 1648, paradoxically enough, both countries were seething with unrest, although quite independently of one another and of the events in France.

Nevertheless, quite apart from any coincidences, the Russian troubles of 1648 ought not to be overlooked. Already contemporaries were fully aware that the upheaval which they witnessed in Moscow was not merely a spontaneous riot, but the symptom of a deeply rooted social and political crisis. All reports are unanimous in pointing out that the flickering discontent of the masses had been fanned into open flames by abuses persistently committed by a clique of unscrupulous men, who exercised unrestricted power in the name of the inexperienced and indifferent young Tsar. Moreover, it was not only the common man who was involved in the movement. Various groups of the population—service men included—had already voiced their grievancies emphatically on many occasions;<sup>3</sup> and the *Streltsy* (musketeers) actually sided with the rioters, refusing to use their arms against them.<sup>4</sup> It was certainly not sheer pessimism on the part of a foreign on-looker as far back as 1645 to estimate the situation in Russia as being so critical that a general rising was likely to take place in the near future.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that, having slowly regained stability after the Time of Troubles at the beginning of the century, the country was now once more in danger of catastrophe. In fact the outbreak

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the collective "petitions" in P. Smirnov's "Chelobitnyya Dvoryan i Detey Boyarskikh Vsekh Gorodov v pervoy polovine XVII veka," in *Chteniya v Imp. Obshch. Ist. i Dr. Ross. pr. Mosk. Un.*, 1915, III.

<sup>4</sup> Walszewski, *Le Berceau d'une Dynastie*, 1909, p. 60, describes the Moscow events in 1648 under the heading "La Fronde Moscovite," and speaks of a parallel in the behaviour of the *Streltsy* in Moscow and of the *milice bourgeoise* in face of the Paris barricades almost at the very same moment.

<sup>5</sup> This was the opinion of Peter Krusebiorn, Swedish Resident in Moscow, expressed even before the death of Tsar Michael in 1645: vid. G. V. Forsten, "Snosheniya Shvetsii s Rossiey v Tsarstvovanie Kristiny," in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Pr.*, June, 1891, p. 364.

in Moscow was closely followed by a series of similar riots in other towns, both far and near.<sup>6</sup> True, the impetus of the revolutionary wave was broken at the start by skilful manœuvring on the part of the young Tsar, and then checked by force and by concessions made to the middle classes in the new code of laws, the Ulozhenie.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, before being finally extinguished, the agitation flared up once more in several places, and with particular violence in 1650 in Pskov.<sup>8</sup>

The causes as well as the effects of the Moscow rising were certainly appreciated early by Russian historians, and the first attempt to compile a complete and historically accurate picture was made by Karamzin as far back as 1803.<sup>9</sup> But in spite of a growing number of scattered references successively discovered in Russian sources the available evidence concerning the actual happenings in Moscow continued to be insufficient. Chronological difficulties in particular remained unsettled almost to the end of the century. Both S. M. Solov'ev and K. N. Bestuzhev-Ryumin were equally misled with regard to the exact date on which the revolt started,<sup>10</sup> although they had given preference to different sources. It was only the comprehensive contemporary report by an unknown Russian author, published by S. F. Platonov in 1888,<sup>11</sup> which provided a definite clue for resolving the chronological discrepancies. The same authentic Russian document became also a touchstone for appraising the value of those foreign reports which had hitherto served as the main sources of detailed information.

The first and best known of these latter had been the story contained in the later editions of the famous *Voyages and Travels* by Olearius; but this was not a first-hand account, since Olearius had last been in Moscow in 1639.<sup>12</sup> Still more informative was the report

<sup>6</sup> A rough sketch of major and minor incidents will be found in R. Nisbet Bain's *The First Romanovs*, 1905, pp. 100 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., P. Smirnov, "O Nachale Ulozheniya i Zemskago Sobora 1648-1649 g.," in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, Sept., 1913 (part 47), pp. 49 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. M. N. Tikhomirov, *Pskovskoe vosstanie 1650 goda*, M.-L., 1935, see also documents showing that the unrest was not limited to Novgorod and Pskov in M. Ostrovskaya's "K Voprosu o Brozhenii 1650 g.," in *Chteniya v Imp. Obshch. Ist. i Dr. Ross.*, 1911, IV, misc, pp. 37-41.

<sup>9</sup> "O Moskovskom Myatezhe v Tsarstvovanie Alekseya Mikhaylovicha," in *Sochineniya Karamzina*, Vol. 8, 4th ed., 1835, pp. 200-20.

<sup>10</sup> See note 31.

<sup>11</sup> "Moskovskiya Volneniya 1648 goda," in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Pr.*, 1888, June, pp. 285-88, reprinted in *Stat'i po Russkoy Istorii*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors Sent by Frederick Duke of Holstein, to the Great Duke of Muscovy, and the King of Persia. Begun in the year 1633, and finished in 1639. Containing a compleat history of Muscovy, Tartary, Persia . . . Written originally by A. Olearius Faithfully rendered into English, by J. Davies*, London, 1662, pp. 110-14. Olearius was one of the main sources both for Karamzin and for Bain.

sent by a Dutchman from Moscow, which was published in Holland immediately after the events.<sup>13</sup> However, this "Dutch," or "Leyden" pamphlet, as the important source is now commonly called, eluded the attention of historians for over two hundred years. Even after a copy of the document was generally known to exist in the Public Library at St. Petersburg<sup>14</sup> it took many years before its contents attracted investigators, and this happened in a very odd and roundabout way. In 1880, Bestuzhev-Ryumin published the Russian translation of a manuscript preserved in the Bodleian at Oxford, dealing with the Moscow events of 1648.<sup>15</sup> The transcript of this document had been provided by W. R. Morfill, who, be it noted, has supplied Russian historians with other materials as well.<sup>16</sup> Bestuzhev-Ryumin's article immediately called forth a comment by K. Fetterleyn to the effect that the published text was identical with the contents of the Dutch pamphlet.<sup>17</sup> Contrary to

<sup>13</sup> "Waerachtighe Historie Ende Beschryvinghe, Van het Schrickelyck Tumult ende Oproer In der Moscou, Op den 2 Junij 1648 Ontstaen uyt de groote ende onverdragelycke Schattinghen, Tollen ende Contributien der Ghemeinte opgeleyt. Alles particulierlyck door een aensienelyck ende geloofwaerdigh Persoon, die aldaer tegenwoordigh is gheweest, beschreven, ende hier te Lande tot Amsterdam, aen seker synen Vrient, overghesonden Wt het Origineel gecopyeert, Ghedruckt tot Amsterdam . . . Anno 1648" No 5647 in W. P. C. Knuttel's *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-Verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, Vol I, 2, 1889. This is evidently identical with No 2401 in L. D. Petit's *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche Pamfletten Verzamelingen van de Bibl. van Joannes Thysius en de Bibl. der Rijks—Univ te Leiden*, I, 1882. Apart from this Amsterdam edition, Knuttel has the same title, No 5648, published in Leyden. This is the edition already registered by P. A. Tiele, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche Pamfletten . . . Verzameling van F. Muller te Amsterdam*, I, 1858, No 3247, and is evidently identical with the "Leyden Pamphlet" in the *Russica* (see Note 14). But Tiele has also another edition, No 3246, printed in Asterby, which Petit explicitly mentions as being different from the Amsterdam edition. Consequently, there seem to have existed three editions, all published in 1648 but in different places—obviously a sign of the great interest the pamphlet had aroused.

<sup>14</sup> *Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St.-Petersbourg Catalogue de la section de Russica . . . T. I A-M*, 1873, p. 547, No. 918: "Historie, Waerachtighe, Ende Beschreyvinghe, van het Schrickelyck Tumult Ende Oproer In der Moscou, op den tweeden Junij 1648", Leyden, 1648. According to Fetterleyn (see note 17) the pamphlet had been acquired already in 1865. The place of publication of this copy explains the name "Leyden Pamphlet" given to the document. The Amsterdam edition was mentioned only much later, in the introduction to *Posol'stvo Kunrada fan Klenka*, 1900, p. xxi, but as we have just seen there have been more than two different editions (or title pages).

<sup>15</sup> "Moskovsky Bunt 23 Iyunya 1648 goda. Razskaz ochevidtsa," in *Istorichesky Vestnik*, 1880, I, pp. 68-73. The text, which is reprinted as the "Leyden Pamphlet" in *Khrestomatiya po istorii SSSR Posobie dlya uchiteley*, compiled by V. I. Lebedev, V. E. Syroechkovsky, and M. N. Tikhomirov, Vol I, sec. rev. and augm. ed. (sic!), M., 1939, pp. 370-75, is in reality the German document from Stockholm published by Platonov, cf. note 23.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the various materials concerning Peter the Great expressly indicated and used by S. N. Shubinsky, "Petr Veliky v Deptforde," *Istorichesky vestnik*, 1888, Nov., pp. 409, 412-13, 415. The article is reprinted in his *Istoricheskie Ocherki i Razskazy*.

<sup>17</sup> "Zametka," in *Vestnik Evropy*, 1880, I, pp. 895-98.

the usual practice the original text had not been published with the translation, nor did Morfill himself, as it seems, ever make use of it beyond the short reference to the existence of the document which occurs in his *Russia*.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, apart from a few English words mentioned in a footnote (p. 70) as being added in the margin, Bestuzhev-Ryumin's article contains no exact information about the nature of the Oxford MS., the only comment being that the document was a gift by Ashmole and "had evidently been acquired by him in Amsterdam" (p. 68). In view of all this, it is scarcely surprising that Bestuzhev-Ryumin's publication came to be regarded simply as the Russian translation of the Dutch pamphlet.<sup>19</sup> At the same time the complete oblivion of the English version was made easy by the total lack of information as to who was the translator.

Of still greater consequence to the historian is the fact that not much more is known about the author of the Dutch original either. That he was a Dutchman may naturally be assumed without hesitation; but what his position was in Moscow has remained an open question. Most investigators seem to think he was on the staff of the Dutch Ambassador Burgh, who was in Moscow at the time of the rising.<sup>20</sup> S. F. Platonov in particular was reluctant to admit that the "person of quality," as the anonymous author is styled, could have been one of the resident Dutch merchants or servicemen in Moscow. In view of the dry and matter-of-fact style, and also of the promise to supplement the news in case of further events, Platonov was even inclined to think that the document might have been a diplomatic report.<sup>21</sup> However—with at least equal validity—the same arguments could be applied in favour of the assumption that the "Leyden Pamphlet" was merely the reproduction in print of an ordinary "News Letter" in Dutch, of a similar kind to those

<sup>18</sup> *Russia*, in the series "The Story of the Nations," 1890, and succeeding editions, p. 118.

<sup>19</sup> Even Ikonnikov, *Opyt Russkoy Istorografii*, I, p. 1490, does not mention that the Oxford MS was in English. The English version is, however, clearly indicated by V. Kordt, *Chuzhozemni Podorozhni po Skhizny Evropy do 1700 R.*, Kiev, 1928, p. 112, No. 190.

<sup>20</sup> This opinion had been expressed already by Tiele, and has been repeated by the other Dutch bibliographers mentioned in note 13. Cf also Illovaysky's opinion (*Istoriya*, Vol 5) quoted by Kordt, *op cit*, p. 112, No 190. The Survey of Sources by S. V. Bakhrushin in *Sbornik Statey v Chest' M. K. Lyubavskogo*, mentioned by Tikhomirov, *op cit*, p. 183, has unfortunately remained inaccessible. Tiele (followed by Petit and Knuttel) refers to L. van Aitzema, *Histoire of Uerhael van Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, who in Vol VI (1661), deals with Burgh's mission to Moscow. In this connection Aitzema describes also (dates according to new style) the Moscow events of 1648, *ibid*, pp. 471 sqq., and compares them with the Masaniello rising in Naples in the previous year (p. 472). He does not mention the Dutch pamphlet, although he must have known it.

<sup>21</sup> *Stat' po Russkoy Istori*, 1912, p. 63.

sent from Moscow by foreigners on various occasions.<sup>22</sup> A more exact knowledge as to who the author actually was would certainly be most desirable, and not merely for curiosity's sake, since it would probably help to assess the reliability of the report in all details. To some extent this deficiency has been compensated by the continuous accumulation of new and relevant sources, which provide means for checking, corroborating and supplementing most of the observations and statements. The outstanding importance of the Russian document found and published by Platonov in 1888 has already been mentioned. Another valuable publication followed in 1893. This time it was the edition by Platonov of a contemporary German report from Moscow,<sup>23</sup> the manuscript of which had been discovered by G. V. Forsten at Stockholm a few years earlier.<sup>24</sup> Finally, the anonymous accounts have been supplemented by some of the official reports sent from Moscow by the Swedish Resident Pommerening,<sup>25</sup> who seems not only to have been keenly interested in the events, but also to have had ample occasion to see some of them at very close quarters.<sup>26</sup> His house was one of the many destroyed by fire during the riots.<sup>27</sup>

Confronted with all the records known at present, most of which were obviously written by eye-witnesses, it is curious to note the short comment attached by Morfill to his description of the "Great Riot": "The most minute account of it which has come to our times is contained in the letter of an eye-witness preserved among the Ashmolean manuscripts at Oxford."<sup>28</sup> One cannot help feeling that, having remained unaltered throughout the many editions of his work, this comment was already in Morfill's lifetime completely out of date—even before the "7th revised" edition of 1907. By that time, as we have seen, the Ashmolean "letter of an eye-witness" was known to be a translation of the "Leyden Pamphlet," and the latter could claim only to be "one of" the most minute accounts which have come down to us. Nevertheless, the English document<sup>29</sup> deserves still to be published *in extenso*. Quite apart

<sup>22</sup> Cf "1681-1683 Geschiebene Zertungen aus Russland," mitgeteilt von Leo Loewenson, in *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, Vol VI, 1932, pp 84 sqq

<sup>23</sup> "Novy Istochnik dlya Istorii Moskovskikh Volneny 1648 goda," in *Chteniya v Imp O I i Dr R*, 1893, I, sect III The Russian translation of this document has been included in the *Khrestomatiya po istorii SSSR*, but with the mistaken assumption that it is the "Leyden Pamphlet" Cf note 15

<sup>24</sup> Forsten, *op cit*, in *Zhurnal Min Nar Pr*, June, 1891, p 374

<sup>25</sup> K I Yakubov, "Rossiya i Shvetsiya v pervoy polovine xvii veka vi," in *Chteniya*, 1898, I, pp 417 sqq

<sup>26</sup> He even managed to procure and enclose with his reports a copy of one of the petitions connected with the crisis.

<sup>27</sup> Yakubov, *ibid*, pp 420 sqq

<sup>28</sup> *Russia*, p 118

<sup>29</sup> Ashmolean MSS, No 826, pp 17-18B



from all the numerous scraps of information from minor sources, a comparison of the various substantial and independent records leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Dutch eye-witness account can serve as an adequately reliable and impressive picture of the revolutionary events in Moscow three centuries ago. The contemporary English version not only makes this picture easily accessible, but has also the additional merit of preserving the genuine flavour of a 17th-century document, while the few slips occurring in the translation do not seriously impair its authenticity.<sup>30</sup>

*A true historicall Relation of the horrible  
tumult in Moscau [ye cheife citie in Moscovia],<sup>a</sup> on the 22 of June<sup>31</sup>  
1648, caused by the intolerable taxes  
and contributions, layd on the  
Commonaltie.*

*All which is described by a person of qualitie, who was pre-  
sent, and hath imparted it to a frend of his in  
Amsterdam.*

Anno 1648, the 2<sup>d</sup> of June, stilo veteri, being friday on the fore noone, his imperiall Majestie over all Russia, Alexeé Michalowitz, with a patriarch, hath kept in all solemnitie the yeerely procession, accompanied

<sup>30</sup> By way of comparing the literal Russian translation of the Ashmolean document with the Dutch original, K. Fetterleyn, *op cit*, pp. 896 sqq., finds that although nothing essential is omitted in the English version the wording differs in many cases considerably. In addition to the arbitrary date in the English title (cf. note 31) he quotes 14 divergences, mostly only abbreviations, or simplifications of the text. However, there is at least one misread number of some importance (see note 32).

<sup>31</sup> As a result of conjectures based on dates of church processions, Bestuzhev-Ryumin (like Karamzin) held 23 June to be the day on which the riots started: he not only expressed this in the title of his article (see note 15), but also explained the reasons for rejecting the 2 June which by the way had already been suggested as a probable date of the rising before this new source was known (cf. the survey by Platonov, *Stat'i*, 1912, p. 65). Though slightly puzzled by inconsistencies arising from his calculations, Bestuzhev-Ryumin assumed that the 22 June in the heading of the document supported his conclusions, since it needed to be adjusted by one day only. He obviously presumed that the two dates actually referred to different days, i.e. that both were according to the same old Calendar as his own date. However, the comment "stilo veteri" added to 2 June suggests that the later date is according to the New Style. Since the difference in the 17th century was 10 days the 22 June N.S. would mean 12 June O.S. But even so, the validity of the date is more than doubtful. Already Fetterleyn, *op cit*, p. 895, pointed out that the Dutch pamphlet has only 2 June, and the titles of all editions quoted in notes 13 and 14 confirm this. The later date has evidently been introduced in the English version to show the New Style as well, but owing to a slip, or mistake, 12 June N.S., which would have been the exact equivalent, was turned into 22 June. It is interesting that Aitzema (see note 20) uses the N.S. correctly. As indicated above, Platonov has definitely established 2 June O.S. as the day of the rising, and this is further confirmed by the documents preserved at Stockholm (see notes 23 and 25), but both the anonymous correspondent and the Resident Pommerening describe also an ominous prelude on 1 June.

<sup>a</sup> These bracketed words are inserted above line, by different hand.

with the great Bajats,<sup>b</sup> or the Councell of the Kingdome or Land, as also the chiefest priests, the which oportunitie the Commons took hold on, and presented certayne petitions to his imp<sup>l</sup>l Majestie, concerning the intolerable great taxes and contributions, whereby they were overburthened for some yeeres together, where by for the future also they were to bee loaded, and so they with their wives and children are thereby ruined besides the great oppressions, which the Bojats<sup>b</sup> did lay daily upon them, and that they were not able to hold out any longer: yea they desired rather with their wives and children to undergoe a present death, then to suffer any longer in such a transcendent oppression. The Bojates,<sup>b</sup> environing his imperiall Majestie, got these petitions, tore y<sup>e</sup> same not onely into peeces, flung the peeces into the petitioners faces, rayling at them mightilie, and caused them to be cruelly beaten by their chalopps<sup>c</sup> or slaves, and imprisoned a great many of them. The Commons were enraged against the Bojats, and came after the finishing of the procession, jointly to the Emperours Court, The Streltses or life guard, consisting of some thousand Men, whose pay being lessened and diminished, in so much, that they were not able to live by, took the Commons part, and there upon in the afternoone the<sup>d</sup> seized on the Court of Boris Evannewitz Morosoph, the chiefest ruling Lord over all Russia, the next to his imperiall Majestie, who had marryed the last winter the sister of this now living Empresse, the sayd Court they plundered totally, all the stately and pretious things they found they hewed in peeces with shabolts and axes, the plate of gold and silver they did beate flat, the pretious pearles and other jewells they have bruised unto powder, they stampd and trampled them under feet, they flung them out of the windowes, and they suffered not the least thing to bee carryed away, crying aloud. To Naasi Kroof, that is to say, this is our blood. and after ward the other spoyle they have divided among themselves, and the house of Morosoph they have [begunn to] <sup>e</sup> demolishe<sup>f</sup>. His imperiall Majestie sent word unto them, that it was his House. They hearing this word, they went out of it presently and knockd down three of his chiefest servants. the chiefest of the three was his Sireepse<sup>g</sup> or Factor, who offred three thousand roebe[l] for his life, which is a summe of 15000 gilders. but all this would not[<sup>h</sup>] save his life. they all cryed out: all must bee ours. Morosoph himselfe fled into a chamber of his imperiall Majestie, where hee hid himselfe. From this Court they went in a furious driving & running to the Court of Nazari Evannewitz Systoph,<sup>i</sup> the Great Rixchancellor, and Lord<sup>j</sup> over all the Outlandish, which Court they plundered also totally, where they got an incredible treasure of gold & silver, the chancellour himselfe being sick [was]<sup>j</sup>

<sup>b</sup> boyars<sup>c</sup> kholop(y)<sup>d</sup> Sic<sup>e</sup> Inserted on margin<sup>f</sup> Originally "demolished"<sup>g</sup> In Bestuzhev-Ryumin's translation "stryapchy"<sup>h</sup> Crossed out "safe"<sup>i</sup> Чистов.<sup>j</sup> "Of" crossed out after "Lord"<sup>j</sup> Inserted

sent <sup>k</sup> away to his Bath <sup>l</sup> or Hot house, being fallen off his horse two dayes before, the which fall was [a forerunner] <sup>m</sup> [& . . .] <sup>n</sup> to him, as it fell out. [The hour] <sup>o</sup> he comming homeward agayne from the Hot house they met him, slew him with clubs & axe[s]. The first man, that knockd him on the head with an axe, sayd unto him, jsmeenick to la<sup>p</sup> Solj, Traytor, this is for the Salt (for hee was the Man, that layd great Taxes upon the Salt) the Man being halfe dead, they haled him down the stayres by the heeles, draggd him like a dogg over the whole Court, and having strippd him, they flung him starck naked upon the dunghill, there they put him qu[ite] to death.

From thence they pressed with an extraordinary throng upon the Court of Levoontje Stepanewitz Plesseoph,<sup>q</sup> the Mayor of the city & Lord Ruler over all the citzens, whose House they plundered also totally, himselfe was fled to his imperiall Majestie. From this place they runn furiously to the Court of Peutter Tichonowitz Tro[cho]niotoph,<sup>r</sup> Lord over the whole artillerie, which Court they plundered, the Man himselfe was fled out of the city into a cloyster. From thence they fell furiously in to the Courts of divers other Bajats, where they have not left them the least thing in the meanwhile the night approached, and plundering ceased a little, but with the day breack they begann to plunder agayne, and har[row]ed <sup>s</sup> many places of the Great ones, and Russey merchants, who had some relation unto the other, about 36 in number. The which being done, they all runn together to the imperiall castle, where they demanded the fled Morosoph, the fled plesseoph together with the fugitive Trochoniotoph, and also his imperiall Majestie; and commanded them to bee delivered into their hands. Thereupon the Emperor presently delivered Plesseoph, to bee beheaded. But the Commons being extreemely enraged, could not have any patience, but drackd him on the market place, where they cuggelld him so black & blew and with axes they cut him asunder like a fish, the pieces they let lye naked here & there.

The Commons not yet being satisfied there with, they cryed a lowd for Morosoph, and for Trochoniotoph, and were very imputunate for them, the Emperour himselfe commeth forth to the people, and—seing that the people would not bee satisfied, with out these men bee[ing] <sup>t</sup> delivered, prayed very earnestly to let them have life but two dayes longer, that himselfe also might the better consider of, and then he would give them good content & satisfaction. And thus at noone this tumult was quieted, and they went home to their houses. What ensued here-upon? Presently in the afternoone there arose in five severall places in

<sup>k</sup> Originally. "went"

<sup>l</sup> Owing to binding not clear

<sup>m</sup> Inserted on margin.

<sup>n</sup> "fould love" (?) altered and so unintelligible

<sup>o</sup> "the" inserted, and crossed out, "hour" altered into "But"

<sup>p</sup> za

<sup>q</sup> Pleshcheev

<sup>r</sup> Trakhaniotov

<sup>s</sup> Owing to binding not clear

<sup>t</sup> Edge torn

the city a horrible great fire, which with in the space of 13 or 14 houres, hath layd halfe Moscau into ashes. In which fire were burnd down, as some have reckned them, about 10000 houses, and if the houses, which in many and severall Courts were demolished by burning, be accounted also, they are all in number of fiftien thousand houses : <sup>32</sup> in some houses were burnd ten person, in some twelve, in some more, Father, mother, children, servants : the persons that are consumed, & smothered in the fire, are about 1700. The fire came out on the great Marcket, in the Emperours distilling house, where Plesseoph laying nacked and killd was beheld by every man. Some [ ]<sup>t</sup> came running, cut off Plesseophs head with an axe, which they steepd in aqua vitae, that it might burne the better in the fire, which they flung into it also. Some of y<sup>e</sup> bystanders tyed Plesseophs leggs to a rope, drackd y<sup>e</sup> carkasses to the fire, and burnd it to ashes. During this great fire there came some of these incendiaries to the other quarters of y<sup>e</sup> city, where we forrayners & Russians lived, with a full resolution, to set the other parts also on fire, but wee keeping good watch, prevented the same. Some of these incendiaries were killd, and some were cast into prison, the which being rackd, have confessed, that they were hired to it with money by Morosoph, to be revengd on their Adversaries. The people understanding this, where " the more enraged against Morosoph, came and demanded the man from the Emperour, for whose life the Emperour beggd heartilye, partly because his Father on his death bedd comended him highly to him, partly because he had bred him up from his infancy, and tutored him. Therefore promised unto y<sup>e</sup> people, kissing the golden crosse (after the Russian manner at their swearing of an oath,) the which the patriarch held in his hand, and setting the Mother of God for a securitie, that he would send away Morosoph to turne Fryar in a cloyster, and to be sent with a shaven head to the outermost frontiers. The other Pouter Tichenowits Trochoniotoph, who fled into a cloyster without Moscau, the same was delivered upon the Emperours command, whose head was cut off with an axe. In the meane while the Emperor [being tardife in y<sup>e</sup>] <sup>v</sup> fullfilling his promise, concerning Morosoph, and that through an earnest intercession of the Empresse, being the sister of Morosoph his wife the people arose agayne would not bee quiet, unlesse the Emperour did stand to his promise, and the people threatned, that they would fetch Morosoph by force out of the Emperours chamber, and in case the Emperour breaketh his promise, they would not stand to theirs neither : all was like to being a greater bloodshedd upon them, then ever was before, th[ere]fore the Emperor made an end of the businesse, and on y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> of june being monday, two houres before day breake, Morosoph was sent away to a cloyster, called Kitile <sup>w</sup> Monasteer, situated 14 miles

<sup>32</sup> The corresponding Dutch text quoted by Fetterleyn (cf note 30) says it was reckoned that about fifty thousand houses (*uyfgh Duyzent Huysen*) were burnt

<sup>t</sup> Edge torn

<sup>"</sup> *Sic* !

<sup>v</sup> Inserted on margin

<sup>w</sup> Kirilov

beyond Wokogda,<sup>z</sup> on the river Socksna<sup>y</sup> · Wokogda lyeth from Moscow hundred miles : hee was conducted by 150 Sinboyaersks, or Gentlemen Courtiers, and by 150 Strelers or of ye Lifegar[d] and with 100 Staristen, which are heads men over every hundred of the Commons.

This is the great tumult, the which wee not with out great terrour and danger of life, here in the Moscow have seen. God keep us from further such like perill and tumults : and if any further thing falleth out here, I shall upon occasion certifie you of it.

In conclusion it ought perhaps to be added that with regard to details the divergences occurring in the various sources are certainly more numerous than has been shown above. Many of them have been indicated already by Bestuzhev-Ryumin, others have been pointed out by Platonov, or have been discussed by later investigators. But a complete and exhaustive comment would have been beyond the purpose as well as the limits of the present article.

LEO LOEWENSON.

<sup>z</sup> Vologda

<sup>y</sup> Sheksna.

# POLAND, THE UKRAINE AND RUSSIA IN THE 17th CENTURY\*

En effet, que deviendraient l'histoire, la morale, la science mêmes, et les lettres, s'il les fallait vraiment allemandes, vraiment russes ou italiennes, vraiment espagnoles ou anglaises, aussitôt qu'on aurait franchi le Rhône, les montagnes ou la Manche ?

STENDHAL.

## I

At the very beginning of the 17th century Muscovy experienced the most serious impact of the West on her national life since the beginning of her existence as an independent State. When, at the end of the Time of the Troubles (1598-1613), the Polish invaders finally retired, they left behind them a country ravaged by war, as yet only superficially united under the new dynasty and so weak that they might well have reckoned on a third and final return. Recent events had shown, just as the Crimean War showed over two hundred years later, that Russia, although geographically a European State, was not europeanised enough to be able to resist the military power of the West. With her rigid social system and her top-heavy patrimonial political organisation, her technical inferiority and intellectual backwardness, the much-vaunted Third Rome turned out to have been no more than an invention of the *starets* Philotheus. The Romanovs could survive as the ruling family—which was tantamount to Russia's survival as a State—only by abandoning, for the time being, the 16th-century notion of Russia's superiority and concentrating all their efforts on adopting the material attainments of the West to an extent that would at least restore the balance of power between Muscovy and her Western neighbour.

It was these political considerations that underlay the demand for Western wares, capital and skill which attracted to early 17th-century Russia the Western merchant, industrialist, craftsman and mercenary in large and ever-increasing numbers. For the time being they met with no hostility, and some of them were expressly welcome : in 1617, for instance, the merchants of Moscow agreed that strangers from the West wishing to set up factories in

\* ED NOTE —This paper is the introduction to a study now in preparation of the academic drama in Russia and the Ukraine.

Russia should be given every help and encouragement. The attitude of the populace towards these "некрещенные немцы" (in Moscow every foreigner was a "немец" just as "фряжский" denoted not so much specifically "French" as generally "foreign"; only an Orthodox Russian was a Christian) was usually latently or overtly inimical and always suspicious. No Dutchman or German, Englishman or Scot was ever allowed inside a church. If he found his way in unnoticed, he was soon ushered out and the holy place he had defiled with his presence was swept and purified.<sup>1</sup>

Russia's first *zapadniki* were to be found among the boyars, some of whom displayed pro-Western sympathies. The uncle of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, N.I. Romanov (?-1654), is said to have had a passion for German music and a weakness for German clothes; he owned an English lighter which could sail against the wind, as the future Peter the Great discovered when, in 1688, having unearthed it from a lumber-room, he launched it on the ponds of Izmailov.<sup>2</sup> There were others, too: Alexis Mikhailovich's tutor and the protector of foreign merchants and manufacturers B. I. Morozov (1590-1661), the tutor of the Tsarevich Alexis Alekseevich, the patron of Kievan learning F. M. Rtishchev<sup>3</sup> (1626-1673), and the diplomat and administrator A. L. Ordin-Nashchokin (?-1680) who maintained that "... доброму не стыдно навязать и со стороны, ... с примера сторонних чужих земель ..." which did not prevent him from ending his life as a monk.<sup>4</sup>

Wise and useful men like these, who knew how to assimilate the good and to reject the harmful or unsuitable, gave the impression of having discovered the secret of selective westernisation. But there were others still, less fortunate, like Prince I. A. Khvorostinin, whose Western sympathies brought him only discontent, scepticism and deracination. In the course of his chequered career he served in turn the first Impostor and Mikhail Feodorovich, was exiled by both and fought with his own countrymen as well as against them. This courtier and warrior was also something of a poet, one of the first writers of pre-syllabic doggerel in Russia.<sup>5</sup> He chose "вирши" as the medium for expressing his disgust with Moscow and his

<sup>1</sup> V. Klyuchevsky *Zapadnoe vliyame v Rossii XVII v., Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii*, 1897, Books 36, 38, 39, Bk 36, p 142

<sup>2</sup> *Russky Biografichesky Slovar'*, vol Romanova-Ryasovsky. St. Pet, 1918. Article on him by V. Korsakova.

<sup>3</sup> R B S., *ibid.* Article on him by Korsakova

<sup>4</sup> Klyuchevsky, *op cit.*, Bk 36, p 150 Also R B S. vol Obezyaninov-Ochkin, St. Pet., 1905 Article on him by E. Likhach.

<sup>5</sup> N K Gudzyi *Istoria drevney russkoy literatury*, M, 1945 *Stikhotvorstvo v XVII veke. Dosillabicheskie vrshi*, pp 465-70.

inhabitants. "Все люд скучной, жити не с кем" he complains in his private notebooks two hundred years before Chatsky, "сеют землю рожью, а живут все ложью." He longed to sell his ancestral estates and settle in Lithuania. He read Polish books, criticised church-going and denied the Resurrection (probably under the influence of Socinianism, still rife in Poland at that time) and, accused of heresy, made his retraction in verse. He confirmed his change of heart by taking monastic vows in 1625, the year of his death.<sup>6</sup>

In the 'forties of the 17th century, circumstances compelled the rulers of Muscovy, lay and spiritual, to add to the material "good things" imported from abroad their indispensable complement, whose absence deprived them of meaning and lasting value, namely learning and, if possible, a brand of learning that would leave intact the country's spiritual tradition.

Here it must be recalled that Alexis Mikhailovich (1645-1676) and the Patriarchs of his reign were by no means the pioneers of Russian enlightenment and that, in the 15th and 16th century, Russia had received from the West not only guns but also, occasionally, ideas. In the reign of Ivan III (1463-1505) the cities of Novgorod and Moscow resounded with the critical and rationalist opinions of humanism, echoed by the Judaist heretics. Between 1516 and 1566, the learned monk from Mt. Athos, Maxim the Greek, a classical scholar, educated in Renaissance Italy, lived in Russia, engaged in making new translations of the liturgical books, correcting old ones and writing exegetical polemical and edifying works. His attempts at the vindication of learning, however, provoked the hostility of the authorities and more than half of his stay in Russia was spent in exile.<sup>7</sup> None the less, already in the 16th century quite a few Muscovites were to be found who knew German and even some who knew Latin. Ivan the Terrible was the first ruler of Muscovy to contemplate the founding of a school where the two languages would be taught, Boris Godunov (1587-1598) intended to found several schools and staff them with teachers invited from the West. But the Moscow churchmen, convinced that the learning of foreign<sup>8</sup> languages could only lead to trouble—"смыта в стране"—

<sup>6</sup> S F Platonov *Moskva i Zapad.*, Berlin, 1926, pp. 72-81

<sup>7</sup> M Demkov. *Istoria russkoy pedagogii*, Pt I, M., 1913, pp. 68-75, *Entsiklopedichesky Slovar* (published by Brockhaus & Efron), vol. XVIII, St Pet., 1896, article on him by A. Gornfeld. The most recent work on Maxim Grek is: *Maxime le Grec et l'Occident*, by E. Denisov, Paris-Louvain, 1943

<sup>8</sup> I A Shlyapkin *Su Dmtrii Rostovskiy i ego vremya* (1651-1709), St Pet., 1891. *Zapiski istoriko-filologicheskogo fakulteta imperatorskogo St Pet Univ*, vol. XXIV, pp. 66, 67.



balked this scheme.<sup>9</sup> Undaunted, Godunov decided that if the teachers could not come to the pupils, the pupils must go to the teachers. In 1602 thirty young Russians were sent abroad to learn French, German and English, but out of all these not one returned.<sup>10</sup> One of them, Nikifor Alferevich Grigoriev, ended up as a parson of the episcopal church in Huntingdonshire, where he flourished until 1634 when the Puritans deposed him from his parish. . . .<sup>11</sup>

Evidently, Muscovy and Western education were mutually incompatible, and no wonder, since the Muscovites neither valued nor trusted learning. For them, truth was to be found in revelation, not through inquiry, they were guided in their spiritual life by the beatitudes which said nothing of factual knowledge. "Не тот мудр," they believed, "кто грамоте умеет, а тот мудр, кто много добра творит." "Аще неучен словом но не разумом," writes the archpriest Avvakum, "неучен диалектике, риторике и философии, а разум Христов в себе имам. . . ." <sup>12</sup>

This intellectual humility went even further; in ancient Muscovy to call oneself a teacher would have been to display extreme presumption suggesting a sacrilegious attempt at usurping the divine prerogative to invest man with talents.<sup>13</sup> Preaching "от себя" must have been similarly regarded since no sermons (as distinct from "поучительные послания") were heard in Russia between 1430 and the middle of the 17th century. Nor were there any schools before the end of that century; what little education there was, was reserved for the clergy and cannot have been very effective if the Stoglavnyi Sobor (1551) felt obliged to postulate the literacy of candidates for Holy Orders.<sup>14</sup> In the 12th century the princes and boyars are reported to have declared "Не наше дело книги читать, а чернецское"; their descendants (with notable exceptions) adhered to this view in the course of the four or five centuries that followed.<sup>15</sup> The more fanatical enthusiasts of ignorance held that anyone reading a "learned" book exposed himself to the danger

<sup>9</sup> Klyuchevsky, *op cit*, p. 142

<sup>10</sup> D. I. Ilovaysky. *Istoria Rossii*, M., 1890, vol. III, p. 363.

<sup>11</sup> Platonov, *op cit*, p. 40

<sup>12</sup> Quoted from his *Life* by Klyuchevsky, *op cit*, Bk 38, p. 553

<sup>13</sup> А. Пыпин. *Последние времена Московской Руси*. *Kievskaya shkola Vestnik Evropy*, 1894, vols 169, 170 Vol. 169, p. 758.

<sup>14</sup> P. Morozov: *Feofan Prokopovich kak pisatel*. *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya*, 1880, pts 207-11 Pt 207, chap. I *Stoglav*, ed. by D. E. Kozhanchikov, St. Pet., 1863, chaps XXV, XXVI.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted by Morozov, *op. cit*, p. 420, from *Rukopisi g. Uvarova*, vol II, section I, p. 71, M., also refers to *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, vol I, nos. 184, 192, 194, etc. Cf. Solovyev, *Istoria Rossii*, M., 1857, vol VII, p. 242

of infection with heresy.<sup>16</sup> Western learning, on account of its inordinate inquisitiveness and ungodly arrogance, the meek Muscovites particularly abhorred; as for Western theology, it was a major heresy incorporating all the minor ones: "Всех еретических вер сквернейши и лютейши суть латыняне, папезницы, понеже всех древних еллинских и жидовских и агарянских и еретических вер ереси проклятых в закон свой прияха, и со всеми с погаными языки, и с проклятыми со всеми же еретиками обще все действуют и мудрствуют," wrote the Patriarch Philaret in his "Соборное Изложение" (1620).<sup>17</sup>

Muscovite xenophobia found its strongest expression in relation to the Poles. Poland had been the easternmost bastion of Roman Catholicism for as long as she had been a national State; Russia had sucked in Orthodoxy together with Byzantium's malice against the West.<sup>18</sup> It is therefore not surprising that as early as the 11th century to a pious monk of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves the devil should have appeared in the shape of a "Lyakh" <sup>19</sup> and that in the following centuries Russian draughtsmen should have invariably depicted him as clean-shaven and wearing Western clothes.<sup>20</sup> In the years immediately preceding the 17th century, Russia's apprehension of the West had been considerably heightened by the Union of Brest (1596) which, in matters of faith, subordinated the Ruthenians to the Holy See, and by the events of the Time of the Troubles in which the Poles had played so sinister a part. Clearly, as far as things of the mind and spirit were concerned, selective westernisation was out of the question. In this sphere the choice was restricted to the Orthodox world.

Time and time again since the end of the 16th century, the authorities of the Eastern Church had tried to impress upon the Muscovites how much true Christianity would benefit if a school and a printing house were established in Moscow, not omitting to describe what glory such participation in Orthodox defence against popish propaganda and aggression would reflect on Russia. But the reaction had been disappointing: the Russians had by now come

<sup>16</sup> "Не читайте книг многих," говорили в древней России, и указывали на тех, кто ума изступил—а онсица во книги зашелся, а онсица в ересь, впал" *Opisanie Rukopisey Rumyantsevskogo Muzeia*, p. 557, quoted p. 310, note 2, by N. Petrov: *O slovesnykh naukakh i literaturnykh zanyatiyakh v Kievskoy Akademii ot nachala ee do preobrazovaniya v 1819 g.* *Trudy Kievskoy Dухovnoy Akademii*, July, 1866.

<sup>17</sup> Metropolitan Makaryi (M. Bulgakov), *Istoria Russkoy Tserkvi*, vol. XI, St. Pet., 1882, pp. 23–25, p. 29 (note).

<sup>18</sup> See Le P. Pierling. *La Russie et le Saint Siège Etudes diplomatiques*. Vol. I, Paris, 1896, p. xiv. Also E. Golubinsky *Istoria Russkoy Tserkvi*, M., 1901, vol. I, chap. III, pp. 589, 590.

<sup>19</sup> *Pamyatniki russkoy literatury XII i XIII vekov izdannye V. Yakovlevym*, St. Pet., 1872, p. lxxvii.

<sup>20</sup> Morozov, *op. cit.*, p. 446, note 4.

to distrust the Second Rome almost as much as they detested the First and to regard their own country as the Third, final and solely authoritative Rome. If Western learning showed the cloven hoof, Hellenic wisdom ("еллинская мудрость"), cultivated in an atmosphere poisoned by the presence of the infidel overlord, was similarly untrustworthy. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 was regarded as a divine punishment meted out for Byzantium's participation in the Union of Florence (1439). Besides, the Russians were far too busy with their own affairs.<sup>21</sup>

Muscovy's imperative need of enlightenment brought about a change in this attitude; after all, Greek, as distinct from Latin, learning, although certainly not above suspicion, was by far the lesser evil. The belated response to the Byzantine suggestions came at last. In 1632 the Patriarch Philaret and his son the Tsar, approached the Patriarch of Constantinople asking him to send them a teacher who could organise and run what was to have been the first Moscow school. But there was no need for him to do so, as one Joseph, the Protosyngelos of the Patriarch of Alexandria, a most suitable candidate as he knew Slavonic, happened just then to arrive in Moscow. He accepted the invitation to stay and divide his time between teaching and translating, but it turned out that he was unable to divide it equally and whatever sporadic instruction his pupils received from him before his death in 1634 did not amount to much. Still Moscow had no teacher and no school.<sup>22</sup>

What had been a tendency under Philaret became a trend under the Patriarch Joseph (1642-1652). A rapprochement with the Greeks and the recognition of their authority in Russian church affairs, the growing conviction that the liturgical books must be corrected by competent scholars, the consciousness resulting therefrom of the inadequacy of Russian education—these were the main features that characterised the period covered by his term of office.<sup>23</sup> Joseph committed the Church to a policy of reform<sup>24</sup> whose ultimate consequence, the schism under his successor Nikon (1652-1658), he could not possibly have foreseen. This he would have found more difficult, had he been alone in his desire for change and improvement and without the support of the Philotheists ("боголюбцы"), a

<sup>21</sup> Klyuchevsky, *op cit*, Bk 38, pp. 540, 541, 543; Bk 39, p. 772; N. F. Kaptelev *Kharakter otnosheni Rossii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletiyakh*, 2nd ed., Sergiev Posad, 1914 Introduction, pp. 1-25, Chap. IX, section 3, pp. 383-426

<sup>22</sup> Kaptelev, *op cit*, pp. 482, 483

<sup>23</sup> Kaptelev *Patriarkh Nikon i ego protivniki v dele ispravleniya tserkovnykh obryadov Vremya patriarshestva Iosifa*, 2nd ed, Sergiev Posad, 1913, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Kaptelev, *op cit*, p. 50.

group of able and energetic laymen and ecclesiastics who embarked on their reforming activities about 1640. Their programme was not only to counteract the effects but to uproot the very causes of all that to them, was evil in Russian life. They proposed to apply the distinction between right and wrong not only to the liturgical texts or the way of conducting a service but to the conduct of Russian men and women in every walk of life. Champions of virtue, they waged war against sin and vice.<sup>25</sup> Their concept of immorality, which was as wide as their ideal of Christian conduct was narrow, included every kind of public entertainment or merrymaking. There was nothing new or specifically Russian in this. The Christian Churches had been hostile to any lay miming and acting from the earliest time<sup>26</sup> as far as the end of the 17th century and even beyond. In France the Jansenist Nicole denounced the stage in his *Trat   de la com  die* (1659), Bossuet anathematised actors and acting in 1694 (*Maximes et r  flexions sur la com  die*);<sup>27</sup> in England theatrical performances virtually ceased with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, were strictly forbidden by the Puritans in 1647 and 1648, did not revive in secrecy till 1656 and officially till 1662.<sup>28</sup> In Russia where, as in the whole Christian East, there were no theatrical performances to prohibit and no actors to anathematize, the Philotheists attacked the Russian heir of the Greek and Byzantine mime—the *skomorokh*.<sup>29</sup>

The *skomorokhi* owed their unpopularity with the ecclesiastical authorities to the prominent part which they appear to have played in the surviving pagan festivals. The Church fought them with all the means at its disposal and centuries of admonition, sometimes accompanied by repressive action on the part of the State, caused the popular mind to associate the *skomorokh*'s tumbling, miming, music and dancing with diabolic temptation and the torments of hell. None of this, however, succeeded in making his performances any less attractive and he could always be sure of a large and

<sup>25</sup> Kapterev, *op cit*, chap VI—*Kruzhok revnuteley blagochestiya*, Kapterev *Patriarch Nikon i Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich*, Sergiev Posad, vol 1—1909, vol 2—1912 Vol I, chap I, pp 1–30, chap II, pp. 31–80 P. Pascal *Avvakum et les d  buts du raskol*, Paris, 1938, p xix

<sup>26</sup> See Allardyce Nicoll *Masks, Mimes and Miracles*, London, 1931, chap III—*The fate of the Mimes in the Dark Ages*, pp. 136–150—*The Church Councils and other records*

<sup>27</sup> M Barras *The Stage Controversy in France from Corneille to Rousseau*, New York, 1933, Chap IV, *Denunciation of the Stage by the Jansenists* Pascal and Nicole, Chap. VII—*The quarrel of 1694*.

<sup>28</sup> *Encyclop  dia Britannica*, vol VIII, 11th ed, Cambridge, 1910 Article on Drama by A W Ward

<sup>29</sup> For *Skomorokhi* see A S Famintsy *Skomorokhi na Rusi*, St Pet, 1889.

appreciative audience.<sup>30</sup> The virtuous and ascetic Philotheists believed that “песня и пляска от сатаны” and their actions demonstrated the truth of another popular adage: “поп скомороху не товарищ.” Between 1648 and 1651 the central authorities of Church and State, prompted by the Philotheists, sent out to bishops and provincial governors dozens of rigorist messages, worthy of the Lord’s Day Observance Society such as the “Память Верхотурского Воеводы Рафа Всеволожского прикащику Ирбитской слободы Григорью Барыну, о строгом наблюдении, чтоб служилые люди и крестьяне в воскресные и праздничные дни ходили в церковь, удалялись чародейств и пьянства и не заводили непристойных игрищ.”<sup>31</sup>

While it is true that Muscovy could only bring about her intellectual revival with the help of the Orthodox world, it must be remembered that within these limits she could still have recourse to the lore of Western Orthodoxy. Under Philaret (who had been a prisoner of the Poles) the existence of such a possibility would never have been admitted. In those days, the immigrant Ruthenian monks from over the Polish border (mostly from Kiev), contemptuously referred to as “обливанцы,” were not, in accordance with the decision of the Church Council of 1620, credited with Orthodoxy until they allowed themselves to be re-baptised.<sup>32</sup> In 1627 and again in the following year, all “Lithuanian” books, printed or manuscript, were banned.<sup>33</sup> But already Philaret’s successor, Josaphat (1634–1640), neither doubted the Kievans’ Orthodoxy nor bore them malice and the next Patriarch, Joseph (1642–1652), made no secret of appreciating their learning. The “progressives” among the Philotheists, especially the future Patriarch Nikon (1652–1658), F. M. Rtishchev and Stephan Vonifatiev, were similarly

<sup>30</sup> V. Zhmakin *Mitropolit Danil i ego sochineniya*, M., 1882, pp 556–59 For the critical attitude of Church and State in mediæval Russia towards this kind of pastime see *Akty Istoricheskie*, vol I, no. 125 (1578), *Dopolneniya k Akтам Ist*, vol I, no. 148 (1598); *Akty sobrannye arkhheolograficheskoy ekspeditsiei Akademii Nauk*, vol. I, no. 86 (1470); Domostroy, chaps XI (here “игры бесовские” and “шахматы” are mentioned in the same breath) and XXXVI (“... скоморохи и их дело . . . будут . . . прокляти . . .”—quoted by Famintsy, p 168), Varneke *Istoria russkogo teatra XVII–XIX vv.*, 3rd ed, M.-L., 1939, pp. 9, 10. Cf. also *Nomokanon* (Kormchaya Kniga), art 23a (A. Pavlov *Nomokanon pri Bol’shom Trebnike*, M., 1897).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Famintsy, p. 167 “Бог дал попа, а чорт скомороха,” “скоморошья потеха—сатане в утеху.” Text of the “Pamyat’” in *Akty Istoricheskie for 1649*, no. 35. See also Klyuchevsky, *op. cit*, Bk. 38, p 537 at one point musical instruments were confiscated, taken outside Moscow in five carts and burnt.

<sup>32</sup> I. Ogienko: *Ukrains’ka kultura*, Katerinoslav—Leipzig, 1923, pp. 29, 93 Kapterev. *Patriarch Nikon i ego protivniki . . .*, p. 32, also chap. I *Kharakter otnosheniya k kievlyanam v kievskoy literature . . .*, pp 3–22.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, p. 7. See *infra*, p. 38.

disposed. These men had the young Tsar's ear, most of all Voni-fatiev, who was Alexis Mikhailovich's confessor.

To these sympathies, as well as to the chronic inability of the Eastern Patriarchs to provide Moscow with a suitable teacher of Greek and Slavonic,<sup>34</sup> was due another remarkable feature of the decade 1642-1652: the intensified influence of Ruthenian learning. So much had it gained in strength that when Joseph began to insist on the absolute correctness of the printed liturgical texts and the native "книжные справщики" themselves came round to the view that a book, before going to the press, should be checked not only against the Slavonic manuscript but, above all, against the Greek original, admitting at the same time their own incompetence in the matter, in 1648 the Tsar himself stepped in and settled the matter by requesting the authorities of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves to send to Moscow the monk Damaskin Ptitsky. As this proved impracticable for the time being, he approached the Bratsky Monastery with an invitation addressed to Epiphany Slavnetsky and Arsenyi Satanovsky. They arrived in 1649 and Ptitsky followed one year later.<sup>35</sup> At last Moscow had three "справщики" who were Greek scholars and although none of them was a Greek, no one thought it necessary to immerse the aspersed newcomers.

When Nikon, on his election to the Patriarchate, extended this hospitality to Ruthenians who were not necessarily Greek scholars—particularly to choir-masters—and admitted Kievans<sup>36</sup> and even a Pole<sup>37</sup> to the membership of his personal staff (Avvakum bluntly called them "римского костела поляки и киевские униаты, блюдолизкы римские"),<sup>38</sup> their stock on Moscow rose sharply and remained high even after Nikon's deposition, attracting Ruthenian monks, learned and ignorant to Moscow and Muscovy by the dozen, especially after the "Union" of the Ukraine with Moscow in 1654. For Nikon was averse neither to Western ways nor to Western ideas. His library, according to a catalogue compiled in 1675, included two Polish and nine Latin books.<sup>39</sup> His headgear imitated a cardinal's

<sup>34</sup> Kapterev. *Kharakter otnosheni* . . . pp 486, 487, 489, 490, 492, 493-97, 506.

<sup>35</sup> Kapterev. *Patriarch Nikon i Tsar' Alexey Mikhailovich*, Vol I, pp 47, 48  
Kapterev. *Nikon i ego protivniki* . . . , vol. I, chap. IV, *O knizhnykh spravshchikakh pri Patr. Iosife* . . . Kharlampovich: *Malorossnshoe vliyaniye na velikoruskuyu tserkovnuyu zhizn'*, Vol. I, Kazan', 1916, pp 126, 127, 131-33.

<sup>36</sup> Kharlampovich *op. cit.*, pp 251-54

<sup>37</sup> Mikołaj Olszewski, see A Jabionowski. *Akademia Kyowsko-Mohylanska*, Kraków, 1899-1900, p. 263

<sup>38</sup> Quoted by Shlyapkin, *op cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>39</sup> Shlyapkin, *op cit.*, pp 64, 73. Cf. I. D. Belyaev. *Perepisnaya kniga domovoy kazny Patr' Nikona Vremennik Imperatorskogo Obshchestva Istori i Drevnostey Rossyiskikh*, vol. XV, II, pp 1-134.

hat, his shoes were adorned with crosses, his mitre resembled a tiara or a crown, his crozier a caduceus, and he drove about Moscow in a quaint "малороссийская коляска." In a word, he looked more like the Muscovite idea of the Anti-Christ's uncle, the Pope, than an Orthodox Russian Patriarch. By behaving in this way, Nikon, who declared himself to be a Russian by birth but a Greek by his conviction and faith,<sup>40</sup> openly countenanced the new westernising tendencies. How did this self-contradiction come about?

The compelling necessity to adopt Western technics had inevitably created the need for enlightenment. But this was the province of the Church and the Church, logically but unwisely, proposed to begin at the beginning, that is to say not with education but by applying learning to a revision of the forms of worship. In this attempt to set the foundations in order, the whole edifice was split asunder. For Nikon had fallen into the trap that destiny had set for any reformer of his kind. First, he subordinated Russian tradition to Greek authority, next, in order to maintain this relation, he had to resort to the books and scholars of the Ukraine. All this was more than the conservative Muscovites could tolerate and instead of being blessed with enlightened perfection, Russia was cursed with the cleft of the *raskol*. As Prof. Pascal points out, the difference that divided Russia in 1653 was that between two conceptions of Christianity, one represented by Avvakum, the other by Nikon. The first was, so to speak, integralist, based on the belief that "man must subordinate everything to the work of salvation," the second—qualificatory: "A Dieu l'église, à nous les jouissances."<sup>41</sup>

The Church, until the end of the century, remained faithful, however fruitlessly, to the authority of the East which Nikon had set up anew, but the layman looked boldly in the direction in which Nikon had apprehensively squinted—towards Kiev and Poland.

With the aid of the Nikonian conception of Christianity, the average boyar soon succeeded in emancipating his personality and secularising his mode of life: even enjoyment—not to mention the quest of power for its own sake—was before long recognised as a legitimate end of human activity,<sup>42</sup> and in the wake of secularisation, westernisation could proceed more or less unhindered.

In the meantime, a political event hastened this process. The war of 1654–1667 in which the Russian armies, trained and officered

<sup>40</sup> B. H. Sumner: *Survey of Russian History*, London, 1944, p. 190.

<sup>41</sup> Pascal: *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p. xvii.

largely by foreign mercenaries,<sup>43</sup> succeeded in turning the tables on the Poles, ended in Russia's gaining Smolensk, Chernigov and the Eastern Ukraine, with the town and College of Kiev,<sup>44</sup> the easternmost bastion of Latin-Polish civilisation adapted to the needs of Ruthenian Orthodoxy. It was from here that flowed into Russia the first strong and sustained current of Western cultural influence.

## II

Before about 1580 the plight of Orthodox learning in the Ukraine was little better than in Russia. The only Orthodox educational establishments were four monastery and five parish schools,<sup>45</sup> the clergy were ignorant, ecclesiastical literature was lacking. There was nothing to indicate the coming revival of learning and indeed when it came it was due not to any spontaneous internal regeneration but to the cultural flowering and expansion of Poland. In the West, the Reformation was brought about largely by the Renaissance, Poland and White Russia, on the contrary, owed their cultural revival principally to the Reformation, the Ukraine owed hers more especially to the counter-Reformation.

The reign of Sigismund Augustus (1548-1572) saw Protestantism in Poland at its high watermark. One-sixth of the nobility, including the majority of the best writers and the most powerful magnates in the land, abandoned Roman Catholicism for Lutheranism or Calvinism; by 1569 more than half the lay senators were Protestant; <sup>46</sup> in 1573 the Confederation of Warsaw ensured freedom of conscience for the *szlachta* and Poland became for a while the most tolerant country in Europe—*paradisus hæreticorum*, attracting multifarious freethinkers in search of freedom and reformers in search of a following.<sup>47</sup>

At the same time, rushing on from Poland and East Prussia, the new current swept over Lithuania and finally trickled into the Ukraine. In the long run, the effect of the Reformation on the religious life in White Russia and the Ukraine turned out to have

<sup>43</sup> V. Ya. Ulyanov *Zapadnoe vliyame v Moskovskom Gosudarstve, XVI-XVII vv.* "Moskva v ee proshlom i nastoyashchem," vyp. VI, p. 80

<sup>44</sup> Treaty of Andruszovo The clause stipulating the reversion of Kiev to Poland at the end of two years was never observed

<sup>45</sup> Chelm (Kholm), Zimno and Zlatoverkhy Mikhailovsky monasteries; Turov, Kurenets nr. Vilna, Krasnostav, Zabłudov, Vladimir A. Martel: *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes, 1569-1667*, Lille, 1938, p. 185.

<sup>46</sup> A. Bruckner *Dzieje kultury polskiej*, vol. 2, p. 127 "Teraz król do kościoła a większa połowica senatu i dworu, jako złe z trzewika, króla o drzwi kościelne otarszy, do swych borów albo zbiorów się rozbieżają" pisał wójt litewski Rotundus 1564r."

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 140 ff.



been superficial but its effect on the intellectual life of these areas was immensely stimulating and had highly important social implications. Firstly, Protestantism was perhaps the most important of the factors that led to the establishment of Polish as the literary language not only in Poland proper but also as the language of religious polemic in White Russia and the Ukraine. Secondly, when the wave of Protestantism began to subside as swiftly as it had welled up, those Ruthenian nobles who had embraced Lutheranism, Calvinism or, later and chiefly in the Ukraine, Socinianism, did not return to Orthodoxy but went over to Rome. These were the first signs of the rift which, by the middle of the 17th century, finally divided the Ruthenian nobility from the common people.<sup>48</sup>

The counter-Reformation intensified and completed this process. The tolerant Sigismund Augustus died in 1572; in 1576 Stefan Batory, whom tradition credits with the utterance *Si non essem rex, Jesuita essem!*, ascended the Polish throne to be succeeded, in 1588, by Sigismund III who, in the same year, made the brilliant, fiery and fanatical Jesuit, Piotr Skarga, his court preacher. Poland was once more an outpost of militant Catholicism. About 1570 the Jesuit Order began to operate in White Russia and in the Ukraine,<sup>49</sup> rapidly ousting first the Calvinist, next the Socinian schools and replacing them with their own colleges.<sup>50</sup> Soon, the local nobility had only one choice: between sending their sons to a Jesuit College or nowhere. In practice they had no choice at all, for they could not afford to jeopardise their social status and weaken their political position by not giving them what was then regarded as the best possible education, no matter how much they may have resented the Jesuits' wily methods and alien spirit.

The Union of Brest (1596) added Polish-Lithuanian religious uniformity to the political unity achieved at Lublin in 1569, extending Papal authority to the very borders of Orthodox Muscovy. From Greek Catholicism to Roman Catholicism there was but a step; very often it was the doorstep of the Jesuit College.<sup>51</sup> For in spite of repeated censure and interdiction from Rome<sup>52</sup> the local

<sup>48</sup> A Brückner. *Dzieje kultury polskiej*, vol 2, pp. 366, 497, 498; Martel, *op. cit.*, pp. 216, 218. A. Savich *Narys z istorii kul'turnykh rukhiv na Ukraïni*, Kiev, 1929, chap. I; *Reformatsyini rukhi v Bilorusi ta Ukraïni v XVI-XVII vv.*

<sup>49</sup> S. Załęski. *Jezuici w Polsce*, Lwów, 1906, vol. I (1), p. 184. See also A. F. Pollard: *The Jesuits in Poland*, Oxford, 1892

<sup>50</sup> Savich, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 67.

<sup>51</sup> P. P. Pekarsky: *Predstaviteli Kievs'koy uchenosti v polovine XVIIgo veka. Otechestvennyye Zapiski*, 1862, nos. 2-4, No 2, p. 563. Savich, *op. cit.*, chap. II: *Tak zvana katoliiska Reaktsiya ta Ezuity v Bilorusi ta Ukraïni*.

<sup>52</sup> Martel, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-53.

Jesuits pursued their missionary aims with such zeal and success that by 1610 the monk Meletios Smotritsky (who eventually embraced the Union himself) had to complain bitterly in his "Lament of the Orthodox Church":

"Gdzie teraz nieoszacowany on kamuszek, iako Lampada lśniąca się Carbunculus, któregom to między innemi perłami, iako słońce między gwiazdami w koronie głowy mey nosiła, Dom Ostrożskich, który blaskiem świetłości starożytney wiary swoiey przed innemi świecił. Gdzie y insze drogie y równie nieoszacowane teyże korony kamyki, zacne Ruskich książąt domy, nie cenione szafiry, y bezcenne diamenty, książęta Słuscy, Zbarazcy, Wiśniewieccy, Sanguszkowie, Czartoryscy, . . . Puzynowie; y inne bez liczby, których po iedyńkiem wyliczać rzeczby długa była. Gdzie przy tych y drugie nie oszacowane moje klejnoty rodowite (mówię) sławne, wielkomyślne, silne y dawne po wszem świecie w dobrej sławie, po tężności y męstwie słynącego narodu Rosieyskiego, Domy; Chodkiewiczowie, Hlebowiczowie, . . . Sapiehowie . . . Pacowie . . . Tyszkiewiczowie . . . Korsakowie . . . y drugie Nie wspominam tu szerokiey w Granicach Rosieyskiej Ziemi, Księstw y Powiatów, kosztownej oney szaty moiey, niepoliczonwmi perły, y różney farby kamykami upstrzoney, którą się ia ustawicznie zdobiła. . . ." <sup>53</sup>

By the middle of the 17th century Roman Catholicism was established as the religion of the vast majority of the White Russian and Ukrainian nobility. This was not brought about by Jesuit intrigue or coercion on the part of the State but by the indisputable superiority of Polish over Ruthenian culture and by its indispensability to the *szlachta* of those regions as one of the attributes of the Republic's governing class, whether on the Vistula or on the Dnieper, where now to be civilised was to be polonised.

The most characteristic symptom of these profound changes wrought in the cultural orientation of White Russia and the Ukraine was what André Martel calls "the crisis of Church Slavonic" which occurred in those parts between the Union of Lublin (1569) and the Treaty of Andruszowo (1667) which marks the beginning of the decline of Polish cultural influence in the East.<sup>54</sup> At the outset of this period the position was described by an anonymous contemporary as follows:

<sup>53</sup> *Lament Cerkwie Sw WSchodney*, Wilno, 1610. Quoted by Martel, *op cit.*, pp 254, 255.  
<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, p. 27

Полска квітнет лациною  
 Литва квітнет русчиною  
 Вез той в Польше не пребудешь  
 Вез сей в Литве блазен будешь.  
 Вездзь же юж Русь иж тва хвала  
 По всем свете юж дойзрапа,  
 Весели се ты, Русине,  
 Тва слава нигды не згине.<sup>55</sup>

In 1641 Peter Mohila writes: ". . . gdy mowisz:—ze Ruś niema się po łacinie uczyć, ieno po Graecku, po Słowieńsku, y po Polsku,—na co odpowiadam:—iż Rusi słuszna rzecz dla nabożeństwa po Graecku y po Słowieńsku uczyć się, ale dla polityki nie dosyć ino na tym, ale trzeba im do Polszczyny y po Łacinie umieć: w Koronie bowiem Polskiej Łacińskiego języka niemal iako przyrodzonego zażywaią. . . ." <sup>56</sup> The Ruthenian nobleman who knew Latin could not have failed to learn Polish; in all probability he signed his name in Latin, not Cyrillic characters; he certainly read Polish secular literature which, incidentally, explains the absence of any remarkable native production in this field. The fact that the Orthodox Ruthenians chose to conduct their religious polemic against the Uniates mostly in Polish after 1605 and completely in Polish after 1625 must of course be regarded in the light of tactical considerations and testifies not to any lack of principle on their part but to the polonisation of their opponents.

But the nobility's eager acceptance of Polish culture and the Roman Catholic faith was by no means the rule for all the inhabitants of White Russia and the Ukraine. The peasants, on the whole, were hostile to the Union and clung stubbornly though inertly to Orthodoxy, but the middle classes which had no *aurea libertas* to gain from abandoning their religion and nationality, disturbed by the polonising effects of the Reformation, with the help of a few magnates and bishops, successfully resisted the onslaught with the cultural activities of their church confraternities ("церковные братства"). The origins of these organisations go back at least to the latter 15th century. At first they were often identical with some particular craft gild, later their membership became open to all Orthodox

<sup>55</sup> Quoted *Lament Cerkwie Sw Wschodney*, Wilno, 1610, p. 41.

<sup>56</sup> "Libos, albo kamień z procy prawdy". . . *Arkhiv Yugozapadnoy Rossii*, Pt I, vol IX, pp 375. 376. Cf *Akty odnosyashchiesya k istorii Yuzhnoy i Zapadnoy Rossii*, vol 2, no. 158, pp 188—90, "Речь Ивана Мелешка, каштеляна Смоленского, произнесенная на Варшавском сейме в присутствии Короля Сигизмунда IIго, против покровительствуемого Похльскими королями влияния Немцев и Поляков на обычай и приемы жизни в Руси и Литве" For all its comic character and lack of authenticity this speech is a valuable historical document

townsmen and also to *szlachta*. Their functions, to begin with social, religious and professional, assumed a new and important character a century later when in many cases they won a considerable measure of financial and administrative control over the local churches. Towards the end of the 16th century and again in the early 17th century, some of the *bratstva* received from the Eastern Patriarchs the extensive privilege of *stauropegy*, exempting them from the jurisdiction of the local bishops, many of whom, owing to their Polish ways and Catholic sympathies, had lost the confidence of their flock. In 1592, Sigismund III displaying a tolerance more in keeping with the liberal tradition of the Republic than with his prejudices, confirmed the statute of the Lvov confraternity.<sup>57</sup> He also allowed its members to establish a *schola pro tractandibus liberalibus artibus* and to operate a printing press. This double distinction the *bratstvo* shared, partly or fully, with those of Vilno, Brest and Mohilev and later with those of Lutsk and Kiev.<sup>58</sup> These schools played a leading part in the defensive *Kulturkampf* of the Orthodox middle class which brought about the regeneration of Ruthenian national culture.<sup>59</sup>

Although, before long, the character of the teaching in the "братские школы," in accordance with the prevailing fashion, changed from Hellenic-Slavonic to Latin-Polish, they did not lose any of their essentially Orthodox character and most of the Ruthenian scientific, dogmatic and polemical literature of the period, so impressive in its bulk and quality, was produced within their walls. In 1615 the confraternity school was founded at the Kiev Bogoyavlensky Monastery.<sup>60</sup> It did not in any way differ from other schools of the same type and would no doubt have shared their destiny by sinking into decline in the 1630's had not the efforts of Peter Mohila determined its happier fate.

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(To be concluded)

<sup>57</sup> A. A. Papkov: *Bratstva, Svyato-Troitska Sergieva Lavra*, 1900, pp. xxviii, lvi, lxiv. Savich, *op cit*, chap III, *Patronat i bratstva*. . . *bratski shkoly*; *passim*.

<sup>58</sup> Martel, *op. cit*, p. 267. Savich, *op cit*, pp. 144, 150, 153, 155, 157, 164, 165, 170, 171.

<sup>59</sup> Savich, *op cit*, chap III, chap IV—*Kulturno-natsional'na borot'ba v Bilorusii ta Ukraini naprikinitsi XVI i na pochatky XVII viku*. There were seven of these schools in White Russia and twelve in the Ukraine (not counting the Ostrog Academy, founded in 1580 by Prince Konstantin Konstantinovich (Vassilyi) Ostrogsky), as against nineteen and twelve Jesuit colleges. The Uniate and Piarist schools were less in number and importance. See Savich, *op cit*, chap V—*Uniat's'ki biloruski ta ukrains'ki shkoly XVII-XVIII vv.*

<sup>60</sup> S. Golubev: *Istoria Kievskoy Dukhovnoy Akademii, Vypusk I*, Kiev, 1886, p. 97. Akademik M. Petrov: *Kiev's'ka Akademia. Zapiski Istoriko-Filolog., Viddilu Ukr. Akad. Nauk*, Bk I, Kiev, 1919.

## THE JAPHETIC THEORY

"It is more difficult to destroy than to create" is only part of the truth. We shall be nearer to its uncovered source if we say. "Not only is it difficult to destroy, but we have not the strength to do so."

N. Y. MARR, *Yafendy* (1922).

### I

THE "new linguistic doctrine" (*novoe uchenie o yazyke*), which was formulated in the U S S.R. in the course of the nineteen-thirties and has become the corner-stone of Soviet linguistics, derives ultimately, in scope and style, from the Japhetic theory, advanced before the Revolution and revised in the twenties in terms of Marxism by N. Y. Marr (1864-1934). The phases in the development of this theory represent, in some cases, radical shifts in Marr's own thinking, and this makes it desirable to know something about his origin and backgrounds.

Marr tells us a great deal about himself in an autobiographical note published in the periodical *Ogonyok* (No. 27/223) in 1927. He was of mixed parentage: his father was Scotch, his mother Georgian, and he himself was born and bred in Georgian surroundings at Kutaisi (Kutais), in Transcaucasia. It was there too that he attended the grammar school (Classical gymnasium), at which he was able to improve the "broken" speech he had acquired at home, where a mixture of faulty Russian and Georgian served his parents as the medium of communication. He successfully completed his school training with the determination to read Oriental languages in spite of attempts by both schoolmasters and schoolmates to dissuade him. Accordingly he entered St. Petersburg (Leningrad) University in 1884 and set about perfecting himself in four distinct groups of languages: Indo-European (Persian), Iverian (Georgian), Semitic (Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic), and Altaic (Turkish). At the same time he participated in the purely verbal separatist movement which was then exercising the minds and emotions of Georgian students. Two years afterwards, primed with a knowledge of Semitic, he was struck by the similarities between his mother tongue and Arabic, and in 1888 published an essay, "The Nature and Characteristics of Georgian," in the Tbilisi (Tiflis) Georgian newspaper *Iveria* (No. 86), in which he gave a foretaste of his theory by correlating Georgian, lexically and structurally, with Semitic. A fuller formulation was to come much later, when he had already

over a hundred publications to his credit, in the ten-page preface to *Basic Paradigms of Old Georgian Grammar* (St. Petersburg, 1908) <sup>1</sup> entitled "Preliminary Remarks on the Relationship of Georgian to the Semitic Languages." <sup>2</sup> Long before that time and at the end of his university studies, Marr, on the advice of Professor K. P. Patkanov, had begun to devote himself increasingly to the problems of Armenian philology. Apparently his temporary neglect of Georgian was largely due to the keen opposition of his compatriots at home, headed by the nationalist Prince Čavčavadze, who had taken exception to Marr's discovery that the Georgian Bible had been translated from the Armenian and that the fable of Šota Rust'aveli's 12th-century romantic poem "The Man in the Panther's Skin" <sup>3</sup> was of Persian origin. Marr himself admits that he had become a Caucasian "internationalist" and was now strongly opposed to nationalist tendencies. <sup>4</sup> By 1901, though he had still to take his doctorate (and did two years later), he was elected to the university chair of Armenian in spite of considerable opposition from both above and below, and in 1912 he became an active member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Meanwhile, with his passion for synthesis, Marr had been sporadically pursuing his idea of Japhetic unity into the extra-linguistic fields of archæology, history, and literature, and at the same time he had brought his researches out into the open air by repeated visits to Armenia, where in 1892-1893, for instance, he participated in excavations at the mediæval burg Ani, which brought him the conviction that there were no inviolably isolated national cultures. "All my creative linguistic ideas," wrote Marr later, <sup>5</sup> "are not the outcome of work in the study. They were conceived and moulded in the course of my contacts with man and nature, in streets and market-places, in deserts and on the seas, in the mountains and in the steppes, by rivers and springs, on horse-back and in trains—anywhere but in the study." The significance of this rather exuberant statement outweighs the modest disavowal of his "profound knowledge of all the Caucasian languages," admittedly a "quite unnecessary legend," thrust on him by uncritical, if genuine admiration. <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Основные таблицы к грамматике древнегрузинского языка.

<sup>2</sup> "Предварительное соообщение о родстве грузинского языка с семитическими."

<sup>3</sup> V. С. Н. Джанашия, *Сборник Руставели* (Tbilisi, 1938), В. В. Гольцев, *Шота Руставели и его время. Сборник статей* (Moscow, 1939), К. Д. Бальмонт (trans.), *Витязь в тигровой шкуре* (Moscow, 1936), M. S. Wardrop (trans.), *The Man in the Panther's Skin* (London, 1912)

<sup>4</sup> V. Н. Я. Марр, "Яфетидология в Ленинградском Государственном Университете" (Изв. Лен. Гос. Ун., т. II, Leningrad, 1930)

<sup>5</sup> V. autobiographical note already cited.

<sup>6</sup> *Op cit*

Among those "creative ideas" were ideas concerning the origin of human speech, which persistently thread the pattern of his linguistic work and ultimately lead him to abandon philology and archæology for purely linguistic study, for this transition can look back equally on the study of inscriptions and on archæological investigation.<sup>7</sup> Parallel to his field-work on dead languages<sup>8</sup> and ancient inscriptions, Marr makes a study of living speech radiating northwards from his Caucasian (Georgian-Armenian) base. Here Georgian, as living Japhetic, was the starting point of his studies. Against the background of his mother tongue he first proceeded to investigate its congeners, some of which (e.g. Svanetian and Laz) he found more "primitive," in certain respects, than 9th-century Old Georgian, and then the Caucasian languages proper. After that his researches extended south and east under the reasserted bias of the past, to include all the literary languages of the Old World. In 1927, in the middle of his miniature autobiography, he admits having studied all except those of the Far East, which he appears to have started learning only then. At that moment, surveying his linguistic horizon, like Cortez the discovered Pacific, he could exclaim: "Not only has the isolation of Georgia disappeared, but that of China too. We are on the point of establishing the fact that from Japan and China to the Atlantic the basic terminology of prehistoric culture is identical. All words in all languages may be resolved into four elements." Marr acknowledges the incompleteness of his theory, which by this time had been clearly formulated and was already current in the more progressive Soviet linguistic circles: the languages of Africa and America, he declares, ignoring Austronesia by a curious oversight, remain to be brought in, and the chronology of the various typologically significant language-systems determined.

But all this anticipates by a considerable leap of years the development of the Japhetic theory from its earliest hintings in 1908 to its reiterated authoritative exposition in the nineteen-twenties. The next stage, after the comparison of Georgian with Semitic (i.e. Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic) and the recognition of a genetic bond between Japhetic and Semitic, was "the study of living dialects" of the Iverian type, from among which he chose Chan (Laz) because of its lexical contribution to written Armenian

<sup>7</sup> V. "Определение языка второй категории Ахеменидских клинообразных надписей по данным яфетического языкознания" (Записки Вост. Отд. Русского Арх. Общ., т. XXII, вып. I-II, St Petersburg, 1914)

<sup>8</sup> E.g. the "Chaldean" of the cuneiform inscriptions at Lake Van in Armenia. V. И. А. Орбели, Археологическая экспедиция 1916-года в Ван (Имп. Русск. Арх. Общ., Petrograd, 1916)

(Hai) and "points of contact" between it and the language of the Susa inscriptions. In preparation for his grammatical study of Chan he visited Turkish Lazistan, where the bulk of Chan-speakers are settled. The preface to his Grammar<sup>9</sup> avers that his treatment of Chan is necessarily superficial in view of the shortness of his stay, but he offers it nevertheless as an encouragement to further analysis of the Japhetic-Semitic equation. After an *excursus* into the interpretation of the Achæmenid cuneiform inscriptions "of the second category" in terms of Japhetic linguistics,<sup>10</sup> Marr returned to his Caucasian researches, which by now had taken an extra-Iverian, northward trend, and produced a significant paper on Abkhaz in 1916.<sup>11</sup> Here he discusses the attractions of the phonetic complexity of this language and makes it the focus of his reconsideration of Japhetic, whose features he had already traced in his study of Chan and the "cuneiform" language of the Achæmenid inscriptions. The stimulus of the Revolution, which Marr appears to have accepted from the outset, may be seen in the circumstances under which his first complete elaboration of the Japhetic theory was made in 1919. "The Japhetic Caucasus and the Third Ethnic Element in the Creation of Mediterranean Culture"<sup>12</sup> was read as a paper at a meeting of the newly-founded Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture and published as a pamphlet in Leipzig in the following year. This capital work became known to European scholarship in F. Braun's German version, which was published in 1923,<sup>13</sup> i.e. early enough to influence, so far as the Caucasian languages were concerned, the rather fanciful and superficial linguistic synthesis of Father W. Schmidt.<sup>14</sup> At that time such influence was quite possible, because Marr, as a self-confessed "formalist,"<sup>15</sup> still accepted the prevailing Indo-European doctrine of the linguistic archetype (protoglossa, *Ursprache*) and such variations and corollaries as the substratum theory, the correlation of language and ethnos, and, on another plane, the theory of culture diffusion. In 1923 Marr's close association with the revolutionary victory of five years before resulted in his election to the presidency

<sup>9</sup> Грамматика чанского (лазского) языка с хрестоматиею и словарем (St Petersburg, 1910)

<sup>10</sup> V footnote 7.

<sup>11</sup> "Кавказоведение и абхазский язык" (Ж. М. Н. II., No 5, Petrograd, 1916)

<sup>12</sup> Яфетический Кавказ и третий этнический элемент в создании Средиземноморской культуры (Leipzig, 1920)

<sup>13</sup> *Der japhetische Kaukasus und das dritte ethnische Element im Bildungsprozess der mittelländischen Kultur* (Leipzig, 1923).

<sup>14</sup> *Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde* (Heidelberg, 1926)

<sup>15</sup> V footnote 4



of the Central Soviet (Council) of the Intellectual Workers' Department. By 1924-1925 his innate as well as outwardly stimulated opposition to Indo-European linguistics had become fully articulate. From then onwards the protoglossa and monogenesis are relegated to the ashes of exploded fictions, and social and economic factors emerge to explain the gradual agglomeration of originally diverse tribal (ethnic) languages into systems of expression, which, viewed diachronically, exhibit stages (*stadii*) reflecting the evolution of social thought-processes.<sup>16</sup> Here we see the conscious fusion of the Japhetic theory with the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic. The new standpoint was adopted by the Leningrad Japhetic Institute, which Marr had founded with the consent of the Academy of Sciences in 1921,<sup>17</sup> and by the Moscow Institute of Nationalities. Linguistic "nuclei" (*yacheiki*) were established in the provinces (e.g. the Caucasus, Central Asia, Kazan) by the younger linguists who had enthusiastically taken up Marr's views. The provinces indeed were more eager than the centre, where the Japhetic Institute was belatedly (1931) renamed the Institute of Language and Thought (*Institut Yazyka i Myshleniya*). This change of name was connected with Marr's acceptance of the Marxist conception of the unity of thought and language, and with his joining the Communist Party (1930) and becoming a member of the Central Executive Committee (VTsIK). The meaning of the change is plainly indicated by Marr himself in a semi-autobiographical address delivered at the 110th anniversary session of Leningrad University in 1930.<sup>18</sup> "The Japhetic theory," he assures us at the end of his address, "embodies the national-proletarian antithesis to the feudal-bourgeois great-power thesis," and elsewhere in the same paper he adds: "At the present time the Marxism of Japhetic linguistics is beyond dispute, the more so as the Japhetic theory presents, historically or in specially studied material, though not in essence, a kind of parallel to Marxism or a variant of it." Marr was rewarded for his services to the Party with the Order of Lenin in 1934, and it was in that year that this extraordinary man died.

## II

The Japhetic theory, as we have seen, is older than the Revolution, but was elaborated after that event, and the changes and accretions which its more advanced stages reveal were due to the

<sup>16</sup> V. "Ииндо-европейские языки Средиземноморья" (Доклады Ак. Наук, 1924)

<sup>17</sup> V. Чем живет яфетическое языкознание (Petrograd, 1922), in Georgian

<sup>18</sup> V. footnote 4.

expansion of linguistic knowledge by the annexation of fresh languages. It began as an intuition in one who was familiar from childhood with several diverse languages acquired in the ordinary course of living and by study, and at first it was intended to cover and explain only the linguistic complex of the Caucasus. The scope of the theory expanded till it ultimately came, in Marr's own words, to include all the languages of the world, living and dead, on equal terms. It is pre-eminently a reflection of the vicissitudes of Marr's psychological development, and its breadth and variety are a verbal parallel to the ethnic and linguistic structure of the U.S.S.R. The Japhetic theory is in the first place the mind of Marr himself, and secondly where the personal merges in the collective, a vivid picture of the linguistic energy of the U.S.S.R. in its ideological self-sufficiency and militant opposition to the Indo-European (Aryan) linguistic dogma of peninsular Europe.

The earliest pre-revolutionary statement of Marr's hypothesis is little more than a suggestion. It has its origin in the equation of Georgian, as a form of Japhetic, with Semitic, derived from a collation of passages in works by F. Müller<sup>19</sup> and the Georgian scholar A. Tsagareli,<sup>20</sup> which establishes an obviously plagiaristic relation between the two.<sup>21</sup> Both these authors detach "Caucasian" from Indo-European and "Uralo-Altaic," and draw a parallel between Caucasian and Basque. This would seem to be the source of what was later to become the Japhetic theory. It began then as an attempt to characterise, place, and explain the linguistic system of the Caucasus, and the first step was to link Georgian with literary Semitic. "The Georgian language," wrote Marr in his mother tongue in 1888, "both flesh and spirit, i.e. lexical roots and grammatical conformation, is related to the Semitic languages, but the relationship is not so close as that among the Semitic languages themselves." These words are taken from the concluding paragraph of Marr's first published work,<sup>22</sup> and the idea they contain was developed in *Basic Paradigms of Old Georgian Grammar* twenty years

<sup>19</sup> *Orient und Occident* (Vienna, 1864), p. 535

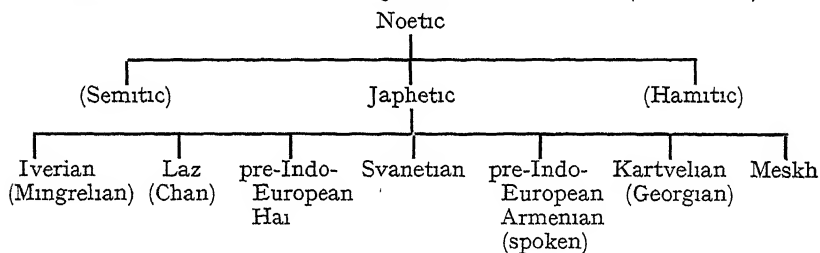
<sup>20</sup> "О грамматике литературного грузинского языка" (Ж.М.Н.П., No 9, 1873, p. 76)

<sup>21</sup> In 1853 the thought was expressed in German scholarship that "eine besondere weder indogermanische noch semitische Rasse grosse Gebiete von Vorder- und Kleinasien, Kreta, die Inseln des Agäischen Meeres und auch das Festland von Griechenland bevölkert habe und sich in Europa in den eben schon genannten Völkern fortsetze" (V. A. Kannengiesser, "Ist das Etruskische eine hettitische Sprache?" in *Programm des Gymnasiums zu Gelsenkirchen*, 1908, p. 4). Marr quotes this passage in "The Japhetic Caucasus" (1920), adding "the point of the matter is not in the expression of a general opinion, but in the manner of its formulation which concretely displays a scientific approach to the question"

<sup>22</sup> V. p. 172.

later. In the preface to this book Marr concedes that Georgian contains very much that is alien to Semitic. "That is why it cannot be regarded as Semitic," though it is "to some extent" connected with the Semitic languages, the "extent" being defined as cousinship or extraction from the "brother languages"—Protosemitic and Protojaphetic. This assertion rests on a comparison of Georgian words of various grammatical categories, mostly verbs, with Semitic equivalents (e.g. Sem. *šms*, Geo. *mze*, sun; Sem. *hbl*, Geo. *sul*, soul, breath; Sem. *hvb*, Geo. *srba*, ran). In Marr's next study, the preface to his Chan grammar (*v. supra*), a genealogical table of the Japhetic languages is given. The correlation of Japhetic with Semitic (and tentatively with Hamitic) is retained, and all three families (stocks) are derived from an hypothetical Noetic (< Noah). An examination of the individual languages at the foot of the table shows that Marr has confined his researches mainly to Iverian types (Mingrelian, Laz, Svanetian, Georgian, Meskh), to which he adds pre-Indo-European (pre-Aryan) Armenian in its two allotropic varieties, written (Hai) and spoken.

MARR'S GENEALOGY OF THE JAPHETIC LANGUAGES (SIMPLIFIED)



So far then Marr has not sallied out of his Transcaucasian base, and the twin foci of his linguistic researches—Armenian and Georgian—stand revealed. By 1912 he had already discovered the dichotomy of sibilant and spirant (glottal),<sup>23</sup> with the subdivision of the former into hush and hiss types (*sifflantes* and *chuintantes*). The major antithesis may be illustrated with examples from Iverian ("Kartalinian"): Geo. *suli*, Ming. *suri*, Svan. *qun* (< *hun*), but it plays a larger part in the phonetic analysis of the wider "Japhetic" at a later stage. In all these early works, too, Marr uses what was afterwards to be elaborated as the Japhetic alphabet,<sup>24</sup> to transcribe both written and unwritten languages. It is a relatively transparent

<sup>23</sup> V. footnote 7.

<sup>24</sup> V. Нариси з основ нового вчення про язык (Kiev, 1935), pp. 15-24

Greek-Latin-Cyrillic conglomerate and was formed primarily to meet the requirements of purely Japhetic linguistics, and even in 1926 <sup>25</sup> Marr admits that it requires reconstruction and enlargement, because its range is ultimately to coincide with the limits of linguistics "on a planetary scale."

The next stage in the expansion of the Japhetic (till then purely Iverian) theory is reflected in the temporary abandonment of rock and print for life, the inscribed and written word for the spoken. The centre of curiosity is now held by Abkhaz, <sup>26</sup> a northerly non-Iverian type, with which Marr had become acquainted in the field. This language has a totally different grammatical structure from that of his mother tongue. Syntax here, as Marr points out, "plays the role of morphology," i.e. word-order expresses what formal features do in other languages; the connectives are elusive, often embedded in words; and the verb functions as a nucleus to a complex of centrifugal associates. "The Abkhaz-speaker," writes Marr, "has a clear conception of the total complex of particles and stems" and "can even translate it faultlessly into another language, but when you ask him about the constituent parts of the complex, he feels quite at a loss, and when he has to explain, he makes contradictory statements." Abkhaz was the starting point of his penetration into the terrain of Caucasian proper (North Caucasian), which he ultimately annexed to his theory. And now he is inclined to regard his earlier approach to the problem through Georgian and Armenian as mistaken, especially in its linguistic aspect, because a true pan-Caucasian perspective can obviously be obtained only by "a profound study of all the montane (*gorskie*) languages," including Abkhaz, which, incidentally, gave him some assistance in the decipherment of Old Elamite (Chaldean).

We now come to the first post-revolutionary statement of the Japhetic theory (1919), which, in translation, made Marr's views known to Indo-European scholarship and provoked the challenge and hostility of many European reviewers. At the same time Marr's Indo-European-trained linguistic imagination was, as a matter of course, still apt to conceive the Caucasian languages as a separate *bloc*, nearer to Semitic than to Indo-European, but his growing opposition to the comparative-historical method favoured by Indo-European linguistics already expresses itself in determined tones. "Indo-European linguistics, exploiting the *procédés* of natural science," says Marr, "adopted the philosophy of a society

<sup>25</sup> V. "Абхазский аналитический алфавит" (Труды Яфет. Семинарии I, Leningrad, 1926).

<sup>26</sup> V. footnote 11.

based on religion and substituted linguistic for the religious divisions of mankind, isolated the circle of Indo-European languages, and devoted itself to the exclusive and separate study of the Indo-European peoples. . . . It transferred to the Indo-European (Aryan) race the view of confessional theology regarding the chosen people, whose varieties inhabit mainly the European world.”<sup>27</sup> Indo-European linguistics reached its creative zenith in the eighteen-seventies and eighties and then began to dogmatise from its achievements. This dogma—largely German—was affected by the political moods of Germany after 1870, as indeed the Japhetic theory has been by the moods prevalent in Russia since 1918. “As an ethnological science interested in linguistic origins,” Indo-European linguistics “expired” in 1880 and became merely a workshop for the elaboration of the comparative-historical method. Marr, however, acknowledges that the invention of technical *procédés* for the intensive study of languages belongs almost entirely to Indo-European linguistics, although at the same time he asserts, rather unjustly, that its contribution to the “extensive” study of languages has been “exceedingly limited.”<sup>28</sup>

In the title of his essay, from which we have just quoted, Marr mentions the “third ethnic element in the creation of Mediterranean culture.” This, next to—and historically prior to—the Semitic and the Indo-European, was the Japhetic. Though Marr distinguishes the language “families” of these peoples as such, his interpretation of Japhetic is novel and already contains the outlines of his later definition. The Japhetic languages, apparently, are not based on a uniform archetype (protoglossa), but on the transformation of linguistic types as the result of miscegenation. They illustrate all three stages of language-building (glossogeny): the amorphous-synthetic (i.e. isolative), the agglutinative, and the flexional, in that chronological order. The morphemes of the last stage, we are told, are the outworn auxiliaries of the agglutinative period, and these in their turn, the word-units of the amorphous-synthetic. Linguistic morphology at each stage reflects the prevailing social order. The auxiliaries of the amorphous-synthetic period are anatomic terms (*membra corporis*): in this period language is regarded in terms of the body and its parts in their physical relationship. Later these words, e.g. face, brow, eye, ear, nose, hand, hip, become prepositions and postpositions meaning “forward, in the presence of, over, etc.” Japhetic linguistics claims also to have elucidated the pronouns, which are intimately connected with flexion. Primitive

<sup>27</sup> V. footnote 12.

<sup>28</sup> *Op cit.*

declension would seem to have been a juxtaposition of name and pronoun, which later became fused, i.e. the former was provided with morphemes to express grammatical relations. The amorphous-synthetic period was the period of the herd, the agglutinative—of the clan (*rod*), the flexional—of the individual (*litso*). The differentiation of individuals resulted from a long process of evolution, which implied a steadily growing awareness of the antithesis of the individual person to his human environment. The numerals too, Marr pursues, are connected with parts of the human body (1 = mouth, 2 = lips, hands, 4 = feet, e.g. “quadruped,” 5 = fist, hand, *pyaternya*). Primitive numeration extended only to 5–6, after which the idea of “many,” expressed by the two hands, i.e. a multiplicity of digits, obtruded itself. “Two hands” at a later, numerationally more articulate, period meant “ten.” The intervening units were expressed with the aid of the first five or six by addition, multiplication, and subtraction. Parts of speech did not originally exist; verb and noun were not contrasted; even notions like “to have” and “to dress” meant, as Georgian suggests, “he has fat” and “he puts on fat” respectively. Thus polysemy appears to have characterised the early stages of speech, and this had its inevitable parallel in undifferentiated sound-complexes, of which modern Abkhaz and Lezginian give some notion, although it is only an atavistic reflection of phonetic prototypes which occupied the margin between socially valid sounds and inarticulate herd-cries.<sup>29</sup> The Japhetic Caucasus, as the foregoing illustrations imply, represents in microcosm the concentration and hybridisation of a large number of language types. Still adhering to the Indo-European conception of the linguistic family, Marr fixes the separation of Japhetic and Semitic at the onset of the flexional stage (*stadiya*), and the occupation of the Caucasus by the Japhetites is presumed to have followed this tertiary emergence from the two consecutive earlier types of typological transformation, viz. the amorphous-synthetic and the agglutinative. The Indo-European languages penetrated the Caucasus and produced hybrid types, illustrated by composite ethnic names (e.g. the double totem horse-metal, Iber-Yon). Exploring the geographical extension of the Japhetites, Marr discovers the presence of the Japhetic element in the Balkan (e.g. Pelasgian), Appenine (e.g. Etruscan), and Iberian or Pyrenean peninsulas (e.g. Iberian, Basque). Marr thinks Basque was hybridised in the Caucasus and describes it as a transitional, agglutinative-flexional type. The ethnogenic migration of the

<sup>29</sup> *Op cit*

Japhetites in prehistoric (Mediterranean) times took place from a Caucasian focus and point of departure, perhaps the Armenian *massif*, by two routes: (1) a maritime and southern, across Anatolia to the Mediterranean islands and peninsulas, and (2) a continental and northern, along the northern shore of the Euxine and "downwards" into the three southern peninsulas. Marr also envisages the possibility of an Iberian (i.e. Iverian) migration to the Pyrenean peninsula by a southerly (African) route *via* the Levant, possibly from a Mediterranean *terminus a quo*. The isolated Vershiks or Burushasks of the Pamir node (the Indian "Caucasus") show, according to Marr, an Armenian affiliation in speech and may therefore represent a migration from a more westerly point of dispersion. Marr thinks the Japhetites occupied the Mediterranean basin prior to the "dawn" of linguistic flexion and regards them as the originators of material culture (fire, metals), which he conceives as radiating from the "Promethean" Caucasus. The Tower of Babel myth, on these terms, is no more than the story of "Japhetic reality." Originally then there was one speech in the pre-Indo-European Mediterranean world—Japhetic, and the *coup de grâce* to Japhetic unity was administered by the emergence of Indo-European, which induced the process of miscegenation—in itself essentially a process of re-creation. In this way, Marr concludes, Japhetic has contrived, if only vicariously, to participate in the creative remodelling of European world-culture. Subsequently Marr was to modify these views, which in course of time began to strike him as too "caucasocentric," and the term Japhetic itself was destined to be reinterpreted not as a "family," but as a "system." He also abandoned the ideas of migration and the substratum for the idea of transformation *in situ*.

We have here reached the fourth pre-Marxist phase<sup>30</sup> in the evolution of the Japhetic theory, which may be illustrated diagrammatically by five concentric circles. The innermost (focal) circle represents the first (dropped stone) stage, and the outermost—the final, inclusive stage of primordial human speech. The first two cover an historical phase, the third is protohistoric, the fourth—prehistoric, and the fifth—palæontological. Phases one and two are represented by the equation of Georgian and Semitic (1888) and the discovery of Caucasian Japhetic (1912) respectively; phase three is that of cuneiform Japhetic (1916); phase four—of Mediterranean and Pamiri Japhetic (1919); and phase five—of primitive speech

<sup>30</sup> V. "Яфегиды" (Восток I, Petrograd, 1922). This article has been translated into German and Armenian

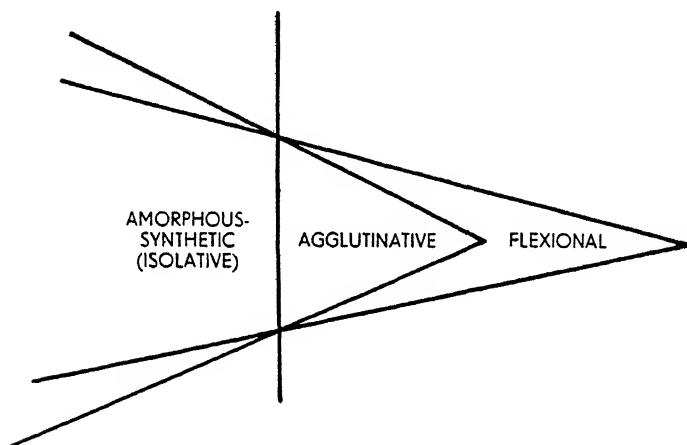
(1925). From the standpoint of method, the first three phases disclose the use of the comparative-historical, and the remaining two—of the palæontological.

Starting from hints dropped by A. Kannengiesser (1853) and F. Müller (1864), Marr at length arrived, by a succession of cyclical enlargements of his theory, at a coherent word-picture of the origin and development of human speech as a function and facet of human social development. At this juncture we observe the intrusion of the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic, which Marr adopted, after devoted study, about 1924. From then onwards the Japhetic theory assumes its final expression. As a system of materialist linguistics it now has a twofold aspect: it still continues to analyse and to elaborate the complex of Japhetic languages, and at the same time it seeks to establish general norms of linguistic development from the prephonic (linear) to the flexional stage by applying the concept of transformation from one stage (*stadiya*) to another, which Marr connects with the long-term periodicity of sociological change. Thus the emergence of Indo-European from Japhetic was conditioned by the discovery of metals and agriculture, for Marr has here revised his former view connecting the metals with Japhetic. To the investigation both of the Japhetic languages and of the “stadial” development of human speech Marr applies the palæontological method as against the comparative-historical method of Indo-European linguistics, which he openly discards. The difference of method is ultimately due to a difference of outlook, and this is reflected in the relatively greater breadth and “objectivity” of the palæontological, which draws on other disciplines, such as sociology, archæology, comparative religion, folklore, anthropology, and ethnography—all of them neglected by the other, purely linguistic method. Marr seriously connects linguistic with socio-economic phases of development<sup>31</sup> and, following the findings of Marxist sociology, emphasises the revolutionary “shifts” (*skachki*) or spasmodic momentum of language, which transmutes earlier linguistic material into later, to meet the requirements of changes in the social and economic order. The method of palæontological analysis makes possible the comparison of languages at different levels of development by juxtaposing coeval strata: it studies language in “polystadial” (polychronic) section or in process of growth, and so substitutes a dynamic or kinetic for the static Indo-European view. The old typological divisions—amorphous-

<sup>31</sup> У “Актуальные проблемы и очередные задачи яфетической теории” (Изд. Ком. Акад., Moscow, 1929)



synthetic, agglutinative, and flexional<sup>32</sup>—are seen to be real enough in terms of the Japhetic theory, which regards them as three chronologically distinct transformations of speech, while insisting that “primitive” languages are related typologically, not phonetically. Some Japhetic types embody the triple metamorphosis, but seem nevertheless to prefer one stage to the rest, e.g. Abkhaz is mainly amorphous-synthetic, though it has traces of the other two types; Georgian is in process of development from the agglutinative to the flexional stage, but is not without signs of amorphism; and Indo-European and Semitic are only apparently more uniform in type.<sup>33</sup> The following diagram will illustrate the symbiosis of the three stages in a particular language or language-group.



### III

The Japhetic languages, so named to complete the Shem-Ham-Japhet trinity in linguistic nomenclature, without at the same time implying their common origin, now include both living and dead languages. The first group contains most of the geographically Caucasian languages, i.e. Caucasian proper, Iverian, and Armenian, together with Basque and Burushaski (Vershik) on the western and

<sup>32</sup> The dichotomy of the last two was denied by C. C. Uhlenbeck at the Congress of Basque Studies held in Guernica (Gernika), Spain, in 1922.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. “Новый поворот в работе по яфетической теории” (Изв. АН. Наук, Moscow-Leningrad, 1931). Here Marr defines Germanic as typologically intermediate between the “synthetic-agglutinative” and “pronominal-flexional” types, with class-indices in process of change into sex-indices. Cf. also F. Braun, *Die Urbervölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen* (Leipzig, 1922), where the translator of *Der japhetische Kaukasus* studies the Japhetic “substratum” of Germanic.

the eastern mountain marches respectively of the old Japhetic area. To the group of dead languages belong the fragmentary Hittite, Cretan, Elamite, Sumerian, Chaldean, a number of obsolete Anatolian languages, Etruscan, Neo-Elamite, Median, and the ancient written forms of Georgian and Armenian. Scythian, according to Marr, still remains an apple of discord between Indo-European and Japhetic claims. Cimmerian, Iverian, and Iberian, on the one hand, and Gurian (a form of Iverian) and Ligurian, on the other, are equated etymologically.

The distribution of present-day Japhetic languages shows them to be the relics of languages formerly spoken all over the Mediterranean area in "Afroeurasia," as well as in America, Austronesia, and Australia. Marr is careful to point out that Japhetic does not constitute a "family" like "Prometheid" (Indo-European)—he now reserves "Indo-European" for the Aryan linguistic doctrine, not the language-group—but represents by its "system" a definite stage in linguistic development. Here we have the frequently and forcibly expressed opposition of linguistic palæontology to comparative-historical linguistics, with the terminological and conceptual antithesis of "system" and "family". Linguistic relationship is conceived no longer as biological and genetic, but as the historical and sociological integration of a multitude of diverse ethnic languages. This gives the recognised "families" (stocks) the subservient status of links in the chain of the language-building process. Japhetic however is a "system" which is essentially "polystadial," and so able to illustrate *inter alia* the history of the grammatical categories—the formal priority of the pronoun, the growth of flexion, the formalisation of spatial and temporal relations. Declension and conjugation are intimately bound up with each other in Japhetic. Numeration, already standardised in the manual (linear) period of speech, with "arm" as the fundamental term taken in three sections (i.e. arm = 1-2, wrist or fist = 5, two fists = 10), reveals in the more "primitive" languages an ancient method of counting, which conceived "many" as three or more. The customary dichotomy of decimal and vigesimal as between Prometheid (Indo-European) and Japhetic is stated to be an unnecessary simplification. Adjective and noun are seen to derive from a common source, the former with a qualitative bias. Plurality represents a later and more advanced notion, because the original emphasis appears to have been on collectivity, out of which the singular was then abstracted by force of contrast. The plural affix was primordially the word for "children" (tribe). As for word-

symbols of the earlier, matriarchal filiation, they are naturally more in evidence in Japhetic than in Indo-European and Semitic, though these have them too (e.g. Russ. *sud'ya*, O. Arabic *ḡal-īḡaḡun*).<sup>34</sup>

Palæontologically Indo-European linguistics is at a disadvantage compared with Japhetic, because it does not command languages illustrating the "primitive" linguistic condition. Indo-European linguistics is necessarily historical, Japhetic—rejecting historicity—palæontological. Japhetic semantics, for instance, unlike Indo-European, makes less cautious use of association (e.g. by connecting "heaven"—"the nest of protosemes"—with such notions as "head, cloud, luminary, azure, summit, beginning, end, etc."),<sup>35</sup> and being independent of the abstractions of logical association, has often enough nothing to do with that rarefied theorising which Indo-European linguistics anachronistically imposes on prehistoric modes of thought. Japhetic linguistics goes back thousands of years beyond the neolithic and palæolithic periods,<sup>36</sup> where, exploding monogenesis, it discovers that there never was or could have been an aboriginal phonetic form of speech,<sup>37</sup> although there probably existed a multiplicity of typologically similar ethnic languages, as the curves of their emergence were similar. The phonetic and lexical affinities of later speech, discovered by Indo-European linguistics, appear to have resulted from a long process of hybridisation, of which the Japhetic languages themselves are a striking illustration.

#### IV

In classifying the Caucasian types of Japhetic, Marr adheres to the traditional scheme, detaches North from South Caucasian, i.e. Caucasian proper from Iverian, and proceeds to subdivide the former into an Eastern or Daghestan (Lezginian type), a Central (Chechenian type), and a Western (Circassian type) branch. At the same time North and South Caucasian are effectively segregated according to phonetic criteria,<sup>38</sup> the first, i.e. the mass of Caucasian languages, being allotted to the spirant (*h*-type) language-group, and the second to the sibilant (*s*- and *š*-type). These criteria are preferred to geographical and even typological ones, which Marr ascribes to earlier and presumably obsolete linguistic doctrines. He declares

<sup>34</sup> V. "Яфетические языки" (Большая Сов. Энци., т. 65, Moscow, 1931).

<sup>35</sup> V. "О 'небе' как гнезде пра-значений" (Докл. АН Наук, 1924).

<sup>36</sup> V. footnote 30.

<sup>37</sup> V. "Основные достижения яфетической теории" (Rostov-on-Don, 1925), reprinted in По этапам развития яфетической теории (Moscow-Leningrad, 1926), p. 246

<sup>38</sup> V footnotes 7 and 34

that the separation of North and South Caucasian is "useful only to the formalist," and that the geography of Caucasian speech is entirely the outcome of historical causes. Using his phonetic criteria, Marr isolates the morphologically unrelated Svanetian and Abkhaz as mixed spirant-sibilant (i.e. *h*- and *s*-) types and distinguishes the two as specimens of the hush (*š*-) and hiss (*s*-) sibilant allotropes respectively, drawing at the same time a parallel between Svanetian and Basque in this particular. A third, "sonant" (i.e. labial-liquid) type is also mentioned, and the three, in a pure state, are said to belong to a very primitive epoch. The residuary Japhetic types had already been hybridised in prehistoric times, and only the still visible linguistic stratification of extant Japhetic can reveal the regular relationship of these ancient phonetic phenomena. Hence the surviving Japhetic types may be described as being only predominantly sibilant, spirant, or sonant, as the case may be. From this standpoint Marr is inclined to dispense with the prevailing geographical-typological classification.

## V

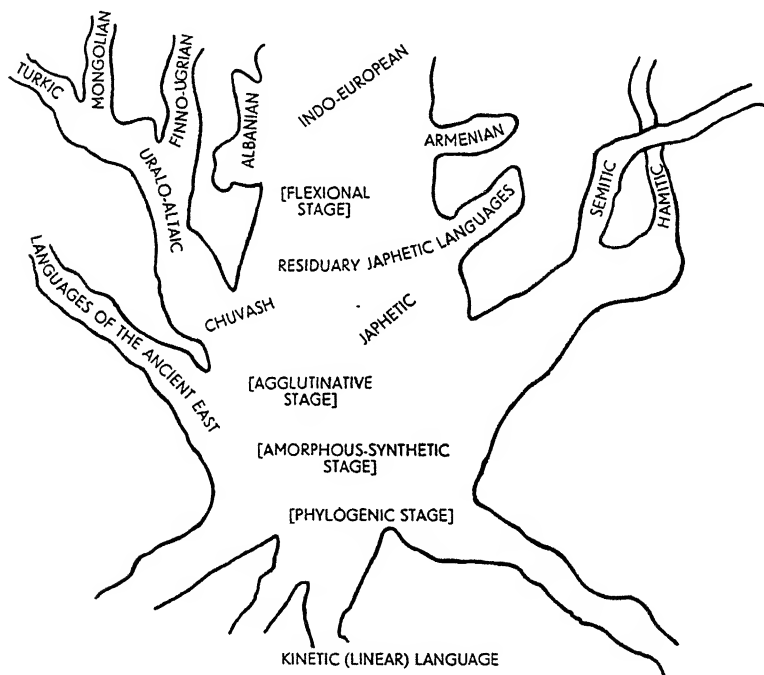
The consistent application of the palæontological method to Japhetic revealed to Marr the long perspective of linguistic development and convinced him of the unity of the "glossogenic" (he has "glottogenic") process. At this point he himself began to doubt the validity of including investigation of this process within the already strained limits of the Japhetic theory (*yafetidologiya*), though he reassured himself with the conviction that the Japhetic languages, as the most "primitive," obviously offered more abundant material than any other types for the study of the earlier phases of linguistic development. Stimulated by his legitimate misgivings and elaborating the Marxist dogma of the bond between language and thought, Marr embarks on the concluding phase of his linguistic researches, symbolised by the changed name of the Japhetic Institute, viz. the Institute of Language and Thought (1931). We now hear more of the unity of the glossogenic or language-building process, of the equal rights of all the world's languages (Jakob Grimm did not doubt this, if his successors did), of the prospective evolution of all languages into a common, universal type (this manifestly a reflection of the existing Soviet political order and its revolutionary hopes for the future), and at the same time we hear of the Japhetic theory as "a weapon of the class war," of "linguistic policy," and of Leninism (the Russian exegesis of Marxism) as the

"arm of Soviet scholarship." In this final phase, which coincides with the last four or five years of Marr's life, we find, in the linguistic domain, a concentration on semantics rather than the emphasis on phonetics which characterised his earliest and earlier approach, and the typical neglect of morphology, presumably because of its relative newness and perhaps also because of its exaggerated significance in formalist Indo-European scholarship. Semantic (lexical) study by the palæontological method discloses to the "japhetidologist" that diverse languages are more closely connected than the Indo-European School is willing to admit. Indo-European scholarship, according to Marr, treats language groupings as inverted pyramids, the apical "base" representing the monogenetic fiction of the protoglossa, and shows not even a marginal contact between individual pyramids. The Japhetic theory, on the other hand, sees language graphically as a pyramid resting on a broad base, which represents initial multiplicity, as conceived by polygenesis, tending towards an ideal unity. This is more specifically expressed by the symbol of the genealogical tree,<sup>39</sup> which Marr designed in 1926, but abandoned in 1928, because the branches spreading from the trunk suggested too vividly the theory of the protoglossa, which it was his avowed purpose to confute. The genealogical tree however does picture the stages which Marr distinguishes in the language-building process, viz. from the roots upwards: (1) the kinetic or linear stage (manual and mimetic language), (2) the tribal or phylogenetic stage, (3) the amorphous-synthetic (isolative) stage, (4) the agglutinative stage, and (5) undifferentiated Japhetic speech. The last then constitutes the lower trunk, from which the languages of the Ancient East (primarily Sinitic), Uralo-Altaic (in which Mongolian and Turanian are separated, and Samoyedic is perhaps included in "Finno-Ugrian," i.e. Uralian), Hamitic, and Semitic diverge as branches. Meanwhile the main trunk reaches upwards into the flexional stage through the remnants of Japhetic. The divergence of Uralo-Altaic takes place through Chuvash, that of Hamitic and Semitic, as of Indo-European, through Japhetic. In the secondary branches, Mongolian, Turanian (Turkic), and Uralian (Finno-Ugrian) are distinguished among agglutinative types, Hamitic and Semitic are given separate growth, and Albanian and Armenian are detached as vestigial from the main stem of Indo-European. The emergence of phonic languages is bound up with

<sup>39</sup> V "Über die Entstehung der Sprache" (*Unter dem Banner des Marxismus*, Heft 3, Moscow, 1926) and the Russian original, "О происхождении языка" (in *По этапам развития яфетической теории*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1926, pp. 286-335), also "К происхождению языков" (in *По этапам etc.* pp. 278-83).

the formation of tribes (phylogenesis) and of a social order. Till then language is represented as kinetic or linear, i.e. as a complex of cries, gestures, and mimicry. According to Marr, semantics existed and developed before the appearance of phonic speech, and it was determined by a cosmic philosophy (*mirovozzrenie*), in which "heaven" and "water," with the division of the latter into "light" and "darkness," became the prototypes of the vast majority of words. Another was "hand." These notions represent the macrocosm and the microcosm respectively, the priority being with the protologos "hand", the creator of the material culture and the language of humanity.<sup>40</sup>

## MARR'S TYPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES (MODIFIED)



## VI

"Mankind created its speech in the process of labour in circumscribed social circumstances and has recreated it with the recrudescence of new forms of living in accordance with new forms of

<sup>40</sup> V. footnote 39

thinking.”<sup>41</sup> Changes in the mode of thinking, in Marr’s opinion, represent distinct stages, of which the two earliest are the totemic and the cosmic. In studying the totemic mode Marr uses as material the names of peoples and places, because these possess a pre-eminently archaic quality. He considers it possible to reduce the stock of words in human speech to a very small number (say 6–12) of primitive roots or bases, which he at first regarded as exclusively meaningless totemic-tribal names.<sup>42</sup> With the rejection of the predominant role of the ethnos, however, the idea of the tribal origin of primitive word-elements is replaced by that of the “four fundamental elements,” A, B, C, D (or, in the original totemic-tribal conception and terms, Sal, Ber, Yon, Roš). These consist of biconsonantal radicals: A — of a “lingual” element followed by a “liquid” (l, r), B of a labial also followed by a liquid, C of a lingual or a labial + n, and D of a liquid + a “spirant” + a liquid. None of the four elements is primordial, but they jointly describe the limits of our present knowledge of phonic human speech, and they are the basis of all lexical matter.<sup>43</sup> Their meaning is determined by the social environment, and as this changes, so does their meaning. The four elements have changed their function radically in the course of linguistic evolution and have passed from one system of speech to another. The Japhetic theory assumes that articulate, as opposed to the earlier kinetic speech, is connected with the prevalence of the totemic-cosmic attitude of mind (*mirovozzrenie*), which characterises the Upper Palæolithic period. At first articulate phonic speech was closely associated with its kinetic predecessor, and, like this, was simply an active participant in man’s daily concerns, for by that time kinetic speech had passed beyond the initial stage of bodily movements, mimicry, and cries. According to Marr, this would suggest the existence of the thought-process prior to the formation of phonic speech, whose subsequent course was determined by the specific gravity of accumulated knowledge and the momentum of material development. Marr’s emphasis on

<sup>41</sup> В. Яфетическая теория (Изд. Вост. Фак. Азербайджанского Гос. Ун., Баку, 1928) For other expositions of the Japhetic theory consult: И. И. Мещанинов, Введение в яфетидологию (Leningrad, 1929), *id.*, “Яфетическая теория” (Б. Сов. Энци., vol. 65, Moscow, 1931), Н. С. Державин, “Яфетическая теория акад. Н. Я. Марра” (Научное Слово 1–2, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930), XLV. Академику Н. Я. Марру (Изд. Ак. Наук, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935), Язык и мышление VIII (Изд. Ак. Наук, 1937), Памяти Н. Я. Марра, 1864–1934 (Изд. Ак. Наук, 1938), М. Г. Худяков, Сущность и значение яфетидологии (Leningrad).

<sup>42</sup> В. “К вопросу о происхождении племенных названий ‘этруски’ и ‘пеласги’ (Записки Вост. Отд. Р. Арх. Общ., т. XXV, Petrograd, 1921)

<sup>43</sup> В. И. И. Мещанинов, “Яфетическая теория” (Б. Сов. Энци., vol. 65, Moscow, 1931).

semantics, reflecting the Marxist emphasis on speech as expressed thought, has led him to recognise semantic series (*ryady*) or clusters (*puchki*), which figure plainest at the points of linguistic transformation occasioned by shifts in the thought-process. Preliminarily Marr observes that the speech-sounds with which the semantic clusters are associated were originally complex and affricative, as in present-day Caucasian (e.g. Abkhaz), and that they later emerged as words, each original tribe possessing one, i.e. its totem or divine name. The first totem was "heaven,"<sup>44</sup> which at the primitive, "polysemantic" level stands for a great variety of allied notions, and these are not merely comprehensive (e.g. luminary, bird), but comparative (e.g. mountain, head, top, beginning, end), and accessory or attributive (e.g. blue, tall). The totemic word-clusters belong to Marr's phylocentric phase of thinking. Later he began to associate his word-meanings with changes in socio-economic grouping. In this way he was able to construct a functional semantics, which stresses not so much the object as its use, e.g., in the word-series covering means of transportation, we have reindeer-dog-horse-cart-boat.<sup>45</sup> With the aid of the palæontological method Marr penetrates far deeper into language than the structures presented by ancient written monuments and the "class" thinking these contain and control, and far deeper than the later logic, producing such seemingly extraordinary clusters as hand-woman-water-tree.

## VII

The concept of clusters or semantic series and the four elements describe the periphery of Marr's linguistic researches, revealing as they do the ultimate reach of his linguistic acumen and of his intuitive and creative imagination. He has left the Japhetic theory behind him and entered the last circle, in which Japhetic speech dissolves into the more primitive beginnings of human expression. That is a sphere of which we have no direct knowledge, and for the exploration of which we have to depend on conjecture.

There is no valid *a priori* reason for rejecting Marr's findings, merely because they do not fit into the traditional pattern of Indo-European linguistics. So penetrating a mind as his, for all its human and personal failings, cannot be ignored, and his numerous writings<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> V footnote 35

<sup>45</sup> V. Средства передвижения, орудия самозащиты и производства в доистории (Изд. Навк. Ист.-Арх. Инст., Leningrad, 1926).

<sup>46</sup> Избранные работы Н. Я. Марра, vol I (ГАИМК, Leningrad, 1933), enumerates (pp xi-xxvi) 507 items to September, 1933



deserve the closest scrutiny before they are consigned, whether wholly or in part, to the obscurity of forgotten shelves and theories. Not only was he more alive than anyone else to the legend being woven around him, but he openly disclaimed the linguistic omniscience, of which intemperate admiration wished to make him the living repository. And he was only too conscious of the enormous difficulties confronting him. "It is more difficult to destroy than to create," he quotes approvingly the words of the vizier to Chosroes I,<sup>47</sup> and in even more disenchanted moments he could descend to the ingenuous humility of his compatriot, the lexicographer S. Orbelian, who wrote in the preface to *Qarθuli leqsikoni* (1884): "Many laugh at these words of mine. If they really love literary works, they will find many such, both divine and profane, and they may read what they have a mind to. But this work is written for ignoramuses like me, so let them leave it in peace."

W. K. MATTHEWS.

<sup>47</sup> В. Ф. А. Розенберг, Хосрой I Ануширван и Карл Великий в легенде (St Petersburg, 1912)

## ST. CLEMENT OF OCHRIDA

IN the year A.D. 869 a small council was held in Constantinople known in the west as the eighth œcumenical council. Towards its close in 870 the emissaries of Knyas (Prince) Boris of Bulgaria arrived and were placed next to the delegation of the Franks. They were not given a hearing until the end of the council at a special session called by the emperor Basil I. At this meeting the Bulgarians said that their King had sent them to ask the following question: "cui Ecclesiæ subdi debemus?"<sup>1</sup> In the subsequent lengthy discussion the Eastern Patriarchs maintained that Bulgaria must come under the jurisdiction of Byzantium and not the Pope, because until the coming of the Bulgarians to the Balkans the land belonged to this Patriarchate and the Bulgarians first received the Christian faith from the East and not from the West.

Immediately after the close of the session and in spite of the vigorous protests of the papal legates, Ignatius Patriarch of Constantinople appointed an archbishop<sup>2</sup> and, together with several bishops and many priests, sent him to Bulgaria. This was one of the most significant events in Bulgarian history. From that time the country was to belong to the East, which was her natural home.

<sup>1</sup> Anastasius Bibliothecarius kept the minutes of this session — Vita Adriani II, Migne *Patrologia Lat.*, t. 128, pp. 1391 ff, also Anastasi Interpretat Synodi VIII general præfatio—Migne, t. 139, pp. 18 ff

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to know what was his exact ecclesiastical position. E. Golubinsky (*Krati Ocherk Istori Pravoslavnykh Tserkvey*, pp. 254-56) has an interesting note in this connection. He points out that in the West Archbishop and Metropolitan meant the same thing, but not in the East where there were two categories of Archbishops below and above the Metropolitan. Those below were directly responsible to the Patriarch, though they were in dioceses of Metropolitans. The latter were completely independent even of the Patriarch—being below them only in title and not in function. Golubinsky reasons that since the Bulgarian Church could not have the first type and since it is doubtful that they had the latter, they probably had a Metropolitan who was called Archbishop, since the Pope had promised an archbishop to Knyas Boris. But it seems that the Bulgarian Archbishop must have been completely independent in his home affairs since that was one of the main demands of the Bulgarian Knyas. He must also have had some special privileges because he was appointed to a place next to the Patriarch in Constantinople. Professor Zlatarsky finds proof that he must have had complete autonomy at home, in the title *antistes* (an overseer, bishop) (*Istoria na Pervoto Bulgarsko Tsarstvo*, V, I, Part 2, p. 148). Hadrian II uses this title in his letter to Basil, referring to the Bulgarian Archbishop "videlicet quia favore vestro frater et cœpiscopus noster Ignatius in Bulgarorum regione consecrare præsumpsit *antistitem*, unde mirati sumus" (namely, because by your favour our brother and co-bishop Ignatius has presumed to consecrate a bishop in the land of the Bulgarians, at which we are astonished—Migne *Patr. Lat.* t. 122, col. 1310 C). Professor Zlatarsky states that this designation was given not to Metropolitans but to the leaders of separate Churches and to Patriarchs.

Unfortunately I have not been able to confirm this meaning of "Antistes."

Boris had turned in 866 to the Pope because Byzantium even refused to give him bishops. He soon realised that his dream of an independent hierarchy, subject to himself, would never come true from Rome. He also realised that the Holy See would never allow the secular authorities to interfere with Church matters. In addition to this the Latin language was less familiar to his subjects than Greek and finally, since Rome herself had lost her glory after 410, she could not impress the emissaries of the Barbarian Khan. The position was entirely different with regard to Byzantium; she was the Mistress of the World, renowned for her magnificence, wealth and power, all the barbarians who knew her dreamt of her elegance, luxury and culture. The squares were full of beautiful statues and here also stood the Church of St. Sofia—the wonder of the world. Its attractive power is well illustrated by the story of the Russian legend concerning the emissaries of Khan Vladimir, who were sent to choose the best religion. When they reported to their people on their attendance at a service in St. Sofia they said: “We did not know whether we were on earth or in Heaven.”

But Boris must have been far more impressed by the aureole which surrounded the Basileus. He was called *δεσπότης, αυτοκράτωρ τῶν Ρωμαίων*—the absolute sovereign whose subjects were merely called the *δοῦλοι τῆς Βασιλείας*. The Basileus was the viceroy of God, and as such supreme both in spiritual and material matters. Certainly Boris had something to admire. He himself was a barbarian Khan surrounded by turbulent boyars and was even in his own court only *primus inter pares*. By means of Christianity he wished to become equal to the Cæsars of the Eastern empire. As a first step he needed a Patriarch at Pliska (his capital) and in the new Archbishop he almost realised his dream. For his second step—the centralisation of authority—he based his whole policy on the Slav element in his kingdom. Bulgaria was a sovereign state but it did not possess the characteristics of a nation, i.e. common descent, language and history. It was composed of two different races: a vigorous minority of Asiatic Bulgars—with their boyars, and a large homogeneous mass of Slavs. By relying entirely on the Slav element Boris intended to break the influence of these powerful boyars, and gradually to achieve the supremacy of a Basileus. But for all this he needed the new and powerful unifying force, which he found in Christianity. Surrounded on the east and on the west by two Christian nations with well-advanced cultures, he realised the weakness and danger of his pagan kingdom, based as it was on force alone. Under the rule of a weak khan this large dominion could

fall to pieces. Being a wise diplomat he realised the importance of the unifying force of Christianity in binding the two races together by a common culture, and thus achieving the creation of a Bulgarian nation. Since the tribe of the Asiatic Bulgars was a minority among the Slav element, Boris aimed at its submergence and gradual disappearance. His work succeeded so well in this direction that "today we find there are no traces of the Bulgars in the old and new Slav-Bulgarian language apart from its name and a few words."<sup>3</sup>

With the arrival of the Archbishop the Latin clergy left Bulgaria after they had worked in a thorough way for three years. Pope Hadrian II was naturally greatly upset, and for a long time after this event he and his successors John VIII and Marinus tried to recover their influence in Bulgaria—but in vain. Boris "sent gifts to the Popes and paid his respects, but did not answer their letters." He had decided to remain faithful to Byzantium.

The newly arrived Greek clergy began their work and received every assistance from the Bulgarian ruler. Naturally all the services were held in Greek, which was also the official language.<sup>4</sup> Boris must have been aware of the difficulty facing his subjects, namely that in order to understand Christianity either they had to learn Greek or the service had to be spoken in Slav and Bulgarian. The first idea was not very attractive because, if it succeeded, it meant the hellenisation of his people and the gradual absorption of his kingdom into the Empire. For the fulfilment of the other alternative however he needed a Slavonic hierarchy and books, which at that time simply did not exist in Bulgaria. There was no written Slav literature because there was no alphabet. Boris was content for the present to organise his church so that later on, when he had the necessary trained Slav priests, he could substitute them for the Greeks. That he had this idea in mind is seen in a letter of Photius<sup>5</sup> to the Higurene Arsenius, in which he recommends to him Bulgarians who intended to become monks. By this means the Bulgarian ruler probably intended to prepare bishops of Bulgarian origin, but this was only a drop in the large Slavonic ocean. The Greeks had also prepared local clergy for the minor appointments, although we see from *Vita S. Clementis* that many of them scarcely understood Greek "knowing only how to read the Greek letters."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> B Tsonev, *Istoria na Bulgarški ezik*, Sofia, 1919, pp 11-12.

<sup>4</sup> This has been proved by the Pliska excavations

<sup>5</sup> Photius, *Ep* XCV, pp 904-5

<sup>6</sup> Migne *Patr Cur* compl Gr, v 126, p 1229 "και ιερείς δὲ πολλοὺς βουλγάρους δυσὲνέτως ἔχοντας τῶν γραικικῶν ὧν περὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν μονὴν ἐνετρίβησαν γράμμασι."

What Boris needed was a huge Slavonic educational centre, where the books could be translated and Bulgarians trained for teachers and priests, thus gradually preparing the way for the introduction of Slavonic not only in the church but also as the official language in the state. Unlike Rome, Byzantium took a generous attitude towards the worship of God in native tongues, and Boris had nothing to fear so far as a Slavonic liturgy was concerned. Officially Byzantium never forbade the Slavonic worship. It allowed Syrians, Ethiopians, Armenians and others to introduce the liturgy in their own tongue and even showed a certain favour to the Slavonic language. Thus with the blessing of both the Emperor Michael III and the Patriarch Photius, Cyril and Methodius were sent to Moravia taking with them the Slavonic alphabet.

Unfortunately their important work and in particular that of Methodius was gradually destroyed. After his death some of his disciples were sold as slaves and taken to Venice. Here once again Byzantium showed its sympathy with the Slavonic cause. At that time an emissary of Basil I came to Venice, and, seeing the slaves, bought them and took them with him to Constantinople where they were reinstated as priests and deacons and where "they gave lessons." <sup>7</sup> Later on they were sent to Bulgaria and Boris received them with a great welcome. Moreover this Bulgarian ruler gave an even greater welcome to other Slavonic teachers expelled from Moravia, among them one of the greatest Slavonic teachers—St. Clement of Ochrida. It was he who laid the foundation of a Slavonic literature by means of which the Slav world was able to assimilate the fruits of the intellectual and artistic culture of Byzantium, especially at the time of its renaissance. Thus, although the great mission for the enlightenment of the Slavs was doomed to failure in Moravia, it found a new and more fruitful ground among the Bulgarian Slavs: and they were able, later on, to hand on their achievements to other nations.

Although St. Clement had rendered so great a service to the Slavonic world this was not recognised until the 19th century <sup>8</sup> when Czech and Russian slavists became aware of it. Our main source for his life is the *Vita S. Clementis* in the Greek original, usually attributed to Theophylact, Archbishop of Ochrida. Other sources of far less significance are:—the shorter Life of S. Clement (in Greek), his Slavonic service, and fragmentary evidence found in

<sup>7</sup> The *Vita S. Naum* in *Bulgarshi stariny*, Prof. I. Ivanov, p. 306. This implies that there must have been a Slavonic School at Constantinople in existence.

<sup>8</sup> *Sv. Kliment Ochridsky*, by A. Teodorov-Balan, akademichna riech, p. 36.

various places.<sup>9</sup> The *Vita S. Clementis* is a most valuable historical document although it has been severely criticised<sup>10</sup> for some of the inconsistencies and contradictions with which it abounds.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of this it provides us with useful information about Cyril and Methodius, which is confirmed by other historical evidence, particularly connected with their visit to Rome; the death of Cyril, the work of Methodius in Moravia and his struggle with the German clergy. After the death of Methodius and the expulsion of his disciples the author concentrates entirely on the work of Clement in Bulgaria. He states the historical facts but frequently interprets them to suit his own ideas. His handling of his sources is very free, he includes long speeches and prayers of pronounced eloquence written in accordance with the existing rules of hagiography. His main misinterpretation is found, I think, when he takes the whole weight of the crucial question concerning the use of the Slavonic liturgy in Moravia and places it solely on the basis of a struggle between the disciples of Methodius and the German clergy over the doctrinal question of the Filioque clause, a subject in which the author shows great interest.<sup>12</sup> When we reach his narrative concerning Clement we find a more factual and historical approach, and it is this section that makes the whole work so valuable.

As for the existing text of the *Vita S. Clementis*, we find parts of it in: (a) fragments; (b) in full; and (c) in revised modern Greek versions. (a) consists of a small fragment found in the Vatican library and printed by Leo Allatius<sup>13</sup> in Rome in 1665. With certain abbreviations this is also found in the collection of

<sup>9</sup> In referring to sources and their various additions I shall, unless otherwise stated, chiefly follow N. L. Tunitsky, *Sv. Kliment episcop Slovensky*

<sup>10</sup> E. E. Golubinsky (*Svetiy Konstantin i Metodi*, p. 54) goes so far as to call its author an "ignorant and impudent Greek forger" who even lived after Theophylact

<sup>11</sup> These will be discussed later when we consider the text

<sup>12</sup> Here I agree with Tunitsky, though I am aware of other interpretations

We must admit in fairness to the writer that in a passage of the *Vita Methodii* it is said that the enemies of Methodius stirred up some of those infected with the *υιοπατωρ* (abbrev. of *υιου και πατρος* = *εκ πατρος και υιου*) heresy, and influenced the weaker brethren, making them turn from the true way (*Vita Methodii*, p. 76, *Trudi slavienskoy komissii*, Vol. I, Leningrad, 1930). He may have taken the hint from here and developed the theme to great length.

<sup>13</sup> In Robert Creighton (pp. 259-62) he calls the writer "an author of considerable antiquity" and states that "he is schismatic and an adherent to the belief of the procession of the spirit from the Father alone". He later on refers to him as "this same anonymous author". Three passages are cited. The first begins, *Ἦν γὰρ ὁ βορίστης* (actually written *βορίλας*) *οὗτος* . . . and ends *ἡ τοῦτου τοῦ γένος κλήσις γεγένηται* (from Ch. 4). The second begins *Τὸ δὲ τῶν αἰρετικῶν σύστημα* ends *φημὶ, πάντα συγχωρεῖν* (from Ch. 5). The third begins *τοῦτον μὲν τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς* ends *κοιλᾷ ἐπικλιόμενος* (from Ch. 7). After each quotation follows a Latin translation. The Greek is almost unintelligible.

manuscripts on Mount Athos.<sup>14</sup> (b) The full text has had several editions.<sup>15</sup> Two of them were independent of each other, but probably all of them were based on or connected with a common manuscript coming from the monastery of S. Nahum near Ochrida. The revised modern Greek editions come from an ancient monastery of the Prodromos now in ruins, lying south of Veria on the river Veritza in Northern Greece. It was said that the head of Clement was stolen from Ochrida and brought to this monastery. Later on this led to the cult of this same saint. Two editions were prepared and published by a learned monk-priest Athanasius Paroski.<sup>16</sup> In them he introduced some new material concerning the origin of Clement, the baptism of the Bulgarians and the lives of Cyril and Methodius.<sup>17</sup> From the many variations existing in Athanasius' text of the *Vita*, it seems that he possessed another source on which he based his editions. From what has been said above it is clear that at the base of all existing editions of the *Vita S. Clementis* there are three independent manuscripts (a) from the monastery of St Nahum, (b) from Ochrida, and (c) that used by Athanasius Paroski. None of these can be taken as the archetype.

The authorship of the *Vita S. Clementis* presents a formidable problem. In most existing manuscripts the name of Theophylact, Archbishop of Ochrida, is mentioned; but it was a well-known device of ancient writers to attribute a written work to a great name in order that it might receive greater weight. Almost the whole work is written in the third person but, in some places, the

<sup>14</sup> *Catalogue of the Greek MSS. on Mt Athos*, Cambridge U P, 1895

v 1 3808 274 *χαρτ* xvl 107 (p 500a)

v 1 3814 280 *χαρτ* xvl 13 (p 358)

v 2 4502 382 *χαρτ* xv 106, 105 (p 681a-678b).

<sup>15</sup> (a) Moschopoli edition of 1741, published by two Greek monks, Michael Gores and Gregory Constantinidis (Moskopolis is in South Albania, north-west of Koritsa) (b) The Vienna edition of 1802, published by Ambrosius Pampereus (c) Miklosich edition of 1847, published by F Miklosich Here for the first time *Vita S. Clementis* is divided into 29 chapters This text is re-edited in (d), (e), (f), and (g) (d) Migne *Patrologiæ, cursus completus series græca*, v. 126, pp 1194-1240 with Latin translation (pub 1864) This text I have used (e) Moscow university edition of 1855 *Materiali dlia istorii prsmen* It is provided with a Russian translation. (f) Czech edition of 1873 *Fontes rerum bohemicarum*, ed V Novotný, I, pp. 76-92 (g) Bilbassov—*Codex legendarum de SS Cyrillo et Methodio*, v 11, 1871, Tunitsky (S. Kliment . . . *ibid*, p 13) mentions two more manuscripts of the *Vita S. Clementis* found in Ochrida, one of which is preserved in the Rumiantzov museum in Russia This last is important from the standpoint of textual criticism, since it gives some variants of the common text and probably has an independent source I shall refer to it as the Moscow MS

<sup>16</sup> (a) *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν κλήμεντος Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας*, etc (b) *Οὐρανοῦ Κρίσις*, etc 1805 Of (b) two more editions appeared in 1807 and in 1850 (Athens)

<sup>17</sup> Tunitsky (*Sv Kliment* . . . *op cit*, p 26)

author speaks of himself as an intimate disciple of Clement,<sup>18</sup> and this cannot have been true of Theophylact.

ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους οἰκειωτέρους τῶν ἄλλων διὰ σπλάγχνα τῆς χρηστότητος ἐποιήσατο, καὶ πάντοτε συνῆμεν αὐτῷ πᾶσι παρακολουθῶντες οἷς ἐπραττεν, οἷς ἔλεγεν, οἷς δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἐδίδασκεν (Ch. 18)

(Although we are lowly and unworthy, because of his love and goodness he made us more intimate with him than others and we were always with him, following him in everything that he did and said and in what he taught both in word and deed)<sup>18</sup>

But if the writer has said that he was always with Clement, how is it possible for him to speak later on in Ch. 22 of St. Clement's works as follows :

Φέρονται γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα παρὰ τοῖς φιλοπόνοις σωζόμενα,

(It is said that all this has been preserved by diligent people.)<sup>19</sup>

It seems as if he knew of his master's works only from hearsay. Then in Ch. 23 he speaks of Clement building for himself a monastery in Ochrida, to which was joined another church

ἦν ἕστερον ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς θρόνον ἔθεντο.

(which subsequently became the archiepiscopal see.)<sup>19</sup>

As Ochrida did not become an archbishopric until the reign of the Bulgarian king Samuel in 1014-15, the writer must have lived one hundred years later than Clement, who died in 916.<sup>20</sup> It is very clear that, as the text of the *Vita* stands, it could not have been written by a pupil of St. Clement. The best illustration lies however in a comparison of its pompous style with the simplicity of the *Vita S. Naoum*, written in Slavonic by a pupil of Clement. Both writers refer to the tragic event of the torture and expulsion of the pupils of Methodius from Moravia, yet there is a great difference in expression. *Vita S. Clementis*, Ch. XIII · <sup>21</sup>

Μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἀπαναθρώπους ἐκείνας πληγὰς μὴδὲ τροφῆς μεταλαβεῖν τοὺς ἁγίους παραχωρήσαντες · οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶων οὐδένα τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλοις, μᾶλλον δὲ χριστοῖς, προσορίττειν οὐδὲ ἄρτου κλασμάτων, ἀλλὰ στρατιώταις ἀπάγειν ἄλλον ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστρου μερῶν παρέδωκαν, τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀειφυγίαν τῶν οὐρανοπολιτῶν καταψηφισάμενοι.

<sup>18</sup> Patr. G., *ibid.*, c. 1225

<sup>19</sup> Patr. G., *ibid.*, c. 1229

<sup>20</sup> Further blunders of the writer will be discussed in the text.

<sup>21</sup> Patr. G., *ibid.*, c. 1217



(After these inhuman tortures they did not allow the saints to partake of food, or anyone else to throw a crust of bread to the servants of Christ, or rather the anointed ones, but handed them to the soldiers to be taken away to different parts of the region near the Danube, thus condemning the citizens of Heaven to eternal banishment from the city.)

*Vita S. Naoum* : <sup>22</sup>

Исе же вѣдомо воуди въсѣмъ почитающоу Якоже прѣжде напісахѡ. Яко еретіци ѡвы моучише много. А ароугые продаше жѣдом на цѣнѣ презвитеры ѡ діакони. Ты же жидове поѣмше п вѣдоше къ венѣткомъ, и вѣнегда продахоу е по строенію вожію.

(And let this be known to all who esteem him, as I have written before, that the heretics (*sc.* the German clergy) tortured these men (S. Clement and S. Nahum) much and others—priests and deacons who were sold to the Jews at a price. All those the Jews took and brought to Venice and then they sold them according to Divine Providence ) <sup>23</sup>

Both writers also refer to the appointment of Clement as bishop.  
*Vita S. Clementis*, Ch. XX : <sup>24</sup>

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς συνετωτέροις τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν σκόπῃσας, οἱ πάντες ὡς πατρὶ προσεῖχον τῷ Κλήμεντι τοῦτο μόνον ἀρέσκειν θεῷ, ὃ τιμῶσι τοῦτον, πιστεύοντες, ἐπίσκοπος Δρεμβίτζας ἦτοι βελίτζας προβάλλεται, καὶ οὕτω δὴ Βουλγάρω γλώσσῃ πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος ὁ Κλήμης καθίσταται.

(After this, (Simeon) took council with the wise around him, who were devoted to Clement as to a father, and believed that this thing only is acceptable to God, that they honour him and he was promoted to be bishop of Drembitza or Belitza and thus Clement became the first Bulgarian-speaking bishop.)

*Vita S. Naoum* : <sup>25</sup>

Егда поставише епископа Климента. Тъждѣ благовѣрнии царь сѣмѡнъ, поустѣ наоума подруга емоу въ него мѣсто на оучѣтельство.

(After he appointed Clement to be bishop, the same faithful King Simeon allowed Nahum, the friend of Clement, to teach on his stead.)

Throughout the *Vita S. Naoum* there is a simplicity and freshness of style which reminds the reader of the Gospel of S. Mark. The writer of the *Vita S. Clementis* could not have been a pupil of

<sup>22</sup> I Ivanov, *op. cit.*, p. 306

<sup>23</sup> This is confirmed by the *Vita S. Clementis* Patr. G, *ibid*, c 1213 and c 1216, Ch 11 "Ὅσοι δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἦσαν νεώτεροι, τοὺτους δὴ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐπώλουν" ("Those of the priests and deacons who were younger they sold to the Jews")

<sup>24</sup> Patr G, *ibid*, c 1228

<sup>25</sup> I Ivanov, *op. cit.*, p. 306

S. Clement either from the linguistic or the historical point of view ; nevertheless he used as one of his sources a work most probably written by a pupil of Clement. When we read " We " passages in the Greek, they remind us very much of the Slavonic *Vita S. Naoum*. Moreover there are passages in the latter which strongly suggest that the same author also wrote a *Vita* of his master. One of these passages has already been cited above.

What is more, the *Vita S. Naoum* begins : <sup>26</sup>

И се же вѣрѣ да не останаѣ везъ пѣмѣти, вѣрат сѣго вѣлѣннаго Климента.

(Brethren, this is (now written) in order that the brother of this blessed Clement may not remain without remembrance.)

This seems strongly to imply that, before beginning the actual story of Naoum, the writer had finished one on Clement. Throughout the *Vita S. Naoum* he speaks of them both as " our spiritual fathers."

The difficulty arising here is this · why did the well-educated Greek writer, who revised so carefully his other sources, leave untouched the few " we " passages ? Various suggestions <sup>27</sup> might be put forward but no definite answer can be arrived at.

When we read the *Vita S. Clementis* our first impression suggests that the writer is a man of letters who knows the rules of hagiography. His knowledge of the Slavonic world is very poor indeed. As a result of his great culture he is very severe on the Bulgarian Slavs, who were to him still savages and their khans barbarians. Yet, in spite of this, he defends the Bulgarian cause. From what has been said can we not venture the view that this informed writer is Theophylact, Archbishop of Ochrida, who through the *Vita* is defending the independence of his see from the encroachment of the Patriarch in Byzantium ? In suggesting this, we are holding to the traditional view ; and, as we have seen above, most of the manuscripts bear after the title the name of Theophylact. If we accept this verdict we can date the work as being written at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century.

*The Shorter Life of Clement.*<sup>28</sup>—This document is much shorter

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>27</sup> Such as that there was more than one author, or that they were translated and introduced into the text by later editors or even introduced by the writer himself, as was the common practice

<sup>28</sup> Some of the publications are (a) 'Ακολουθία τῶν ἁγίων ἐπταριθμῶν (b) The MS of V I Grigorovich, found in 1845 at Ochrida, dated 13th-14th century (c) Prof S Safarik published it with Latin trans MS given to him by Prof Kurtzien (d) The Greek with Slavonic trans I Ivanov *Bulgariski Starini* (e) *Μέγας συναξαριστής πάντων τῶν ἁγίων* (ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1896)

and is based on the *Vita S. Clementis*. In it there are many historical blunders,<sup>29</sup> such as Michael (Boris took this name at his baptism) being the son of Boris instead of Simeon; Clement being made bishop of the whole Illyricum, etc.

The most important new evidence in it concerns a new script : <sup>30</sup>

ἐσοφίσατο δὲ καὶ χαρακτηρὰς ἐτέρους γραμμάτων πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον,  
ἢ οὓς ἔξεῦρεν ὁ σοφὸς Κύριλλος. . . .

(He thought out other characters for greater clearness than those which the wise Cyril had invented.)

This passage usually raises the formidable problem of the Cyrillic and Glagolitic alphabets. The question will not be discussed here.<sup>31</sup>

*The Service Dedicated to Clement.*<sup>32</sup>—From the evidence found in it we see that Theophylact and Dimitrii Homatian composed part of it. From the historical point of view it has very little value, since the few historical facts which it contains have been taken from the *Vita S. Clementis*.

*Fragmentary Evidence about Clement found in Various Sources.*—The most important of these is the *Vita S. Naoum* written by a pupil of Clement in the 10th century, which is "of itself the continuation of the lost Slavonic text of the *Vita S. Clementis*."<sup>33</sup> A reference to Clement is made in *Assemovo Evangelie*,<sup>34</sup> *Uspenie Kirla*<sup>35</sup> and in the Greek catalogue of the first Bulgarian archbishop.<sup>36</sup> There were also many traditions existing in Macedonia about Clement and as a result there are many legends about his life.

The *Vita S. Clementis* can be divided into three parts: (a) General introduction to Cyril and Methodius, their invention of the Slavonic script, the journey to Rome and the death of Cyril, (b) The work of Methodius in Moravia, his death and the events leading up to the expulsion of his pupils from the country (5-13); (c) The life and work of Clement in Bulgaria (14-29).

<sup>29</sup> In his *History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, p. 238, Note 2, Runciman says that "It is generally recognised now as valueless."

<sup>30</sup> *Bulgarski Starini*—Prof. Ivanov, pp. 320-21.

<sup>31</sup> See Minns, *St. Cyril really knew Hebrew*. Runciman accepts this view. There is a delightful illustration of the two alphabets in *The Byzantine Patriarchate*, p. 137, by G. Every. On the other hand F. Dvornik in *Slaves, Byzance et Rome* (p. 318) suggests the view that Cyril invented the Glagolitic, which was reformed by Clement and replaced by the scholars of the Preslav School.

<sup>32</sup> We possess Moschopolis edition, 1742, Venetian edition, 1784, and Balaschevs' edition with Slavonic translations.

<sup>33</sup> H. L. Tunitsky—*S. Kliment ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>34</sup> 11th-century document.

<sup>35</sup> Ancient document.

<sup>36</sup> 12th-century document.

(a) In the first part the writer has used Slavonic lives of Cyril and Methodius, known as the Panonnian legends, but so freely that he produces an entirely new work. The simple and sincere language is replaced by a pompous style used for the purpose of serving the author's own ends and not historical truth. In addition to the Panonnian legend he must have used a Bulgarian source also.

The full title of *Vita S. Clementis* is.—

*Βίος και πολιτεία, ομολογία τε και μερικὴ Θαυμάτων διηγήσις του εν αγίοις πατρος ημών Κλημεντος αρχιεπισκοπου* <sup>37</sup> *Βουλγαρων συγγραφεις παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου και ἀοιδίμου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς και πάσης Βουλγαρίας, κυρίου Θεοφυλακτου, και μαιστορος τῶν ῥητόρων χρηματίσαντος ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει.* <sup>38</sup>

(The Life and Confession of our Holy Father among the Saints, Clement Archbishop of the Bulgarians, written by the most Holy Archbishop of First Justiniana and all Bulgaria, Theophylact of blessed memory who was former Professor of Rhetoric in Constantinople)

Theophylact begins his work with a biography of Cyril and Methodius but he does not write about their early life—especially the brilliant career of the younger brother at Constantinople or anything about their subsequent activities. There is no mention of the first deputation to the Saracens led by Cyril or the second to the land of the Chazars in Russia led by both brothers, where they successfully refuted the doctrines of the Jews and the Muslims and found the relics of S. Clement of Rome

The *Vita S. Clementis* begins with a long and eloquent introduction in which the writer wishes to stress that in spite of what many people think there can still be found—at his time—men of saintly character. He quotes as examples Methodius, Archbishop of Moravia, and Cyril the philosopher. <sup>39</sup>

Because “the Slavonic or the Bulgarian people” (τῶν Σθλοβενῶν γένος εἴτ’ οὖν Βουλγάρων) could not understand the Greek scriptures they

ἐξευρίσκουσι μὲν τὰ σθλοβενικὰ γράμματα, ἐρμηνεύουσι δὲ τὰς Θεοπνεύστους Γραφὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος γλώσσης εἰς τὴν Βουλγαρικὴν.

<sup>37</sup> Later addition Ochrida MS has “ἐπισκοπου” also in Ch XX “πρώτος ἐπίσκοπος,” “Bishop Clement” in the *Vita S. Naoum*, see above In all his sermons he is called also bishop

<sup>38</sup> Patr G., *ibid*, 1194

<sup>39</sup> In two respects the writer here differs from the Pannonian legends (a) He gives greater significance to Methodius throughout the *Vita S. Clementis*, making Cyril his subordinate whilst the opposite is true whilst Cyril is alive (b) All the time he calls the younger brother, Cyril whilst the Pannonian legends call him Constantine and state that only before his death he assumed the name of Cyril together with the monastic garment We shall use the name of Cyril, since he is usually known by this name amongst the Slavs

(invent the Slavonic letters and translate the Divinely inspired scriptures from the Greek into the Bulgarian tongue.)

Thus we see that the writer directly connects the activity of the two brothers with Bulgaria. Referring to other contemporary sources we find this statement to be untrue. This story concerning the invention of the alphabet and the direct translation of the scriptures into Bulgarian is either taken from another Bulgarian source or invented by the author to serve his own purpose. An entirely different picture is given to us by the Pannonian legends. According to them the Moravian Prince Rostislav sent emissaries to Michael III to ask for missionaries.<sup>40</sup> The Prince, having an independent kingdom, most probably did not like the interference of the German clergy. By applying to Constantinople (we can perhaps infer from the legend that he first approached the Pope) for teachers he intended to have an independent church. After receiving this request the Emperor persuaded Cyril to undertake this new mission

In order to preach the gospel with success in Moravia, Cyril needed not only the spoken but also the written word, and for this reason he prepared the Slav alphabet and translated the gospels. In this work he was helped by collaborators. The mission went to Moravia in 862-863 and on the way Cyril collected his brother Methodius. Thus we see that the activities of the two brothers were connected with the Moravian and not the Bulgarian Slavs.<sup>41</sup> According to the Pannonian legends they received a great welcome from Rostislav on their arrival and immediately began their evangelising work. In this they encountered opposition from the German clergy. Some work of this kind had been done previously in Moravia by the dioceses of Salzburg and Passau and they did not like the intruders, especially as the existing priests and deacons were of German origin and directly responsible to these dioceses. The root cause of this problem was the Slavonic liturgy. In the West, unlike the East, the ecclesiastical language remained Latin, and the German clergy defended this by saying that God should be worshipped only in Latin, Hebrew and Greek, since these were the tongues in which the inscription on the cross was written.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Patr G, *ibid*, c 1196

<sup>41</sup> This evidence of Theophylact may, however, be partly true, since the philologists generally agree that the alphabet prepared by S Cyril and the books translated into it were based on the Macedonian Slav dialect. At that time Macedonia was part of the Bulgarian kingdom and thus the writer may well have loosely called those Slavs and their language Bulgarian

<sup>42</sup> This is known as the three *tongue* heresy.

The two brothers spent over three years in Moravia and trained many pupils for the priesthood but it was impossible to persuade the German bishops to ordain them. So Cyril and Methodius left the country, maybe with the hope that they could achieve this by approaching the Italian Archbishop of Venice. On their way to him they stayed a while in Pannonia, whose Prince Kocel gave them fifty pupils to be trained. When the brothers arrived in Venice, instead of ordaining their disciples, the Archbishop called together an assembly of bishops and priests, in front of whom he asked the brothers how they had dared to translate the Scriptures into the Slavonic language. Cyril answered that if God was to be preached in all languages then He ought also to be glorified in them all. A little later Pope Nicholas called the brothers to Rome and they, responding to this call, took with them the relics of Clement of Rome. All these facts are omitted by the writer of the *Vita S. Clementis*. After mentioning the translation of the scripture into Bulgarian he makes a very cryptic remark (Ch. 3)

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Παῦλον ἐγίνωσκον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον κοινωσάμενον, τρέχουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Ῥώμης, τῷ μακαρίῳ Πάπῃ τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἐρμηνείας τῶν Γραφῶν ἐμφανίσοντες.<sup>43</sup>

(Since they knew that Paul communicated his gospel to the apostles, they hastened to the Blessed Pope of Rome to show him their work of the translation of the scriptures.)

It is clearly seen that according to the author the brothers go to the Pope of their own accord : and in the lines that follow, Theophylact excels so much in his oratory that he makes Pope Hadrian <sup>44</sup> come out and meet them in state, not because they carried the relics with them, but because he had heard of their fame. However, he is in full agreement with the Slav sources which state that the Pope approved of the Slavonic books <sup>45</sup> and arranged for some of their pupils to be ordained as priests and deacons. It is most probable that Clement, who was one of the outstanding pupils, was ordained priest at this time. This was a real success for the two brothers because their evangelising work could not advance unless they had priests to celebrate the liturgy in Slavonic. Theophylact states that Methodius was now consecrated bishop by the Pope, <sup>46</sup> but according

<sup>43</sup> Patr. G., *ibid.*, c. 1196

<sup>44</sup> Nicholas had died before the arrival of S. Cyril and S. Methodius in Rome.

<sup>45</sup> This is confirmed also by *Translatio S. Clementis*.

<sup>46</sup> By making this concession the Pope probably intended to make them missionaries to the remaining pagan Slavs, and through them, to attract the Slav masses to the see of Rome

to the *Vita S. Methodii* he was only ordained priest at this time and, later on, the Pope consecrated him bishop when he was sent to Rome by Kocel. Concerning Cyril all sources agree that he "assumed monastic habit" (τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν σχῆμα ἐπαμφέρονται *monachorum habitum induit*—

ВЪ СВЯТЫИ ИНОЧЕСКИИ ОБРАЗЪ ОБЛЫКЪСЯ)

and after a short while he died and was buried there.

In the second part of the *Vita S. Clementis* we again find many inconsistencies and contradictions but in spite of this the main historical events are depicted correctly. In addition to the Pannonian legend he has used a Bulgarian source.

According to the *Vita S. Methodii*, Methodius was sent, at the invitation of Kocel, not only to Pannonia but to all the surrounding Slav countries.<sup>47</sup> As a priest Methodius could not consecrate his Slavonic pupils nor could he succeed in convincing the Bishop of Salzburg to do so for him and therefore, at the request of Kocel, he was consecrated by Pope Hadrian as bishop in the see of S. Andronicus in Pannonia. Since Pannonia had belonged to the diocese of Salzburg in earlier times Methodius was invited to an assembly to explain why he was infringing the rights of the other diocese. Although he defended himself bravely he was imprisoned for two and a half years in Swabia. In 873 he was freed by the intervention of Pope John VIII, but he could not return for a long time owing to the action of the German clergy who, by the use of threats, compelled Kocel not to keep him. Hearing this the Slavonic population in Moravia, who knew Methodius well, expelled the German clergy and asked the Pope to send them Methodius as Slavonic teacher and bishop. The Pope granted this request and Methodius received a great welcome on his return, and he continued his missionary work with great success.

According to the *Vita S. Clementis* Methodius went directly to Moravia and began his evangelising work as soon as he was consecrated bishop. Yet after this statement the author, in his absurdity and ignorance, affirms that Methodius began to instruct the three princes Rostislav,<sup>48</sup> Kocel and Boris at the same time, and that he even baptised Boris. According to him the Bulgarians accepted Christianity in 869.<sup>49</sup> In spite of these inconsistencies Theophylact faithfully portrays the strained relations between

<sup>47</sup> It is impossible to decide how large was his diocese

<sup>48</sup> Methodius was bishop during the reign of Svatopluk

<sup>49</sup> He had taken this material from a Bulgarian source. The commonly accepted date of this event is 864-865.

Svatopluk, of whom it is said that he succeeded Rostislav, and Methodius. Other historical evidence<sup>50</sup> implies that Svatopluk despised Slavonic as a language of the masses and supported the German clergy with their tradition of western culture.<sup>51</sup>

Unfortunately in the *Vita S. Methodii* very little is said of this period. To the German clergy of the diocese of Salzburg Methodius appeared as an intruder who not only celebrated the liturgy in a barbarous tongue but also, as an eastern Christian, would not accept the Filioque clause.<sup>52</sup> The Pannonian legend mentions only the second accusation and states that the German clergy made use of this fact in preparing their opposition to the Slavonic Archbishop. The leader of the opposition was the suffragan of Methodius—Bishop Wiching of Nitra. It is related that one day the people were gathered together in order to listen to a papal letter which, it was expected, would demand the expulsion of Methodius and his disciples from the diocese, but conversely, to the joy of all the people the orthodoxy of Methodius was affirmed. This may refer to the letter of Pope John VIII to Svatopluk which was sent after he had interviewed Methodius in Rome concerning the charges brought against him. In this letter of 880 the orthodoxy of Methodius was established and permission was granted for the use of the Slavonic liturgy. Two years later Methodius was invited by the Eastern Emperor to Constantinople, and the old Archbishop went to see Basil and his friend Photius. He received a very warm welcome and the Emperor kept one of his priests and deacons with some Slavonic books in Byzantium. This was probably intended for Boris and the other Slavs.

Arriving back in Moravia Methodius realised that his strength was failing and he chose Gorazd as his successor, because he knew Latin well, was a native and his views were orthodox.

After describing the relationship between Svatopluk and Methodius, Theophylact tells us that the old bishop foresaw his death and gathered his disciples together for a farewell. He represents

<sup>50</sup> The letters of Pope John VIII and Pope Stephan VI to Svatopluk

<sup>51</sup> Exactly the opposite view is taken by E. E. Golubinsky (*Sviety . . . op cit.*, pp. 66–67), who believes that throughout his life Svatopluk remained a defender of the Slavonic cause and his relations to Methodius and his disciples remained cordial until his death. According to the same writer the Slavonic liturgy was destroyed only later by the Magyar invasion. In taking this view he seems to ignore the evidence of the *Vita S. Clementis*, *Vita S. Naoum*, the letters of Pope John VIII and especially that of Stephen VI to Svatopluk. If this extremist view is accepted then the existence of Clement as a historical personality and a disciple of Methodius is placed in considerable doubt.

<sup>52</sup> It was introduced by the German hierarchy at the end of the 8th century and officially approved for use in Moravia by Stephen VI in the 9th century.



Methodius as delivering a long speech made up of many quotations from the Bible. He affirms the evidence of the Pannonian legend that Methodius left Gorazd as his successor with two hundred pupils. Methodius died in 885. The Pannonian legend states that his burial service was in Latin, Greek and Slavonic, and that he was buried in his cathedral in the presence of a great number of his flock.

Whilst Methodius was alive the Slavonic cause was maintained because of his great personality and in spite of opposition. After his death the position changed. The German clergy took the upper hand and they succeeded in persuading the new Pope Stephen V to take their side. He sent a letter to Svatopluk<sup>53</sup> forbidding the Slavonic liturgy despite the previous decision of John VIII. The Slavonic language was to be allowed for use only extra-liturgically for the edification of the simple folk. In his letter he also defended the German point of view concerning the Filioque clause.

It is a pity that the crucial question of the use of the Slavonic liturgy is hardly mentioned in the *Vita S. Clementis*, where the whole attention is concentrated on the Filioque clause.<sup>54</sup>

The place of Gorazd was taken by Wiching. After describing the character of the latter the author relates a long public dispute between the German clergy and the disciples of Methodius. Gradually Svatopluk also becomes involved in this argument. The main spokesmen on the Slavonic side are Gorazd and Clement. But the maintenance of the Slav cause was doomed. The state supported the Latin church and three Papal legates came to complete the latinisation of the Moravian church. The seed which the two brothers had sown with such high expectation had fallen among tares, and it was choked before it could bear its full fruit. Severe persecution began and Theophylact tells us that some of the pupils of Methodius were tortured and others sold to the Jews;<sup>54a</sup> but the leaders Gorazd,

*Κλήμης πρεσβύτερος, ανήρ λογιώτατος*

(Clement, a priest and a most learned man),

Laurentius, Nahum, Angelarius and others were imprisoned. Not long after, however, in accordance with the Pope's letter to Svatopluk—concerning those who had disobeyed his order on the Slavonic liturgy—they were taken by soldiers and banished from the country.

The third part of the *Vita S. Clementis* (Ch. 15–29) is concerned

<sup>53</sup> *Patr. Lat.*, V. 129, c. 801–4

<sup>54</sup> As a matter of fact the greater part of the Papal letter is concentrated on this point.

<sup>54a</sup> And taken to Venice (see above, pp. 186 and 200).

entirely with Clement.<sup>55</sup> The whole story of his life reads like an historical narrative. The chief source of Theophylact is a Slavonic *Vita S. Clementis* which is particularly evident in the "we" passages. Much of the evidence is corroborated by the Slavonic *Vita S. Naoum*.

We learn from the story that Clement takes Nahum<sup>56</sup> and Angelarius with him and goes to Bulgaria.<sup>57</sup> It was only natural that they should choose this country. It was the nearest country to Moravia, whose Christianity was closely connected with Byzantium whence their master had originally been sent to evangelise the Slavs. Moreover, if Clement's origin is to be sought in south Macedonia<sup>58</sup> then he was returning to his own country. Crossing the Danube they presented themselves to the governor (*Βοριτανάνος*)<sup>59</sup> of Belgrade and told him their life story. He immediately realised their importance for Boris and after a short stay he sent them to his master. Boris welcomed them with joy, for they were the people he needed so much. He gave them clerical garments and placed Clement and Nahum in the house of Ekhatsh (*ἐχάτσης*),<sup>60</sup> the *samses*, and Angelarius with another Bulgarian noble Tcheslav. Angelarius soon died, and so was unable to enjoy this good hospitality.

Boris was delighted by their company and spent much time with them. The nobles followed his example and asked them many questions. We are not told how long Clement remained; but it could not have been long before Boris, a shrewd diplomat, sent him to Macedonia, about 886. Boris must have had several reasons for doing this, since if he had introduced the Slavonic liturgy into the capital and established a large educational centre there he would

<sup>55</sup> An interesting account of his work is found in F Dvorník (*op. cit.*), pp. 312-18.

<sup>56</sup> It is shown very clearly in the *Vita S. Naoum* that Nahum throws in his lot with Clement.

<sup>57</sup> We are told nothing about the direction in which Laurentius and the others travelled.

<sup>58</sup> This seems to be the most satisfactory view. If Clement had been Moravian then with his great learning he would have been made the successor to Methodius. Moreover in the *Vita S. Clementis* it is said that he accompanied Methodius from his youth, in which case the master, when he was Archon over the Slav community in Macedonia, must have chosen him as a disciple. Clement's perfect knowledge of the Slav language, exhibited in his works, tends to confirm his Slav origin although the possibility of Greek birth must not be excluded. In the *Vita S. Clementis* we can find no facts about his early life. In the shorter life of Clement it is said that he is from "*ἐκ τῶν εὐρωπαίων Μυσῶν*"—the European Mæsiens whom the writer identifies with the Bulgarians. For alternative theories see F Dvorník (*op. cit.*), p. 314, n. 2.

<sup>59</sup> A very ingenious suggestion for the solution of this puzzling word has been given by S. Runciman in *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, p. 126, n. 1: "*Βοριτανάνω τῷ τότε φυλασσοντι*" ("Boriticanus must, I think, be the Tarkan (provincial governor) Boris").

<sup>60</sup> Moscow MS, "*ἐσχάτσης*."

have raised opposition both among the Greek clergy and the Bulgarian boyars at the court. It is true that Byzantium officially did not oppose the Slavonic liturgy; but this was not the case with the Greek clergy in Bulgaria. From the monk Khrabr we learn that the heresy of the three tongues existed also in Bulgaria. That there were still boyars who opposed the Slav policy of Boris is seen from the events which caused the fall of Vladimir—the elder son of Boris. By sending Clement to Macedonia Boris hoped, by means of Christianity, fully to absorb these Slavs into the Bulgarian kingdom. At that time they were nominally under Bulgaria, but in the event of a weak central authority they could turn to Byzantium, especially as they were favourably disposed towards the Christian faith. Far from the court and the Greek Archbishop, Clement could work in peace and develop his—in some ways—experimental task. And Boris did everything to make it successful.

Θεοῦ τὸν λογισμόν τοῦτον ὑποβάλοντας αὐτῷ, διαιρεῖ μὲν τὴν Κουτμιτζίβιτζαν <sup>61</sup> ἐκ τοῦ Κοτοκίου, <sup>62</sup> προϊστά δὲ αὐτῆς Δοβετᾶν <sup>63</sup> παραλυσας αὐτὸν τῆς διοικήσεως, <sup>64</sup> παραδίδωσι δὲ τῷ Δοβετᾷ τὸν μακάριον Κλήμεντα, ἄλλον δὲ τὸν Δοβετᾶν Κλήμεντι, ἣ τό γε ἀκριβέστερον εἶπεῖν. <sup>65</sup>

(God having inspired him with this intention, he divided Kutmitchevitza from Kotokion and put Dobeta in charge of it, relieving him of the administration; and furthermore he entrusted the blessed Clement to Dobeta or rather, to speak more accurately, Dobeta to Clement.)

The exact relation between Clement and Dobeta is not quite clear. Most probably Dobeta was subordinate to Clement and his task was chiefly to help him in civil matters, so that the Slavonic teacher could concentrate on teaching and preaching. He was given

<sup>61</sup> Moscow MS, "Κουτμιτζίτζα" and also "Κουτμιντζίνα." This name is not mentioned in any other document. Prof Zlatarski (*op. cit.*, p. 226, n 2) accepts "Κουτμιτζίβιτζα," spelt "Kutmitchevitza," as the form most appropriate to the Bulgarian language.

<sup>62</sup> Another term not met elsewhere. N. L. Tunitsky (*op. cit.*, p. 183, n 2) considers it as an adaptation of "Κατωτικός—Κατωκος—Κατοκος"—thus it is either identical with "Κατωτικὰ μέρη" and designates the southern part of the Balkan peninsula or as a place inhabited by a rough people, i.e. the Slavs. Runciman (*op. cit.*, p. 128, n. 1), thinks that "Κατοκίου" is an adaptation of "Κατοικία"—a colony. It is generally accepted that it is a term designating Macedonia.

<sup>63</sup> Moscow MS, "Δομετᾶν"

<sup>64</sup> Dobeta, probably in charge of the whole of Kotokion, was specially attached to Clement and thus put in charge of the smaller district. This meaning is strengthened if we translate "τῆς διοικήσεως" as "from the diocese". Even so the passage is not very clear. Moscow MS. gives "παραλυσας τὸν οὐτρον τῆς διοικήσεως." Zlatarski (*op. cit.*, p. 229, n. 2) sees in "οὐτρον" a proper Bulgarian name "Οὐτρος—Χούτρος—Κουτρος—Κούτρος." Thus "recalling Κούτρος (Kurt) from the administration." Runciman (*op. cit.*, p. 128) suggests that the best solution is "Οὐτρον" as a Bulgarian proper name, but doubts whether one can assume emphatically that it is the name Kurt.

<sup>65</sup> Patr. Gr., *ibid.*, c. 1224.

three beautiful houses in Devol (*ἐν Διαβόλει*), apparently for his educational projects, and two places at Ochrida and Glavititza (*Ἀχρίδα καὶ Γλαβενίτζαν*), where he could rest and pray. He was also strongly recommended by Boris to the local Slav population.

We do not know precisely into which district Clement went. We are told that Boris separated the smaller district of Kutmitchevitza from the large province of Kotokion. Since Devol, his place of residence, was not far from Ochrida, this district must have been near this town. Both Devol and Glavenitza are non-existent today; and although a great number of theories have been propounded as to the identification of these two places none has been satisfactorily proved. This fact makes it impossible to decide the size of the district of Kutmitchevitza.<sup>66</sup>

With everything already prepared for him, Clement began immediately on arrival his missionary work on a large scale. He went all over Kutmitchevitza preaching the gospel to those pagan Slavs who had not accepted Christianity, and he endeavoured to root out the pagan customs of the district. These pagans must have been very numerous. They had not been attached to Boris's kingdom for a very long time and they did not like their Asiatic administrators very much. But Clement did not forget his main task, which was the creation of a great Slav educational centre. He envisaged a scheme for classifying his pupils comparable to the present primary schools, the seminaries and the theological academies. In the primary schools he taught the children in different ways

*τοῖς μὲν τὸν τῶν γραμμάτων χαρακτῆρα γνωρίζων, τοῖς δὲ τὸν τῶν γεγραμμένων νοῦν σαφηνίζων, ἄλλοις πρὸς τὸ γράφειν τὰς χεῖρας τυπῶν.*

(To some he taught the characters, to others he made clear the meaning of what was written and to others again he gave directions about writing.)<sup>67</sup>

He established a seminary in each diocese and the number of his pupils of all ages soon became very large.

<sup>66</sup> I. Snyegarov (*Bulgariskiat pervoouchitel Sv Kliment Ochridski*, Godischnic na Bogoslavskia facultet, 1926-1927, p. 276) proposes the following boundaries which begin from the mouth of the river Semeni on the Adriatic Sea and follow its course north-east; then continue alongside the river Devol to river Shkumbi, from here the boundary once again runs between the rivers Mati and Black Drin; at the town of Dibra it turns eastwards to the mount Babuna and then south-eastwards to Lake Ostrovo, where it follows a westerly direction, passing Mount Grammos and river Viosa until it finally reaches the Adriatic. In other words the extreme south-west of Macedonia, at present in Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania.

For alternative suggestion see Dvornik (*op. cit.*), p. 315, n. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Patr. Gr., c. 1225.

"Εχὼν δὲ τινὰς ἐκλεκλεγμένους τῶν ἄλλων καθ' ἐκάστην ἐνορίαν οὐμενοῦν ὀλίγους (εἰς τρισχιλίους γὰρ καὶ πεντακοσίους ἡριθμοῦντο), τοῦτοις τὰ πλείω συνῆν, καὶ τὰς βαθυτέρας τῶν Γραφῶν ἀνεκάλυπτεν.<sup>67a</sup>

(He had certain chosen pupils in each region, these were not few since they numbered 3500, with them he lived more closely and he showed them the deeper places of the scriptures.)

These pupils were not only well grounded in their knowledge but they also served as examples of Christian piety in their lives. From amongst them were ordained priests, deacons, subdeacons and readers. In every diocese he had 300 pupils and these were freed from paying taxes to the state. It is probable that some of them went to other parts of the kingdom since the number was a little too large even for a big diocese.

Besides these students he had a group of disciples whom he kept very close to himself. In *Vita S. Clementis* one of them states :

ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους οἰκειοτέρους τῶν ἄλλων διὰ σπλάγχνα τῆς χρηστότητος ἐποιήσατο, καὶ πάντοτε συνῆμεν αὐτῷ πᾶσι παρακολουθοῦντες οἷς ἔπραττεν, οἷς ἔλεγεν, οἷς δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἐδίδασκεν.<sup>68</sup>

(Although we are lowly and unworthy, because of his love and goodness he made us more intimate with him than others and we were always with him, following him in everything that he did and said and in what he taught both in word and deed )

These men worked as his assistants, particularly in the training of his great number of pupils. From amongst them were chosen the men for important posts. From the *Vita S. Naoum* we learn that both its author and Bishop Marko were disciples of Clement.

Clement spent seven years there as a teacher and in his eighth year (893) <sup>69</sup> Theophylact tells us erroneously that Boris died and equally inaccurately that he was succeeded by Vladimir, who reigned for four years, died and was succeeded by Simeon. From reliable western sources <sup>70</sup> we learn that in 893 Boris handed his kingdom over to his elder son Vladimir and went to a monastery to spend the rest of his life in prayer. But Vladimir proved to be an unworthy son, opposed Christianity (in which he was supported by some of the boyars), and thus attempted to destroy the great work of his father. Although in the monastery, Boris retained his interest in the affairs of the country, and in 899 he took off his monastic garb

<sup>67a</sup> Patr Gr., c 1225

<sup>68</sup> Patr Gr., c 1225.

<sup>69</sup> This date is confirmed by the *Vita S. Naoum*

<sup>70</sup> *Regimonis Prumiensis Chronicon Pertz*, MGH S.S. t 1 p 580

for a time and seized once again the reins of government. As a result of this he not only deposed Vladimir but also blinded and imprisoned him. He then called together a great assembly with representatives from all over the kingdom and installed on the throne his younger son Simeon. Professor Zlatarsky believes that on this occasion the Slavonic language was introduced both in the church and in the state.<sup>71</sup> After completing this task Boris returned to his monastery, where he died peacefully in 907

By this time Clement had made for himself a national reputation. He had created and developed his educational centre through which began the process of the infusion of Byzantine Christian culture into the Slavs. Simeon appreciated his services and in the same year

*ἐπίσκοπος Δρεμβίτζα,*<sup>72</sup> *ἤτοι Βελίτζας προβάλλεται, καὶ οὕτω δὴ Βουλγαρῶν γλώσσῃ πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος ὁ Κλήμης καθίσταται* (Ch. xx.)

(He promoted him to be Bishop of Drembitsa and Belitsa, and thus Clement became the first Bulgarian-speaking bishop—*et sic Bulgaricæ linguæ Clemens primus constituitur episcopus.*)

Perhaps in the source of Theophylact it was “*Σθλόβενικη*” and he changed the term to “*Βουλγαρῶν*.”<sup>73</sup> S. Clement could not be called the first bishop in Bulgaria<sup>74</sup> but the first bishop who celebrated the liturgy in the Slavonic (Bulgarian) tongue.<sup>75</sup>

Theophylact tells us nothing about the whereabouts of Clement's see but it seems probable that this bishopric was specially created for Clement. There is much difference amongst scholars on this subject, but the right place to seek for its identification should be near to the place of his previous activity, i.e. in south-west Macedonia.<sup>76</sup>

As a bishop he continued to give his life to the service of his people who, according to Theophylact, were “unlettered,” “ignorant” and “like beasts.” He knew that he alone could do little in this direction, and he therefore devoted a good deal of his time to the uplifting of his clergy and to making the Divine service more beautiful. Nor did he forget the importance of the influence of personal example, and in this task he drew inspiration from the

<sup>71</sup> *Natziolizatzna na Bul. dŭrjava i Tsarŭva pŭnez IX vek*

<sup>72</sup> Moscow MS

<sup>73</sup> In *Vita S. Naoum* it is said of Bishop Marko that he was the fourth bishop of the Slavonic tongue, having in mind S. Clement as the first.

<sup>74</sup> There were others sent in 870 by Ignatius

<sup>75</sup> Or the first bishop with Slav (Bulgarian) origin N. L. Tunitsky (*op cit.*, p. 218).

<sup>76</sup> For various suggestions see F. Dvorník, p. 316, n. 1

"great Methodius" whom he had known so intimately from his childhood.

Clement had to overcome innumerable difficulties, for his clergy although enthusiastic could not read Greek and collect material for their sermons. Thus he had to prepare sermons in clear and simple language for all festivals, so that they could be used by his priests to enlighten their parishioners. Among the sermons there were some in honour of S. Mary, John the Baptist, the prophets, martyrs, the Fathers and the angels.<sup>77</sup> He also composed many hymns and prayers. Since the Christians needed a place for their worship and meditation he built a church and a monastery.

As the father of his flock he was interested not only in their spiritual life but also in their material welfare. Since most trees in the district grew wild and bore very little fruit he brought good shoots from Greece and grafted them on to the native trees, thus showing his knowledge of the science of arboriculture.

Finally, having grown old and weak, he went to Simeon and begged to be released from his office so that he might spend the rest of his life in the monastery in meditation and communion with God.<sup>78</sup> He suggested that in his place a younger and more vigorous man should be appointed. Simeon was deeply distressed at this request, since Clement was the symbol of the new Slavonic church and hierarchy. He begged him to remain and Clement bowed to the will of the king. He went for a short while to his monastery in Ochrida where he fell ill and died in 916. He was buried in the very monastery that he himself had built. According to his will he left half of his possessions to the diocese and the other half to the monastery. The last chapter of the work ends with eloquent praise of Clement by Theophylact.

The significance of Clement for the Slavonic world is clearly demonstrated by the *Vita S. Clementis*. Although Cyril invented the script, he and his brother worked chiefly on translations, which at the beginning was naturally most important for laying the foundation on which later on was built the original Slavonic literature. The situation might have been different if Cyril had lived longer and there had been no disaster in Moravia. But as history took its course it fell to Clement to continue and develop the work of the

<sup>77</sup> Most of his works are dispersed in various Russian libraries and museums. I have not been able to discover whether the University of Sofia has been able to publish the reproduction of his literary work which was made in Russia in 1914.

<sup>78</sup> In this action of Clement, Prof Zlatarsky (*Istoriya, op cit*, p. 401) sees an attempt by Simeon to make Clement a Bulgarian Patriarch. Since this would be uncanonical, Clement offered to resign and thus have no responsibility for such an action.

two brothers, not only in translating but in creating new literary works. Even more important was it that he, first among the Slavs, laid the foundations for the education of the masses. While in eastern Bulgaria academic work began to flourish under the patronage of Simeon, here in Macedonia the simple people were taught to read and write, and by means of their education enabled to understand the faith which transformed the world so radically. To a great extent it was due to Clement that the Slavs became the proud heirs and preservers of the fine Byzantine culture which, by giving political and religious institutions to the Slavs, put them on a level with the other civilised nations of the world.

METHODIE KUSSEFF.

*London.*



## SCOTT IN YUGOSLAVIA

WHEN in 1810 Milovan Vidaković (1780-1841) wrote the first Serbian novel, *Usamljeni junosa* (*A Forlorn Youth*), his models were German romances and the philosophico-pedagogical novels then extremely popular all over Europe. Coming under the influence of Romanticism, Vidaković took an interest in the history of his people and thus gave an historical framework to all his later novels. Jovan Skerlić, the eminent Serbian critic, says of him, "All his novels have many historical elements, and his contemporaries called him 'the Serbian Walter Scott' " <sup>1</sup> Aside from this superficial resemblance, Vidaković's novels are little more than adaptations or free translations of third-rate German works, so that nineteen years later there was still call for a Scott novel in Serbian literature.

In 1829, *Danica*, Vuk St. Karadžić's almanac, which was in its fourth year of publication in Vienna, contained a significant article on the novel, which may be taken as an indication of the high esteem in which Scott was held by the founder of modern Serbian literature. Karadžić's article was entitled "Gradja za lep srpski roman" ("Material for a Beautiful Serbian Novel"). This material, a popular story from the village of Nemikucè at the foot of Mt. Kosmaj in Serbia, tells of the love and tragic death of two village boys who are enamoured of the same girl. In his comment Karadžić asks: "Where is the Serbian La Fontaine (or, let us say, Walter Scott) who will write that long story or tale for us?" <sup>2</sup> The year before, Jovan Stejić (1803-1853), <sup>3</sup> one of the most cultured Serbian authors at the beginning of the last century, had manifested the same high regard for the Scottish novelist. Stejić, who had read many of the best contemporary European writers, was especially interested in English literature. In his almanac *Zabava za razum i srce* (*Entertainment for Mind and Heart*), <sup>4</sup> he says of Scott:

If any novels can be recommended, so that one's tired spirit may be amused graciously and leisurely with lighter things, these are the works of Walter Scott, which may be recommended to my readers more particularly because in them are described, beautifully and skilfully, the habits and customs of a nation which in many ways is strangely very

<sup>1</sup> *Istorija nove srpske književnosti* (*A History of the New Serbian Literature*), Beograd, 1914, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Vuk Karadžić, "Gradja za lep srpski roman," *Danica*, vol IV, 1829

<sup>3</sup> David Bogdanović, *Pregled književnosti hrvatske i srpske* (*Survey of Croatian and Serbian Literature*), 3 vols, Zagreb, 1915-1916. Cf. vol. 2, part I, p. 375.

<sup>4</sup> *Op cit.*, vol. I (1828), p. 63.

similar to the Serbian nation. Beautiful and worthy of all praise, such reading should yield us plenty of talented Serbians who, acquainted with the land and customs and character of our nation, could write something in the manner of Scott.

During 1827, or the year following—the date is not clear—we find another interesting reference to Scott in Joakim Vujić's travel book *Putešestvije po Srbiji* (*A Journey through Serbia*)<sup>5</sup> which is a record published in 1828 of a journey that the author had made two years earlier. In it he relates on page 96 that he saw, among other books, in the house of Jevrem Obrenović, brother of Prince Miloš, the works of Scott :

In that house I saw with my own eyes books written in several foreign languages, such as the *Konversations Lexikon* in the German language, in 14 volumes ; then there came the works of La Fontaine, Cooper, Scott, Schiller and many other German writers. . . .

This revelation regarding the library of an intelligent Serbian reader gains added significance because of the fact that this reader belonged to the ruling family. His brother, Prince Miloš, built the first Serbian National Theatre, of which Joakim Vujić (1772-1847) was the first dramatist and director. Drama and poetry held the centre of the literary stage in Serbia, and the historical novel, while read with interest by all intellectuals, never reached the dignity of classical literature during this period.

In general, the Balkan countries were not far behind others in their appreciation of Scott, although the people of Yugoslavia were more tardy than those of the rest of Europe in discovering the genius of that author. The first reference to Scott that we have been able to find in Serbian literature is a commonplace, second-hand opinion in *Novine Serpske* for 1820, a newspaper edited and published in Vienna by Dimitrije Davidović. In the Supplement to this number there appeared an article under the title of "Smjesice knjižestvenne—Nagrada spisatelja" ("Literary Miscellanea—A Writer's Reward"). In this article the author says :

Of all modern nations which excel in praising and rewarding its writers, first place must go to the English. There is no other nation, whether great or small, that has been so much imitated and that has succeeded

<sup>5</sup> Joakim Vujić, *Putešestvije po Srbiji*, Beograd, 1902, 2nd ed. Cf also Pavle Popović's review, "Joakim Vujić u Srbiji" ("Joakim Vujić in Serbia"), found in *Iz književnosti* (*From Literature*), Beograd, 1906, pp 133-51; and his article "Études sur Joakim Vujić" in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* (XXXVI Band, 1916), pp. 185-95.

so laudably. . . . From among many other examples of this, let me cite here only a few.

There follow many details about the financial returns received from their books by various English authors, such as Gibbon, William Robertson, Frances Burney, Pope, Fielding, Goldsmith, and others. He lists also the amounts paid by the *Edinburgh Review* to its contributors, and of Scott he relates: "Burney received 3000 pounds sterling on account for her novel *Camilla*, that is, 27,000 silver florins. Walter Scott got a similar amount for his *Rob Roy*."

Except for the ardent admiration of the great Scotsman entertained by Karadžić, Stejić and Vujić, there was no real enthusiasm for him among Serbian writers, who usually chose German models for their novels. There is no doubt that other writers and editors of Serbian periodicals recognised the true position of Scott in the world of letters, but their enthusiasm did not materialise in the translation of the Waverley Novels. Nevertheless, interest in the novelist continued to grow, and in 1867 we find the first serious attempt to translate Scott into Serbian. In that year, Zora, a Serbian Students' Society in Vienna, commissioned Radmilo Lazarević, a medical student, to translate *The Lady of the Lake*.<sup>6</sup> This is the first record of its translation into Serbian. Jovan Skerlić notes, in his well-known book *Omladina i njena književnost (Youth and Its Literature)*,<sup>7</sup> that there are very few translations from Scott in Yugoslav literature, and then goes on:

. . . It is characteristic of this lack of the literary element in our Romanticism that one of the principal inspirers of European Romanticism, Walter Scott, is translated by us only once during this period, and that in 1867 by Zora. Radmilo Lazarević read his translation of *The Lady of the Lake (Jezerkinje Vile)* to that group.

Djura Jakšić (1832-1878), one of the greatest Serbian poets of this period, read Scott's books with this group of intellectuals. In one of his letters, written from Vienna on 5 November, 1861 to Djordje Popović, editor of *Damca*, he says: "I have read a little of Bulwer and a little of Walter Scott. I think that they write beautifully—and that I shall have to devote myself to history from now on in order to read them better."<sup>8</sup> His poetry, however, reveals no evidence of Scott's influence.

Much later, Laza K. Lazarević (1851-1890), who succeeded Djura Jakšić and Stjepan M. Ljubiša (1824-1878) as the leading Serbian

<sup>6</sup> Vladimir Ćorović, *Istoriya "Zore" (A History of "Zora")*, p. 33

<sup>7</sup> *Op cit.*, Beograd, 1906, p. 397

<sup>8</sup> See the review *Glasnik*, edited by M. Pavlović, 1893, p. 161

story-writer, speaks in letters to friends of reading Shakespeare, Rousseau and Scott<sup>9</sup>

In Croatian lands the novelist had a still greater vogue, if we are to take the word of the Slovenian folklorist, Janez Trdina, who in 1903 wrote in his book *Bahovi Huzarji in Iliri* (*Bach's Hussars and the Illyrians*, p. 101):

When Tkalac published his autobiography, in which he mentions all the famous writers he had read, many of his readers said, "This person is praising himself a little too much." However, Tkalac was certainly not lying. He never was a boaster. Indeed, other Illyrians also read the same writers. Shakespeare, Walter Scott, Rousseau, Voltaire, Cervantes, Camöens, Dante, Tasso, Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Lessing, and others were also well-known to Cepulić, Kukuljević, Bogović, Ivan Mažuranić, Ntjesinović, and many other patriots.

Trdina refers here to the statement made by Imbro Tkalac in his memoirs *Uspomene iz mladosti u Hrvatskoj* (*Memoirs of My Youth in Croatia*) in which he says among other things "My brother offered me some novels by Walter Scott from the library of Count Juraj Drašković and put them in my bag, and thus happily pushed me into a new adventure."<sup>10</sup> This is but one more proof that Scott was known to Tkalac while he was still a boy. He was born in 1824 and lived until 1912

In this same Illyrian period Dragojla Jarnević, the Croatian poetess, kept a diary in which she wrote toward the end of the year 1837: "Scott transports me to the principal British city (London) and takes me to the dismal Scottish hills and borders."<sup>11</sup> In this diary (1835), she tells with what enthusiasm she read Byron and Scott, among many other English, German and French authors.

Another proof of the great interest among the Croats in English literature, and Scott in particular, may be found in the periodical *Danica Ilirska* for the year 1837. Here we find an article under the title of "Rod i starost glasovitih Europeacah" ("The Race and Age of Famous Europeans") which deals with the origin and literary position of many famous men—among them Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, Collin, Gray, Thomas Moore, Burns, Young, and Scott. The writer of the article in a democratic spirit calls attention to the humble origin of some of the greatest writers in the world.

This interest in Scott among Croatian poets culminated in Velimir

<sup>9</sup> Miloš Savkovitch, *L'influence du réalisme français dans le roman Serbocroate*, Paris, 1935, p. 270

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, Beograd, 1925, p. 101

<sup>11</sup> Adela Milčinović, "Dragojla Jarnevićeva," *Savremeniik*, vol. II (1906), p. 92 Cf. also *Dragojla Jarnevićeva*, Zagreb, 1906

Gaj's translation of "Song of the Rangers and Falconers" which appeared in the magazine *Danica Ilirska* for 1865 (vol. 19, No. 10)—the first known Croatian translation from the Scottish poet. There was one other direct result of this interest. The Croatian poet, Franjo Marković (1845-1914), in his early poems was "a follower of Byron's school of poetry," as his editor once observed. Later when he translated several Scottish ballads, Marković came under the spell of Scott's poetry, and was deeply impressed by the dramatic diction of his ballads. This is quite understandable when we learn that as a young man the Croatian poet read Scott avidly. Marković wrote to his intimate friend, Aleks Šuljok, probably in 1862: "Under the shade of a garnet willow tree in a meadow, associated with Walter Scott, everything else, except the blue sky over one's head and the elevated thoughts which one reads in his book, is forgotten."<sup>12</sup>

In fiction we find a more lively interest in Scott's historical novels. The two outstanding representatives of historical fiction in Croatia are Mirko Bogović and his successor Augustus Šenoa. Writing of Bogović (1816-1893) in his excellent book *Pod apsolutizmom* (*Under Absolutism*),<sup>13</sup> Nikola Andrić has this to say:

Early in his youth, he published three of his tales: *Hajduk Gojko*, *Crnogorska osveta*, and *Grad Gotalovec*. Romanticism of the purest kind! In that period Walter Scott was the hero and favourite of European reading circles and so it is not strange that the Croatian *literati* of that day should become imbued with Scott's heroic romanticism.

Bogović was one of the leading figures in Croatian literature during the Age of Absolutism, and the tales and dramas of this Croatian writer are therefore of special interest to us. Bogović's plays are typical products of the school of historical drama founded by Scott and his followers. Besides the famous historical tragedies *Frankopan* (1856) and *Matija Gubec* (1857), Bogović also wrote some extremely popular stories, among which *Slava i Ljubav* is characteristic. Written in the romantic manner of Scott, this tale is distinguished by its ardent patriotism, glorifying the national virtues and condemning the evils within the nation.

Many Croatian critics have tried to minimise Scott's influence on Bogović's writings. Thus Slavko Ježić writes in his Preface to the second volume of *Sto godina hrvatske književnosti*<sup>14</sup> which con-

<sup>12</sup> Stefek Orešković, *Pisma Franje Markovića Aleksi Šuljoku* (*Franjo Marković's Letters to Aleks Šuljok*), Zagreb, 1921.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, Zagreb, 1906, p. 27

<sup>14</sup> Ježić, *op. cit.*, vol II, *Prvi hrvatski pripovjedaci iza preporoda* (*The First Croatian Story-tellers after the Revival*), Zagreb, 1935, p. 7

tains a collection of tales written by the first Croatian story-tellers after the Illyrian Renaissance from 1850 to 1880 :

It is possible to take an exaggerated view of Bogović's historical tales and consider them merely an imitation of Walter Scott, whom the reading public of that period liked so much to read, along with the French writers Chateaubriand and G. Sand, the Polish Kraszewski and Czajkowski, the Czech Chocholousek, Vocek and Halek, the Russian Lermontov and Pushkin, and the German Zschokke. Bogović, on the contrary, is not the creator of the Croatian historical novel as is generally maintained, rather he continued and developed the attempts of his Illyrian predecessors Ljudevit Vukotinović (*Prošastnost ugarsko-hrvatska*, 1844), Ivan Kukuljević (*Bugarin*, 1842 ; *Brača* and *Pauk*, 1843), and Dragojla Jarnević (*Domorodne povijesti*, 1843) . .

Another Croatian critic, Antun Barac, comes to the same conclusion in his article on Bogović : " In writing his tales, Bogović found models in Walter Scott and Zschokke, according to the opinion of Šrepić, but in drama he followed Shakespeare and Schiller." <sup>15</sup> And on page 153 : " Whatever one may say of the influence of Walter Scott, there was no direct influence on Bogović himself, but on the spirit of all the European literature of that period." Although Bogović did not succeed in creating a real literary *genre*, the technique of his tales penetrated all later Croatian fiction. According to Professor Barac, Augustus Šenoa himself borrowed the plot of Bogović's tragedy *Matija Gubec* and wrote his own *Seljačka buna* around it, while the beginning of Šenoa's *Zlatarovo zlato* is also borrowed from Bogović's tale *Hajduk Gojko*. As a matter of fact, Šenoa often merely elaborated the elements he found in the work of his predecessor.

Nevertheless, the real creator of the modern *novelle* in Croatian literature is Augustus Šenoa (1838-1881), the first and most prolific writer of historical novels in Yugoslav literature. As in the case of Bogović, critics do not agree on just how much Šenoa owes Scott. What are the elements of a Šenoa tale or novel ? Above all else, he emphasises the need of a great social moment and a realistic note in literature. When dealing with the past, he prefers to picture the period in Croatian history, in which he can show a harmonious world of peasantry and bourgeoisie working together to strengthen the freedom-loving tendency of his people. In Šenoa there is also found a generalised echo of the mediæval antiquarian influence of Scott, apparent in the use of archæological detail and in accurate

<sup>15</sup> Antun Barac, " Mirko Bogović," *Rad*, vol. 245 (1933), p. 151.

description of the old Croatian centres of culture and civilisation. Šenoa began as a poet much like Scott himself, so that it is not at all surprising that the new *genre* which he created is a cross-product of history and poetry. Like Scott, the Croatian novelist unites historical and dramatic interests, so that the parentage of Scott is generally recognisable in the Croatian poet's best novels.

Furthermore, we have direct evidence of Šenoa's acquaintance with Scott's works. In his article on the Croatian theatre, "O hrvatskom kazalištu," published in the Zagreb journal *Pozor*,<sup>16</sup> Šenoa mentions Scott in connection with the aims of a Croatian theatre which he recommends to his readers: "the end of all this being the national poet Shakespeare, as well as the English romanticist Walter Scott and the historian Macaulay." Such statements need not surprise anyone in view of the fact that he was a prodigious translator from Polish, Czech, French, Italian, German and English. His translations from English include the *Song of the Shirt* (*Pjesma o košulji*) and *Much Ado about Nothing* (*Mnogo vike ni za što*). He was therefore acquainted with English literature at first hand. In spite of all evidence to the contrary, Antun Barac in his study *August Šenoa*<sup>17</sup> disclaims any too great influence of Scott on the Croatian novelist. Discussing the poet Franjo Marković's article<sup>18</sup> in which the statement is made that Šenoa was a disciple of Scott, Professor Barac replies:

... Walter Scott pictures exclusively the life of rebels, brigands, the wild romanticism of the Scottish highlands, and them alone. Nothing like that occurs in Šenoa with his *Uskoki*, famous as representatives of heroism and self-sacrifice, although a brigand-like nature in many of his works cannot be denied.<sup>19</sup>

Barac is careful to distinguish (p. 98) what constitutes an influence:

... An influence in the literal meaning of the word means imitation of another writer, in the sense of modification of a particular manner of thought and expression. But in this case it is not a question of creation but rather of imitation. Šenoa possesses such a robust personality, and his artistic works sound such an individual note, that we cannot speak of such an influence in his work. The line of his literary

<sup>16</sup> Šenoa, *op. cit.* (1866), Nos. 242-56

<sup>17</sup> Antun Barac, *August Šenoa*, Zagreb, 1926, p. 152.

<sup>18</sup> Franjo Marković, "August Šenoa," article in *Spomen-knjiga Matice Hrvatske* (*Memorial Volume of the Croatian Literary Foundations*), Zagreb, 1892, pp. 175-224. This is the first serious attempt at a critical appraisal of Šenoa's work

<sup>19</sup> Barac, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

development is so straight that it is evidently an expression of his own being.

Such a definition is too narrow to suit our purpose.

The best proof of the influences Scott has exerted on Šenoa must be ultimately found in his novels.<sup>20</sup> Šenoa wrote four historical novels: *Zlatarovo zlato* (1871), *Čuvaj se senjske ruke* (1875), *Seljačka buna* (1876), and *Diogenes* (1878). The manner of Scott's historical novel is apparent on every page of these works, no matter where the author learned his lesson—from Manzoni or any other contemporary imitator of Scott or from the Scottish novelist himself, although Professor Barac considers *Čuvaj se senjske ruke* (*Beware of the Hand of Senj*) as Šenoa's purest, most original novel. Of all the four, *Diogenes* bears the closest resemblance to a Waverley Novel, a fact which the Croatian critic only admits grudgingly:

. . . In several instances Walter Scott was a source of inspiration to Šenoa. In comparing *Waverley*, it is often pointed out that Šenoa found inspiration in this novel for his own *Diogenes*, in which episode leaves off where invention begins. Scott, however, preferred plot to characters and with great skill shows the milieu in connection with the fate of his characters, apparently because he is more interested in developing the plot than in the fate of his characters. Šenoa, on the other hand, differs from him in all his work; he feels sympathy for them, for he himself is a fighter for the victory of an ideal. . . .<sup>21</sup>

Šenoa's son, Milan (1869–) wrote one historical novel, *Iz kobnih dana* (1914). Although it deals with an interesting chapter of Croatian history, the rivalry between the Kaptol and the court of the *bans* at the end of the 15th century, it was never as popular as his stories of peasant life. Milan Šenoa learned his manner of observation, the historical manner, and the scenic method from his father. There is this difference: what appears as original in his father's work becomes only a well-tryed historical type in the son's novel. Milan is at his best when he leaves literary traditions and draws from contemporary life. He is one of the founders of the realist school of Croatian literature.<sup>22</sup>

As long as Šenoa lived, the historical tale remained a favourite form with Croatian writers. With his death in 1881, the historical tale declined steadily in popularity. It had experienced its greatest period of flowering in the seventies. This type of tale, imitated in

<sup>20</sup> *Djela Augusta Šenoe*, in collection *Noviji hrvatski pisci*, edited by Slavko Ježić, 12 vols., Zagreb, 1932–1935.

<sup>21</sup> Barac, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>22</sup> M. Nehajev, "Historijski roman," *Savremenik*, vol. 12 (1917), pp. 64–7.



countless European variants after the model furnished by Scott, had one brief moment of popularity again in Evgenij Kumičić's (1850-1904) *Urota Zrinsko-Frankopanska* (*The Conspiracy of Zrinski-Frankopan*), published in 1894. But this type of writing was soon to be pushed aside by the new French and Russian literatures, through which realism was introduced into Croatia in the eighties and nineties.

Among the Slovenian writers of the same Illyrian period mentioned above, the leading devotee of Scott is Matija Čop (1797-1835) whose extensive library of English literature included the collected works of the Scottish novelist and whose letters to friends contain numerous interesting comments on Scott's novels. Apart from the fact that the Czech poet, František L. Čelakovsky, who was much in contact with Slovenian writers during this period, published in 1828 his translation of *The Lady of the Lake* (*Panna jezeru*) and that he was in personal correspondence with Scott, nothing is recorded except that Čelakovsky received a few notices about his translation in the Slovenian literary review *Slovenska Bčela* (1852).

The most outstanding imitator (*sic*!) of Scott is to be found not in Serbian or Croatian, but in Slovenian literature. Indeed, Josip Jurčič (1844-1881), the Slovene Scott, wrote the first novel (1866) to appear in Slovenian literature. His greatest success, however, was not the historical novel, but his *roman de mœurs*, *Deseti brat* (*The Tenth Brother*). Jurčič himself recognised Scott as the founder of the historical novel and undertook in his *Deseti brat* to do what Scott had done in his own novels, namely to weave into his story the history of his own country. In fact, the opening lines of his first story read like an announcement of the launching of the Slovenian novel and make very plain his relationship to Scott.<sup>23</sup> We have two versions of the opening paragraph of *Deseti brat*. Prijatelj's edition has the following comment:

It is the privilege of tellers of tales to open their story at an inn, the free rendezvous of all travellers, where the humour of each displays itself without ceremony or restraint. This is especially appropriate when the scene is laid in the old days of Merrie England when the guests were in some way not merely the inmates, but also the messmates and temporary companions of Mine Host who was usually a personage of privileged character, comely presence and good humour. Patronised by him, the characters of the company were placed in ready contrast; and they

<sup>23</sup> See Ivan Prijatelj's edition of Jurčič's collected works, *Jurčičevi zbrani spisi*, Ljubljana, 1922, vol. III, p. 423.

seldom failed during the emptying of a six-hooped pot to throw off their reserve, and present themselves to each other and to their landlord with the freedom of old acquaintances.

Compare this with Scott's opening in *Kenilworth*, chapter I:

I am an innkeeper, and know my grounds,  
And study them; Brain o' man, I study them.  
I must have jovial guests to drive my ploughs,  
And whistling boys to bring my harvests home,  
Or I shall hear no flails thwack.

The New Inn.

Although Jurčič makes use of the plot of *The Antiquary*, he creates characters and situations that are decidedly Slovene. There are, nevertheless, a great many resemblances between Scott's *The Antiquary* and Jurčič's *Deseti brat*. Early references to reminiscences of Scott in this story may be found in the writings of his friend and literary godfather, Fran Levec;<sup>24</sup> but later Slovenian critics, such as Ivan Prijatelj<sup>25</sup> and Francè Kidrič,<sup>26</sup> have tried to minimise Jurčič's debt. In general, his passion for the past is not unlike Scott's. Jurčič feels and communicates supremely the essence of Slovenian courage—the battles with the Turks (*Jurij Kozak*), the *Tenth Brother's* fight for his rights, and his devotion to the cause of Slovenia.<sup>27</sup>

Like Šenoa, his Croatian contemporary, Jurčič raised the historical tale to a high artistic level, furnishing numerous models for narrative technique and style to his successors. In his earlier works, Fran Detela (1850–1926) shows a close affinity to Jurčič, although his later social tales and novels bear influences of the realists Janez Mencinger and Janko Kerstnik. Detela wrote two historical novels, *Veliki grof* (1885) and (his best work) *Pegam in Lambergar* (1891; 2nd ed., 1910), dealing with the Counts of Celje and their fight against Frederick II and Frederick III for the Celje patrimony. Yet, in spite of the fact that he faithfully studied all historical sources, he did not succeed in re-creating the Slovenian society of the 15th century. His characters move like puppets in a grey, sunless landscape, so that both novels lack the historical picturesqueness of his master. Detela did better in

<sup>24</sup> Fran Levec, "Spomini o Josipu Jurčiču" ("Memories of Josip Jurčič"), *Ljubljanski Zvon*, 1888, p. 422.

<sup>25</sup> Prijatelj, *op. cit.*, pp. ix to xxxii.

<sup>26</sup> Fran Kidrič's edition of *Deseti brat* (Celje, 1936). *Vide* introduction as best summary of this whole question of Jurčič's imitation of Scott.

<sup>27</sup> Anthony J. Klančar, "Josip Jurčič, the Slovene Scott," *The American-Slavic Review*, vol. V, nos. 12–13, pp. 19–33.

a sober type of realistic fiction, of which he was one of the principal representatives.<sup>28</sup>

Peter Bohinjec (1864-1919) wrote many tales of life in the Middle Ages which, because of their style and keen sense of mediæval life, form a transition from Detela's historical novels and tales to the still living Ivan Pregelj's masterpieces. Some of Bohinjec's best historical tales (*Najmlajši mojster*, *Zadnji gospod Kamenski*, *Za staro pravdo*, *Glagoljaš Štupko*, *Svetobor*, *Veliki Gropa in drugi*) show a considerable gift for realistic description, although his treatment of plot is vague and superfluous. He is the last representative of the Scott-Jurčič school of fiction in Slovenian literature.<sup>29</sup>

In Croatia and Slovenia in the first half of the 19th century certain periodicals were published in the German language. Though such publications, strictly speaking, do not belong to Yugoslav literature, they nevertheless are very important in its development, for Slovenian and Croatian writers were among the contributors, and they were read by the intellectuals of that period.

In Zagreb during 1826 *Luna*, under the general title of *Verschiedene Neuigkeiten*, published several news items about Walter Scott's journey to Paris. In 1841 (Nos 90 and 91), *Luna* published on its front page: *Der Westenknopf—Eine Anekdote aus dem Leben Walter Scott's Von Marc Perrin*, a newspaper story of Scott's stay in Edinburgh before his journey to France.

Interesting also are the items in a short article on Walter Scott in the Ljubljana (Laibach) periodical *Illyrisches Blatt* for 1825 (No. 43). The same newspaper in 1827 (No. 49) prominently displayed a bookseller's advertisement of Walter Scott's *Werke*. Twenty years later *Illyrisches Blatt* (No. 93) published *Eine Reliquie Skizze aus Walter Scott's Leben, von M. Illisch*.

In another periodical, *Carniola* (No. 11, 1838), there appeared a notice about Walter Scott, beginning with these words:

Es ist bisher nicht bekannt gewesen, dass die "Braut von Lammermoor," "Rob Roy" und "Ivanhoe" die zu des Dichters gefeierteseten gehören, von Walter Scott unter Leiden und Schmerzen dictirt wurden, die jeden minder starken Geist völlig zu Boden gedrückt haben wurden. Die "Braut" wurde grossentheils Ballantyne dictirt, der erzählte. . . .

All this gives evidence of some sort of Scott vogue in Yugoslavia, although what the effect of this vogue was—whether the production

<sup>28</sup> Anton Slodnjak, *Pregled slovenskega slovstva*, Ljubljana, 1934, p. 275 Cf. also Jože Debevec, "Fran Detela," *Dom in Svet* (1920), 261 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Ivan Prijatelj, "Peter Bohinjec," *Narodna enciklopedija*, Beograd, 1925, vol. I, p. 245. Cf. also Ivan Pregelj, "Peter Bohinjec," *Dom in Svet* (1919), 300 ff.

of tales in the style of the Waverley Novels or that of rhymed romances after the manner of the Scottish bard—is not known. No mention is made in all references of any specific work read in English. Many of the Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian writers read Scott in German translations and under his inspiration aspired to become novelists themselves : and the question was often asked why it was that Yugoslavia had no Walter Scott.

Of course the reason why the literature of that country was at such a low ebb, so far as the historical novel is concerned, may be found in the relation between national conditions and literature. Serbia at the beginning of the 19th century was still under the Turkish yoke ; Croatia and Slovenia suffered under Hungarian-German domination. There was little time for purely intellectual activity among Yugoslav leaders, who had to devote most of their lives to fulfilling the political aspirations of their people. It was therefore some time before translations of Scott began to appear. Though the Waverley Novels were published between 1814 and 1832, we can hardly speak of a Scott vogue before 1829. In that year, as we have seen, Vuk Karadžić published his essay on " Material for a Beautiful Serbian Novel." Vuk's prescription, however, did not inspire the creation of a genuine Serbian historical novel. This type of fiction, which was cultivated by Milovan Vidaković, the creator of the Serbian novel, bears little or no resemblance to Scott's novels. The development of a genuine historical novel in Yugoslavia was to come later through the writings of the Croatian, Augustus Šenoa and the Slovenian, Josip Jurčič.

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*New York.*

## INTRODUCING NORWID

THERE are three reasons why Cyprian Norwid (1821-1883) \* should be introduced to the English-speaking world. The first is his position in the history of comparative literature, with special bearing on the sources of so-called Modernism in European art ; one of the problems discussed being the striking parallel between the Polish poet and Gerard Manley Hopkins. The second reason concerns æsthetics in general and the appreciation of poetry in particular, seeing that the views held by Norwid reveal him as a philosopher of no mean stature. The third is to be found in Norwid's relation to the literature of his own country in the 19th century, both for his acute criticism of the Romantic attitude to life and for his acceptance of some of the artistic ideas of his contemporaries.

For those who have some knowledge of the traditional history of Polish literature, the Romantic period as represented by Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Krasiński, stands out as the chapter most typical of the development of the national culture. By examining the works of Norwid we shall not only enlarge our picture of that period, but also see its component features as more complex and subtle. There is a pressing need for literary revaluation in present-day Poland. The baroque poetry of the 17th century, when re-discovered and re-examined,<sup>1</sup> would seem to compel a shifting of the time-worn balance, with a consequent loss on the part of the Romantic period, which up till now has dominated the whole course of six centuries of Polish letters.

The 19th century was tragic for Poland politically, since it deprived that country (through the partitions) of the benefits of normal economic progress. On the other hand it was responsible for a new interpretation of literature, which by its saving of the national integrity has since become the very soul of the nation. Mickiewicz, the leader of the Romantic Revolt, emerged from that century as the symbol of Polish patriotism ; his example was seconded by Sienkiewicz, the Nobel prize-winner, who also rose to international fame. One may say that the six centuries of Polish writing, outweighed by a mere three decades of literary activities

\* ED. NOTE —For samples of Norwid's work, printed both in the original and in an English version, the interested reader is referred to *A Polish Anthology*, by M. A. Michael and T. M. Filip, Duckworth, 1944.

<sup>1</sup> Stanisław Adamczewski : *Oblicze poetyckie Bartłomieja Zimorowicza*, Warszawa, 1928. Zofia Mianowska : *Zbigniew Morsztyn*, Poznań, 1930.

in exile (roughly 1825-1855), shrank under the pressure of the great Romantic names, so that even their outlines were gradually blurred. It is the growing popularity of Norwid which now compels a thorough revaluation of the Polish literature written in exile ; and it is also his rôle as a precursor of Modern Poetry which allows us to set the period under discussion against a wider European background. Although the sincere and by no means simple interpretation of patriotism, as known through the works of the Polish Romantics, contributed something undoubtedly original to European culture, this very interpretation has at the same time hindered the reception of Polish authors by the foreign public, in spite of the efforts of commentators on both sides. One example of this is the reception of *Pan Tadeusz*, the national epic.

It is, of course, difficult for a Pole to take an objective and wider view of the immediate tradition which bears the Romantic stamp of the 19th century ; it is similarly difficult for a foreign student of Polish literature to approach it through a door other than Romantic. The meeting-place for both may, however, be found in the works of Norwid, whose literary position as a moderate anti-Romantic and a conscious interpreter of European civilisation ensures truly modern guidance. With Norwid in one scale and the poetry of the 17th century in the other, the balanced view of Polish literature will be restored, and it will be laid open to illuminating parallels with the rest of Europe.

# I

The key date in Polish 19th-century literature is 1822, when the first volume of Mickiewicz's ballads and romances was published in Wilno, becoming as rich in literary consequences as the English *Lyrical Ballads* had been twenty-four years before. *Cyprian Kamil Norwid* was born on the eve of that poetic event, 24 September, 1821. Between him and Mickiewicz were twenty-three years of time ; between him and Słowacki—a Romanticist in the truest sense of the term, twelve years. When in 1846 Norwid was compelled to enter on a life of exile,<sup>2</sup> Polish Romanticism was staging its own glorious sunset in the mystical poems of Słowacki, and of the third great exile poet, Krasiński. But Norwid outlived Słowacki (and Chopin) by thirty-four years, dying in the very month which saw

<sup>2</sup> While in Prussia on a visit, Norwid became involved with the authorities. His passport having been stolen, he met with suspicion on the part of the Russian diplomatic representative in Berlin, and this led to his arrest and imprisonment. On being released Norwid promptly left Prussia for Brussels.

the first serial part of Sienkiewicz's *Trilogy* published in a Warsaw newspaper. The era of the novel had succeeded to that of poetry.

There was, nevertheless, similarity in this difference. Like Mickiewicz, Norwid spent his childhood in the country; and like Mickiewicz he established an early contact with authentic folklore, which was to nourish his imagination at a later date in foreign urban surroundings. Even today the Polish village is unlike the half-urbanised countryside of western Europe: it was much more so a century ago. The development of poetic language in Poland is marked throughout the centuries by the elements of landscape: images based on the perception of natural objects link up the 16th-century lyrics of Kochanowski with those of Zimorowicz, the baroque poet, and of the classicist, Koźmian: the highly sensuous language of Słowacki owes as much to the landscape as the intellectual experiments with words practised by Norwid.

In the poet's younger days folklore was fashionable in Warsaw, but he decided to verify his impressions remaining from childhood by going on a long excursion with a friend. The village of 1842 did not disappoint his expectations; and he returned to the capital with the first seeds of an æsthetic theory in his mind, which were to find their mature growth in *Promethidion* (1851). In Norwid's juvenile poems the village theme recurs with a musical regularity: it is in fact the theme which stands out as an important part of the poet's personality: we find its presence in *The Lark*, *To a Village Lass*, *The Recollection of a Village*. It is notable that the first characteristic metaphors for which he was to be abused and praised appear in these village verses, e.g. "the town—the gilt-edge of a precipice"—a bold contrast thrown into the last of these poems.

Irony, conceived by the mature Norwid as an essential medium of poetic expression, played its part in the poet's life. Already in Warsaw irony stigmatised the doings of the young hopeful. In the provincial atmosphere of a city, smitten by the terror of defeat after the Rising of 1830-1831, he—who was destined later to be unrecognised, mocked, buried in oblivion while still alive, and who was to know the pettiness of literary cliques—enjoyed the brief fame of fashionable salons. In this city of gossip, fear, pretence and charitable old ladies, the nineteen-year-old youth who could not get beyond the fourth class in the secondary school, found enthusiasts and genuine friends. His verses were published and his drawings admired; <sup>3</sup> and the provincial celebrities listened to his

<sup>3</sup> After leaving the secondary school in his fifth year of undilgent studies the poet attended some courses in drawing

recitations with a seeming understanding. Did he remember this with a feeling of irony when his poems were rejected thirty years later by other equally provincial editors, and his drawings left unwanted; and when all his efforts proved as futile as his proud patience in solitary waiting?

From his grandmother<sup>4</sup> Norwid acquired a feeling for aristocratic grandeur, and claimed to be descended from the family of Jan Sobieski; adding to his beliefs a cryptic story of ancient Norman lineage—the name *Norwid*. This aristocratic self-esteem, not uncommon among the Poles of all classes, seems to have been respected by his Warsaw admirers, and it led the poet to another encounter with irony. But this time love took the place of fame.

Maria Kalergis, one of the most beautiful women of the century, having divorced her husband—a Greek millionaire—became an international idol, capturing the attention of famous men like Gautier, Musset, Heine and Napoleon III. Her mother was Polish, and her companion in travels across the continent, Maria Trembicka, was also Polish. Norwid met the famous lady on the very eve of her social career amid the best European circles. She was young, well-educated, witty and musically gifted: he was a brilliant intellectual, aware of his own merits, and longing for contacts with the culture of the wider world which opened for him in Florence, where in 1843 he began to study sculpture. He enjoyed the company of Maria and her friend during their stay in Italy, and then followed them to Berlin. The discovery of this lady was for the poet both an emotional and an intellectual event. A perfect mate had been created for him, so he made his final choice in love, never attempting to make another.

At first his relation with her was as promising as his early literary successes had been in Warsaw. Such are irony's sweet offerings to her favourites before the blow of catastrophe falls. Norwid touched the fragile body of hope in his youth and, as if he had been guilty of sacrilege, everything from that time turned against him. Hope was to appear to him only reflected in the grimaces of irony; everything was to become distorted. Romantic lovers always die young, to live on in elegiac ballads. Norwid was an ironical lover, whose object of passion grew out of psychic proportions as the train of Maria's admirers increased with the years. Indeed, her name lived on, followed by echoing gossip which distorted the images of the poet's past.

<sup>4</sup> Norwid's parents both died in his early childhood, and the boy was brought up by his grandmother.



The psychologist can justly base his analysis of Norwid's personality on his early experiences: the sense of constant failure which overshadows the poet's plans both in his private life and in his work sprang from his rejected love, and once distrust of human feelings set deeply into his mind, there was no other retreat for him but intellectual seclusion.

The growth of Norwid's personality now takes an inward direction: more and more he will shield his feelings with the rigid arguments of his intellect, he will prefer social distance to close friendships, he will shun any compromise—not because of the obstinacy of his character, but because of the fear of being attacked from an ambush.

The solitude of an exile is a difficult psychological problem, but the solitude of a voluntary exile like Norwid (who in 1849 joined the Polish émigrés in Paris) presents a double difficulty. The poet faced the complexities of the Polish community abroad with both curiosity and distrust: making friends among them he tried to learn more about their past experiences, but refused to resign his independent position as a newcomer; seeking readers through his works, copies of which were often lost before they reached some reluctant publisher, he greeted them with an ironical aloofness; to patriotic sentimentalists he spoke by means of mental hieroglyphs. Growing inwardly Norwid secured his poetic integrity, but simultaneously he exposed himself to the silent attacks of frustrated feelings for which he found no compensation.

In his study of Norwid's early years C. Latawiec<sup>5</sup> takes the attitude of a psychologist and—although this method may sometimes prove disastrous to literary criticism, it is no doubt useful, when one analyses Norwid—the artist and the man. For only a psychologist can venture to explain his sudden peculiarly worded proposal to Miss Trembicka, Maria's companion, who—while the poet sought her mistress's favours—seemed to be more than interested in the whole affair. The answer to the proposal being negative, though friendly, the poet decided to escape from fate. His next step was a voyage to America (1852), where he landed penniless to try his hand at odd jobs (the best kind of work was illustrating for magazines). The state of his depression at that critical time is seen in his letters. Escaping from Europe he writes to his poet-friend Bohdan Zaleski (a Polish Thomas Moore): "Kindly burn all the manuscripts which I sent to you." And in still more desperate tones to a woman friend: "Please burn all that

<sup>5</sup> *Norwid i jego czasy*, Poznań, 1938.

bears my name. Let the world forget him who cannot come to an understanding with it."

It must be borne in mind that these letters were written after the publication of *The Social Song* (1849), *Zwolon* (an experimental drama, 1851) and the great *Promethidion* of the same year. While writing *Promethidion* its thirty-year-old author learned enough of the nature of patriotism to utter this ominous remark: "Bitter bread is Polishness . . ."

The voluntary exile was unread by his compatriots, his works were ignored by reviewers, his manuscripts were being lost by friends who had casually promised to help him with publication. Yet his fascinating personality, his charm and intelligence drew some people towards him: strangely enough two popular poets, Zaleski and Lenartowicz, while accepting Norwid's irritability and distance, remained his friends although their literature, based on superficial folklore, was in striking contrast to his views on art. Zaleski expressed his opinion in the following words: "Such a great intelligence, and what is the use of it! He wastes his gifts . . . he is manneristic in his writings and odd in his life . . ."

Norwid's reply to his own disappointments were the lines in *Promethidion*:

Oh, Art! Man returns to you  
As a sad child to his patient mother,  
As a prodigal son . .

Art lived for Norwid in Europe. In 1854, on his return to the older continent, he stayed for some time in a poor district of London; in 1855 he came back to Paris to live there twenty-eight miserable years until his death in St. Casimir's Home—a Polish house for aged poor, on 23 May, 1883.

He outlived by many years his great contemporaries, all of whom he had met as a "promising young man." He knew well their real value as they did not know his; he criticised them without spite and admired them without exaggeration; he was the first intellectual to see the far-reaching implications of Chopin's music (*Promethidion* begins with the acknowledgement of Chopin's greatness); he was the first to realise the artistic limitations of Mickiewicz's famous narrative *Pan Tadeusz*,<sup>6</sup> and to doubt the originality of Heine's lyrics.

His artistic consciousness increased with years, but it was

<sup>6</sup> In Norwid's letter to the novelist Kraszewski there is an ironical remark about "that super-national epic in which people eat, drink, gather mushrooms and wait till the French come to make a fatherland for them."

accompanied by the growing feeling of estrangement. Compiling the volume *Vade-mecum* (1866) which he intended to publish as the perfect example of his poetic technique, Norwid was fully aware of what course new poetry would take in the future—views already expressed in correspondence with Kraszewski. This carefully conceived book could not find a publisher.

"Each book too late, each deed too soon"—the poet made this bitter remark more than once about his own country.

In 1864 a poem beginning with the ironical lines "Having the hands swollen with clapping" contained this prophetic passage:

The son will pass this writing by; but you, grandson, will recall  
What vanishes today (for it is read in haste),  
Under the rule of Print-Pantheism.

The generation of grandsons re-discovered Norwid in the beginning of the 20th century. The excavation work was begun by Zeno Miriam-Przesmycki, the founder of the epoch-making magazine *Chimera* (vol. 8, 1904, was devoted wholly to Norwid); but the critical edition of Norwid's collected works (four volumes published by 1912) was delayed, while selections of his writings kept appearing till the outbreak of the second world war.<sup>7</sup>

With the resurrection of the Polish state Norwid's importance in Polish letters rose to an unpredicted level. He became a literary sensation with the intelligentsia and, like Hopkins in England, he was upheld by the Vanguard poets as their spiritual leader.

Is there such a thing for a truly tragic poet as fulfilment in posterity? A poet of the type of Norwid lives on in history "as if always hearing the pulse of incarnated irony . . ."

For those who dared to think creatively in advance of time, the future can offer no compensation.

## II

Norwid wrote short lyrical poems, narratives, essays in verse, poetic dramas, short stories and articles. The Leipzig collection of his poems (*Brockhaus*, 1863) appeared twenty years before his death; other publications were not very representative of his style—e.g. *The Social Song* (1849), *Fulminant* (1863). The volume he carefully prepared, *Vade-mecum* (1860–1866), contained his best lyrical poems, but it was never printed in his lifetime.

<sup>7</sup> One of the oddities of the publishing world is Volume F of the Collected Works which, although set up in 1911, was kept in sheets over thirty years to be finally issued in 1945. One of the reasons for this unusual delay was Przesmycki's pedantic attitude as a conscientious editor.

The labour of collecting and editing his scattered manuscripts after so many years of neglect proved a difficult task for the great Miriam-Przesmycki; hence the limitations imposed on the modern commentators of Norwid by the scarcity of material available to them. In spite of these obstacles Polish criticism from A. Krechowicki<sup>8</sup> to I. Fik<sup>9</sup> showed inventiveness and scholarly care in dealing with the variety of problems arising out of the text.

Norwid is the kind of writer who invites discussion. Over-abused and over-praised, he is great enough to undergo a process of unemotional examination. His tendency towards writing verse essays, though they were different from the rhymed essays of the classicists, did not prove advantageous to his poetic technique. Perhaps it was Krasiński who convinced the poet of their importance.

*The Psalm of Psalms* and *The Matter of the Freedom of the Word* (1869) are skilful in their presentation of the argument, but the very argumentative nature of their concepts weakens the poetry in them, subordinating even the best images to the order too obviously imposed by reason. Norwid, however, is a master of the monologue which allows his reflective mind to brood over the chosen subjects: hence the dialogues in *Promethidion* change slowly into meditative soliloquies whenever a lyrical rapture springs out of the argument.

And so I see the future art of Poland,  
as a banner on the tower of human labours,  
not as a toy, nor as learning,  
but as the highest of the apostle's trades  
and as the humblest prayer of the angel. . . .

Similarly his dramatic attempts—e.g. *Zwolon*, *Krakus*, *Wanda*—show the importance of reflection; their legendary heroes seem to live on the margins of action, but they strangely preserve their dramatic intensity; their very existence is creative awareness, incarnated in the monologues. *Zwolon* (etymologically symbolic in his name) plays the rôle of a contemplating outsider, while the struggle between the tyrant and the people goes on: he acts not through force directed at the outside world, but through his own awareness, which makes him speak his mind rather than his passion:

. . . Everybody rushes  
Into death: who is able to seek life?  
Everyone wants to die for freedom with eagerness  
as if only the cemetery were called free.

<sup>8</sup> *O Cyprianie Norwidzie* (2 vols), Lwów, 1909.

<sup>9</sup> *Uwagi nad językiem Cypriana Norwida*, Kraków, 1930

Zwolón's reflection voices a new truth against the revolutionary background of Europe, it asks for a deeper meaning of freedom.<sup>10</sup> The revolutionary poets took verbal symbols for granted and scourged their poems with exclamation marks, killing meditative silence which is the cradle of lyrical wisdom. Norwid, who was a-romantic rather than anti-romantic, descends along his questioning monologues under obscure layers of meanings. In *Krakus*, dramatically as condensed as *Zwolón*, an old Polish legend about a dragon relives to exhibit reality from under the dead symbols: the dragon was real as the quiet heroism of Krakus was real, although his victory had to remain anonymous. Yes, actions seem so vivid on the stage. Norwid knew that kind of outward dramatic force; but his task as an excavator of deeper meanings was to show drama behind the stage, the inward action modestly hidden under the outward. His heroism was the heroism of silence and self-awareness.

Kraśiński in his conflict with reality called for *deeds* and cursed alluring poetry. Norwid did not cry out, but descended into the depth of lyrical reflection and prayed for deeds endowed with poetic purpose, that is, with the purpose outside the noisy machine of life. The notion of *Silence* and the conception of the *Word* are keys to Norwid's poetic technique. No doubt Norwid can be considered purely as a philosopher of art, but one should avoid an examination in which his thought is divided from his poetry. Treated as a philosopher only, Norwid must be viewed in connection with other contemporary thinkers who, like Cieszkowski, Kremer and especially Libelt,<sup>11</sup> owed much to German philosophy, even when opposing it.

Such an examination would perhaps show us a skeleton of thoughts very much like other skeletons, but it would destroy the flesh covering it, which had taken on personal features. This flesh on a standard skeleton is Norwid's poetry, for all his life his intellect served the ultimate poetic purpose. Since the interesting study of his philosophy by K. Bereżyński,<sup>12</sup> many critics have chosen the risky method of division (Norwid as a philosopher, Norwid as a social prophet, Norwid as reformer of art, etc.) and excluded his poetic realisation from their own particular aspects. The result has been often unjust to the poet himself.

<sup>10</sup> Norwid's attitude to the revolutions of 1848 was strongly critical. His intellect distrusted noisy slogans. The poem *Slavery*, written in 1848, expressed the poet's views on the real origins of human slavery.

<sup>11</sup> In Z. Kaczmarek's study *Źródła poglądów estetycznych Libelta* (Poznań, 1930) the sources of Libelt's aesthetics are indicated by examining the works of Hegel, Jean Paul (F. Richter) and F. T. Vischer.

<sup>12</sup> *Filozofia Cypryjana Norwida*, Warszawa, 1911.

In a reaction to this multiplication of Norwid's abilities the modern but conservative editor of Norwid, Tadeusz Pini,<sup>13</sup> took a false attitude by denying originality to the poet's philosophical ideas. Professor Pini brought a charge against the innocent poet, because in point of fact he was arguing with Norwid's interpreters. To scold the poet for his lack of enthusiasm with regard to some of the scientific theories of the 19th century, e.g. the theory of evolution, seems indeed grotesque in view of recent non-materialistic trends in science. Similarly paradoxical is the critical attitude reprimanding him for the intellectual saturation of his poems, although the same intellectual faculty had been previously denounced as not progressive enough.

Norwid had his æsthetic theories and elaborated his systems in verse and prose essays, but their full meaning cannot properly be understood unless his poetic realisation is taken as a basis of such criticism.

The intellect of a poet is aware of its limitations :

I know that much will fly away from my song,  
that much has flown already and flies off every day.  
(Salem)

The consequence of such a humble attitude is a confession given in the form of a reply to Lenartowicz :

Indeed—the darkness of the world and of style  
I did not fear . . .

It was precisely this humble intellect mingled with poetic pride which irritated the poet's contemporaries and which caused them to call him "obscure." How should a typical Romanticist, fed on tears and sentimental prophecies, read these lines in Norwid's poem entitled *Meanwhile* :

And fatherland—is it only  
the tragedy of fatherland ?

Should he refute them by calling this turn of thought obscure, or should he accept their full meaning ? The act of acceptance, one may venture to say, would silence his own sobbing verses for ever.

Norwid's verbal symbols are firmly set in their contexts. He conceived the Word as the harmony of the spiritual and material

<sup>13</sup> *Dzieła Cyprjana Norwida*, Warszawa, 1934.

elements: the history of humanity he believed to be the history of the Word. So enhanced in its function, the Word entailed speech within itself and drew to the poet's mind the things yet un-expressed, "passed over in silence" (*przemilczenia*). The rôle of *przemilczenie* is poetically important, for it belongs to pure spirit and thus its expression is potential, latent, ready to fall upon our imagination. Walking through life we must be aware that we are always facing the hieroglyphs of mysteries; that it is the language of God which we must learn to decipher, because Truth expresses itself in words and the Word is our own history. Norwid argues here as a poet, and since his commentators call his idealism Platonic, one can confirm this opinion by saying that he was as Platonic as Plato was poetic. Norwid's thoughts strike us today as fresh, but their freshness is of a linguistic nature: it is the poetic concretisation of the abstract:

On the heights of thinking there is a sphere  
from which the view is steep . . .

(*Ideas and Truth*)

His definitions are convincing because they are presented to our imagination as metaphorical revelations.

I have said of beauty that it is the profile of God  
lost to us through sin.

(*Promethidion*)

Metaphor was one of the chief expressive mediums of Romantic poets: under Norwid's pen it ceased to be a medium, it became poetic realisation itself; hence its directness, its almost epigrammatic brevity, its force of immediate presentation, which excludes mere decorativeness. In the emphasis laid on true metaphor, which caused the formation of new verse structures, Norwid was profoundly modern and profoundly progressive. He began to build his poems from within at a time when European verses were loose in structure, diffuse in the associative use of stock images, inwardly didactic, and outwardly decorative.

The best examples of the structural firmness of Norwid's poems are three lyrics: *Autumn*, *Pilgrim*, and *The Funeral Rhapsody in the Memory of Bem*. At first glance *Autumn*<sup>14</sup> offers no apparent surprise: it is written in a regular stanzaic pattern and the title suggests a conventional theme. But as soon as the first two lines are read,

<sup>14</sup> See the translation on page 248

the hidden element of originality frees itself: "to walk on the fangs of spears." Then there is the strange word-order of the phrase "mud of how much tears"—the syntax arrests one's attention and makes the image the more meaningful. Our painful participation of the sorrow of muddy autumn is realised by the end of the first stanza. The second stanza reveals the contrasted image of the desired glory above the mud of tears on which we tread: "let them flow in rainbows into heaven, for a goldener dawn." The stanza ends with a coined compound—"cało-kwit" (full-blossom), and the act of resolving its double meaning makes the impression of the whole passage complete. The third stanza is a repetition of the first, yet by slightly changing the opening and by printing the last line in italics, Norwid brings out the full implication of the terrifying phrase: "For sweeter to tread thorns . . . than to tread mud of how much tears." The last verse underlines the statement that "mists are of sighs."

As in a musical composition the motive chosen has been developed and repetition used: the repeated phrase of the opening has at the end a new significance—the musical circle is closed. The poem as a whole presents an example of highly conscious integrity, and its achievement is due to the musical structure employed from within, although the combination of sound effects emphasises it on the "surface" of verse also—e.g. the monosyllabic acuteness of "*Nadziś kły*."

In *Pilgrim*<sup>15</sup> the uniformity of the stanza pattern is also deceptive<sup>16</sup> and the symbol of the title suggests conventional similes. But Norwid's pilgrim has a movable house made of camel-skin—a double metaphor based on the account that prophets wore camel-skin, the camel being the animal of the nomads. The first stanza with the picture of the tower sticking up into the clouds is made more clear by a striking yet consistent simile: the soul compared to a pyramid snatched up by heaven in whose womb the prophet endures. The last stanza ties up all the elements of the poem—the tower, the movable house, the camel-skin, the soul, the pyramid. It states without sentimentality:

Yet I own land with as much room  
As I cover with my sole  
Whilst on I tread.

<sup>15</sup> See the translation on page 248

<sup>16</sup> Norwid is by no means a traditionalist in all his rhythms; he is the first poet to use *free verse* consciously, e.g. *A donio ad phrygium*, *Chopin's Pianoforte*.



The sound pattern imposed on the inner musical structure makes the *Funeral Rhapsody in the Memory of Bem* (1851) a successful exercise in poetic complexity. General Bem was a champion of the cause of freedom, who after the rising of 1830-1831 fought for the rights of other nations in Europe (in 1849 he helped to lead the Hungarian revolution). Norwid admired his restrained heroism and wrote this funeral march after his death in the strange fifteen-syllabic rhythm modelled on hexameter—"Czému, Ciému, odjeżdżasz, ręce złamawszy na pancerz." It is a vision endowed with the splendour of metaphors: "the pennons fluttering like the mobile tents of armies . . ."; "the battle-axes made blue by the skies." It is a legend created out of the contemplation of the nature of heroism; hence its air of an ancient tale, hence its ancient metre imitated in a Polish syllabic verse. Each new image intensifies the previous one, each new stanza enhances the poem's sombre atmosphere, which dominates the colours of images. The last line introduces but two words: "On—on." They signify the poem's continuity: the glory of the perfect hero is never to end.

According to some critics, Norwid wrote many hasty and unpolished verses, but—even accepting this statement as true, one must admit that no other poet in Polish literature has left so many examples of the highest lyrical integrity. To achieve such integrity meant to struggle with the language's limitations. The poet defended his artistic independence by constantly improving his unimitative and conscious style. Only a born master of style could be so penetrating in the mockery of the styles of others. In *The Social Song* he purposely used the brief rhetorical verse of Wincenty Pol, the poet who enjoyed perhaps the greatest popularity with the 19th century public. In *The Infinite* Norwid argued with Krasiński, attacking him with his own repetitive rhythm. The same element of parody we find in his verse replies to Zaleski and Lenartowicz—e.g. *On the arrival of T. Lenartowicz in Fontainebleau*. If he had wanted to be as popular as they were, he could have produced volumes of tepid lyricism based on sleepy, rocking stanzas.

That art of conscious travesty is used by the poet with a more significant purpose in *Częstochowa Verses* (1850) which were written with the intention of being published in a popular periodical for peasants. Here folklore rhythms are transposed in a Chopin-like manner. Częstochowa, the Holy City of Our Lady, produced cheap devotional songs and verses, giving a nickname to all doggerel poetry. Norwid's title therefore is perversely clever. From an

almost grotesque explanation of the alphabet <sup>17</sup> to the elucidation of the *Credo*, all practical knowledge of pious living is condensed into rhythmically haunting lines.

Jak sobota po piątku,  
Po sobocie niedziela

As Saturday after Friday,  
and after Saturday—Sunday

—so goes the order of the world. The poem, being a perfect example of the proper use of folklore elements, contains striking images, e.g. "Bullets are sown there."

Metaphors are the poet's microscopic eyes: they see reality under the blind surface of life.

The other characteristic features of Norwid's style can be better explained if they are compared with the similar achievements of Gerard Manley Hopkins.

### III

Hopkins lived between 1844 and 1889 and Norwid from 1821 to 1883. Hopkins' *The Wreck of the Deutschland* was written late in 1875, his other important poems, e.g. *God's Grandeur*, *The Windhover*, *Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves*, *That Nature is a Heracleian Fire*, between 1877 and 1888. In Norwid's literary life the years 1848–1866 were most active; his *Promethidon* and *Zwolon* were a quarter of a century earlier than *The Wreck of the Deutschland*.

The parallels between the two poets can be drawn both in their lives and in their works. Hopkins' poems were never printed in his lifetime; Norwid's best lyrics also remained in manuscript. Both poets were made known through the 20th-century editions of their works—Hopkins' edition came six years later than that of Norwid. In both cases poets were responsible for the critical work of editing, here Przesmycki, there Bridges, though it must be admitted that Przesmycki showed much more understanding for the object of his

<sup>17</sup> "I am learning how to read  
And know that O is like a pumpkin,  
Or like a cart wheel,  
That A is like a gable  
And I like a supple osier."

This passage should be quoted in the original for the sake of its metre:

"Uczę się też czytania  
I wiem, że O jak bania  
Lub jak koło u woza,  
Że A jak szczyt u chaty,  
Że I jak gibka łoża . . ."

study. In the year of his departure for the United States Norwid asked his friends to destroy his manuscripts. Hopkins burnt his verses before he became a Jesuit in 1868. They were both ardent Catholics (Hopkins was converted in 1866) and their strenuous striving after the perfection of form was a result of belief in the divine nature of beauty ("God, beauty's self and beauty's giver"—Hopkins in *The Leaden and the Golden Echo*; beauty . . . "the profile of God"—Norwid in *Promethidion*). No critics of the Pole, whether admitting or refuting his originality as a thinker, ever deny the uniformity of his philosophy of life: it is characteristic of Norwid that he went on developing without ever doubting the basic principles of Christianity, but this positive acceptance of dogmas did not exclude recurring modes of despair. Compare with this Hopkins' "Comforter, where, where is your comforting?" (no. 41). The seclusion of priesthood intensified Hopkins' inner struggles; Norwid's lonely years in Paris were filled with similar preoccupations which made him a monk without the benefits of an order imposed from outside.

Poets are prone to be neurotic, yet their feelings of frustration have often an indirectly positive meaning in creative work. Ill health allows psychic disturbances to persist: both Hopkins and Norwid complained about their weak health in their letters, e.g. Norwid's attacks of deafness. Secluded from the reading public, often misunderstood by their friends<sup>18</sup> they deepened their self-awareness and faced their contemporaries with a critical aloofness. Some of Norwid's opinions have already been mentioned.<sup>19</sup> Hopkins was similarly dissatisfied with contemporary thought and poetry, he doubted Tennyson's value (letter of 10 September, 1864) and spoke ironically of Swinburne's poetry (letter of 29 April, 1889). He even stated that Ruskin was "full of follies" (letter of 12 February, 1868); defending his poetic technique in correspondence with Bridges he proved how deep his conviction was in his critical attitude to the art of the age.

Industrialism destroyed Romantic ideas about rural life. Ruskin rose to fight for the rights of endangered beauty. Norwid too could not accept the mechanical superficiality of progress. He saw befogged larvae "on the slippery pavement in London" and two words shone only there: "despair and money."<sup>20</sup> Hopkins deplored the lack of freshness on the surface of life:

<sup>18</sup> Compare Hopkins' letters to Bridges and Patmore with those of Norwid to Zaleski

<sup>19</sup> See also Norwid's satirical poem *A Recipe for the Warsaw Novel* (1879) and his penetrating analysis in *The Slav* (1882).

<sup>20</sup> *The Larva*.

And all is seared with trade ; bleared, smeared with toil ;  
 And wears man's smudge and shares man's smell : the soil  
 Is bare now, nor can foot feel, being shod.

(*God's Grandeur*)

Looking for freshness which lives "deep down things," Hopkins explored the objects of poetry : he moved amidst words overgrown with meanings and challenged the associations of old symbols which were no longer capable of expressing the complexity of modern life. There was nature suffering under the feet of treading generations, and he endeavoured to seize its primary beauty into his images, while his pencil drew the richness of its details<sup>21</sup> and his notebooks contained equally detailed descriptions of natural objects. Yet the pen won in the competition with the pencil : both Norwid and Hopkins expressed themselves more fully in words. Words to them became flexible, consisting not of letters but of meanings, and the inventive mind of the poet was to determine the choice of meanings. In their conscious attitude to language both Norwid and Hopkins are truly modern, their preoccupation with form becomes in many cases a preoccupation with semantics : in this they must interest every progressive critic of today. In Hopkins' letters to A. W. M. Baillie we find many etymological problems discussed : the poet-scholar refers to Greek, Latin, German, Dutch and Egyptian,<sup>22</sup> and his knowledge of Welsh is a result of that life-long fascination for language.

Norwid, intellectually a self-made man, had a linguistic training of a less academic nature and, like the Romantic poets, Mickiewicz and Słowacki, he was prone to misuse his imagination in analysing the origins of words. In his essay on the first poem that has survived in Polish—*Bogurodzica*, from the end of the 13th century—he drew many naïve conclusions, employing a semi-etymological method ; some of his explanations of verbal components, as we know them from other essays and letters, would not satisfy a modern philologist. In Norwid's time there was a vogue for etymology, which too soon became confused with metaphysics, and not only Libelt but also J. N. Kamiński<sup>23</sup> was involved in such speculations.

Nevertheless Norwid was primarily a poet and his interest in

<sup>21</sup> "I once wanted to be a painter" This confession of Hopkins permits us to draw still another comparison with the Pole

<sup>22</sup> "Egyptology continues to be full of interest" (1 May, 1888)

<sup>23</sup> Kamiński tried to base the philosophy of a nation on the analysis of its language, and was partly responsible for the semi-etymological play with words favoured by some Polish poets Norwid refers to him in *White Flowers*.

language must be judged by his achievements in the poetic medium. He may often have been fanciful in his etymology, but words as used in poetry should not shun the suggestions of fantasy.

Norwid's creative attitude to speech resulted in poetic achievements not unlike those of Hopkins.<sup>24</sup> Here are some of the more striking parallels:

1. Colloquialism enhanced to the level of poetry:

"Your love, like a berry, by itself flows into the mouth!"

("Miłość twa, jak jagoda, sama w usta płynie!") (Norwid).<sup>25</sup>

"I wretch lay wrestling with (my God!) my God" (Hopkins).<sup>26</sup>

2. The coinage of compounds, which is in the nature of the English language (O. E. Kennings), but is alien to that of Polish: such compounds had a strange fascination for Norwid:

"cało-zywot," "pierwo-traw" (Norwid).<sup>27</sup>

"circle-citadels," "dapple-dawn-drawn Falcon" (Hopkins).<sup>28</sup>

This extreme use of compounds was also due to the influence of Greek on both poets.

3. Semantic experiments with words, based on the search for primary meanings:

"błądząc przezcztery księżyce (Norwid).<sup>29</sup>

"reckon but, *reck* but" (Hopkins).<sup>30</sup>

4. Alliteration and puns, again frequent in English, but alien to Polish:

"palmy, psalmy", "wchodzą w wąwoz i toną—wychodzą w światło księżycy" (Norwid).<sup>31</sup>

"And five-livèd and leavèd . . ."

"As a skate's heel sweeps smooth on a bow-bend" (Hopkins).<sup>32</sup>

5. Linguistic idiosyncrasy revealed in personal syntax:

"ile z łez to błoto" (Norwid).<sup>33</sup>

"Not, I'll not, carrion comfort, Despair, not feast on thee" (Hopkins).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>24</sup> For a detailed study of Hopkins' poetic language, see Gerard Manley Hopkins, *A Study of Poetic Idiosyncrasy in Relation to Poetic Tradition*, by W. H. Gardner, London, 1944. It is a revealing study of poetic technique.

<sup>25</sup> *To the Village Lass.*

<sup>27</sup> *Zwolon; The Song from the Land of Ours*

<sup>28</sup> *The Starlight Night, The Windhover*

<sup>29</sup> *Krakus*

<sup>31</sup> *One word more; The Funeral Rhapsody of Bem.*

<sup>32</sup> *The Wreck of the Deutschland; The Windhover*

<sup>33</sup> *Autumn.*

<sup>26</sup> *Carrion Comfort.*

<sup>30</sup> *Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves.*

<sup>34</sup> *Carrion Comfort*

6. The combination of sound effects and the repeated elements of compounds :

“ wolność—wszech-uzycie wszech-potęgi bytu ” (Norwid).<sup>35</sup>

“ womb-of-all, home-of-all, hearse-of-all night ” (Hopkins).<sup>36</sup>

7. The musical structure of the poem from within :

*Funeral Rhapsody in Memory of Bem* (Norwid).

*Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves, The Windhover* (Hopkins).

8. Metaphorical revaluation of words in their poetic contexts : abstract ideas made concrete by means of images :

“ nieśmiertelność jest komną niedzielną ” (Norwid).<sup>37</sup>

“ pitched past pitch of grief ” (Hopkins).<sup>38</sup>

Parallels between Norwid and Hopkins are not only fascinating in themselves, but are also fascinating in relation to the nature of artistic creation. New ideas seem to spring from human minds simultaneously ; each age is full of parallels which cannot be explained by mere influences, hence a warning to the historians of literature who rely too much on the exchange of ideas, but neglect the very act of creation. Norwid is a creative artist in that original sense : his poetic integrity does not lose its value by being compared with other literary achievements.

His *Promethdion* and *Zwolon* were published in 1851 ; Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* in 1855 ; Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal* in 1857 ; Poe's essay *The Poetic Principle* in 1850 ; Hopkins' *The Wreck of the Deutschland* was written in 1875. These dates represent the turning-points of the 19th century : they give new directions to poetry. The immediate successors of those first modernists are Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898), Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926), Rubén Darío (1867-1916) and Stefan George (1868-1933). In Poe's essay we find an emphasis laid on pure poetry (any long poem is a mere collection of lyrical pieces intertwined with prosaic fragments). In Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal* new relationships between symbols are established. His sonnet *Correspondances* forestalls the doctrine of the Symbolists. In Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* poetry is freed from the shackles of conventional metre. In Norwid's *Promethdion* beauty is conceived in contrast to personal likings :

What is beautiful is not that  
which one likes or liked,  
but what should be liked.

<sup>35</sup> *The Social Song.*    <sup>36</sup> *Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves*    <sup>37</sup> *Fame*    <sup>38</sup> *No 41.*

New poets become language-conscious: their use of verbal symbols in relation to the inner structure of the poem results in the purification of the lyrical element. Linguistic experiments which began with Norwid and Hopkins were continued by Mallarmé, the author of *Un Coup de Dés*<sup>39</sup> and by R. M. Rilke, the author of *Duineser Elegien* (1912/1922). The Vanguard movement in the poetry of contemporary Europe can claim an ancient heritage: the seeds of modernism were sown a century ago.

. . . and I am sad  
that no Mazovian linen  
is the banner of art; that in Cracowshire  
the hewn stone has forgotten its speech,  
that all peasant cottages are crooked, that the churches  
do not stand on the Polish framework; that the barns  
are too long, and the faces of the saints  
without expression . . .

These lines of *Promethidion* remind one of the complaints of Ruskin (*Political Economy of Art*, 1857) and of William Morris (*Hopes and Fears for Art*, 1882). Again the mystery of the communion of intellects reveals itself in these examples.

For Norwid art was not a religion as it is with some of the moderns. He saw it as "the humblest prayer of the angel." Our terrestrial labours have for him a redemptive meaning, they are to lead us through art to the sanctifying vision of beauty which is the profile of God. In his full acceptance of the Catholic doctrine of original sin he treated labour as the means of redemption, convinced that it should evoke love of creative activity. This love could then transform labour, comprehended as the duty of the penitent, into the beauty which is the artist's objective. Thus, being an enthusiast for folklore, he did not sentimentalise the peasants. He praised them for their religious attitude to their own art, i.e. for harmonising everyday toil with the artistic work of leisure. Both activities were to him the same fulfilment of God's design. Only in this moral sense "the simple people" were "the greatest poets" (*Promethidion*), for Norwid had too much æsthetic subtlety to disregard the importance of the professional artist. There was, further, no national conceit in his æsthetic ideas, for he was painfully aware of the ugliness of folklore forms, distorted by work that was barren of love, and mishandled by ignorance.

<sup>39</sup> This poem, printed in 1897, exhibits many technical novelties in its structure as well as in its graphic presentation. The comparison between Hopkins and Mallarmé has already been made, e.g. Christine Brooke Rose's "La syntaxe et le symbolisme dans la poésie de Hopkins," in *Europe* Juillet, 1947.

The immediate consequence of his attitude was a new appreciation of the artisan's rôle in society. Hence the unconscious link with the English Pre-Raphaelites who, after Norwid's voice had been silenced, raised similar ideas in the England of workaday mechanical progress. Norwid did not however go back to the Middle Ages to seek inspiration there ; he started his quest after beauty from the present ; and the doctrine of redemption through labour and the love of labour allowed him to find true mediævalists among the Polish peasants. Again, as in his politics, he rejected any idea of revolutionary violation : his poetic work, though in advance of his time, was in the best sense the continuation of the Christian striving after perfection of form in art.

JERZY PIETRKIEWICZ.



## NORWID—THREE LYRICS

*(English versions by CHRISTINE BROOKE ROSE)*

## AUTUMN

O—rather tread thorns and on fangs of spears  
 Walk without cries,  
 Than to tread mud—*mud is of how much tears*,  
 Mists are of sighs

First let them flow in rainbows into heaven  
 For a goldener dawn,  
 Return as banners then, with tidings even,  
 Full-blossom-borne

For sweeter to tread thorns and on fangs of spears  
 Walk without cries,  
 Than to tread mud—*mud is of how much tears*,  
*Mists are of sighs.*

## PILGRIM

Above the states there is the state of states,  
 Like a tower, over flat roofs,  
 Jutting into the clouds.

You think that I receive no rates  
 Because my building moves  
 And is of camel-hides

Yet I endure even in heaven's womb  
 While it seizes my soul  
 As if a pyramid.

Yet I own land with as much room  
 As I cover with my sole  
 Whilst on I tread.

## THE SLAV

As the Slav, when he has nobody to simulate,  
 Waits for himself, in the wide field, to wait . . .  
 While on the iron road, far off, merchants go by,  
 And telegrams tremble on wires, a balloon on the sky;  
 As the Slav, who has already followed all tracks,  
 Waits for his very self, and apprehends  
 Not; so—life is often sad . . . Oh poets! friends,  
 Noble lords, Jews, hawkers and peasant-Jacks!  
 So with the stone, jutting from unploughed bends,  
 Having served in each of the rampart-attacks,  
 The rusty mouse near it, and the mullein pale,  
 It sticks out, a giant's bone in the village tale  
 (Oh, turn it to clearer allegory!) It is not known,  
 However, whether it be a bone, or a stone.

## NORWID—THREE LYRICS

## JESIEŃ

O—ciernie deptać znośniej i z ochotą  
 Na dzid iść kły,  
 Niż błoto deptać, *ile z łez to błoto*  
 A z westchnień mgły . . .

Tęczami pierwszej niechże w niebo spłyną  
 Po złotszy świt—  
 Niech chorągwiami wróć—a z nowiną  
 Na cało-kwit.

Bo ciernie deptać słodziej—i z ochotą  
 Na dzid iść kły :  
 Niż błoto deptać, *ile z łez to błoto*  
*A z westchnień mgły.*

## PIELGRZYM

Nad stanami jest i stanów stan,  
 Jako wieża, nad płaskie domy  
 Stercząca w chmury.

Wy myślcie, że i ja nie pan,  
 Dlatego, że dom mój ruchomy  
 Z wielbłądziej skóry.

Przecież ja az w nieba łonie trwam,  
 Gdy ono duszę mą porywa  
 Jak piramidę !

Przecież i ja ziemi tyle mam,  
 Ile jej stopa ma pokrywa,  
 Dopokąd idę ! . . .

## SŁOWIANIN

Jak Słowianin, gdy brak mu naśladować kogo,  
 Duma w szerokim polu, czekając na *siebie*—  
 Gdy z dala jadą kupcy gdzieś żelazną drogą,  
 Drżą telegramy w drutach i balon na niebie,  
 Jak Słowianin, co chadzał już wszystkiemu w tropy,  
 Oczekiwa na *siebie samego*, bez wiedzy—  
 Tak—bywa smętnym życie . wieszczowie ! koledzy,  
 Zacni szlachcice, Żydy, przekupnie i chłopcy !  
 Tak jest i kamień także, sterczący na miedzy,  
 Co służywał był w różnych szturmach na okopy,  
 Dziewanna żółta przy nim i mysz polna ruda—  
 On sterczy, wieść go zowie kością wielgo-łuda  
 (Co sam sobie w jaśniejszą alegorię zamień !)—  
 Atoli nie wiadomo, czy to kość ? czy kamień ?

## BELINSKY : ONE ASPECT

AMONG those who left recollections of Belinsky were Turgenev, Goncharov, Herzen and Dostoevsky : four striking portraits, the last of which has its elements of caricature. Even the amateurs, like his sister-in-law the schoolmistress Orlova, have done well, though indeed there must be few Russians who, when challenged, cannot say something of interest about a great man they have known. The impression of Belinsky is fairly uniform : passionate, but the soul of integrity (Dostoevsky had never met anyone so enthusiastic) ; extravagant, indeed, but gifted with a flawless æsthetic sense (so said Turgenev), and a genuine love of literature ; at home a tribune, and in any company a reckless disputant ; always glowing with enthusiasm or scorn ; so intent on the activities of the moment, that a card-game for trifling stakes moved him like a historical crisis, and even mushrooming with his sister-in-law became acutely competitive. Turgenev, remembering him after some years in the west, thought he was very Russian : a " central nature ; with all his being he stood close to the heart of his people, embodying it fully both on its good and bad sides." <sup>1</sup> Certainly Russia made Belinsky what he was : his knowledge of foreign languages was apparently slight, and he picked up many of his ideas from conversations, working on them with the fire of his own genius. Nearly all his critical writing was on Russian literature, which may explain his virtual neglect in this country.

The first of Belinsky's articles appeared in 1834, and fourteen years later he was dead. During that time he had evolved a critical doctrine which came to completion only in the last two years : his *Views of Russian Literature* for 1846 and 1847 are the high-water mark of his work. But the most attractive body of his writings, and certainly his most sustained effort, are the eleven essays composed between 1843 and 1846 on the theme of Pushkin. It may be argued that Gogol meant more to Belinsky ; but from his student days Pushkin was always before him, and the problem of relating Pushkin to Russian literature spurred Belinsky on to develop his most significant ideas. Both during his period of passive Hegelianism (1837-1840), and in the years immediately following when he discovered himself, he remained faithful to Pushkin.<sup>2</sup> By 1843, when he began these articles, new men had come on the scene : Lermontov, for instance, and Gogol. But with a fine sense of proportion Belinsky looked back and saw exactly

where Pushkin belonged. His estimate may seem to us faulty in parts, but there is no denying its classical breadth and sureness.

In Belinsky's first article, *Literary Dreams*, he had suggested that Pushkin was virtually dead, an opinion he based on *Angelo*. In time, Belinsky was to praise highly most of Pushkin's later work, with the exception of the prose *Tales of Belkin*. But in this first essay he said that Pushkin's real significance was for the twenties, the "Pushkin period" that followed the "Karamzin period." (Indeed, it might well be contended that what Pushkin wrote later, even the "little tragedies," rather completed his own evolution than had an immediate effect on Russian literature.) His contemporaries, as Belinsky pointed out, did not grow with the same speed as Pushkin. However, in the twenties Pushkin had fulfilled his rôle by creating Russian poetry as an art; and it is for this achievement that Belinsky most admires him. This æsthetic approach, with its emphasis on style and form, may seem rather surprising in Belinsky, who elsewhere insists so much on the ideas and social content of literary work. He does, of course, judge Pushkin by other standards; but many of the lyrics receive praise for their beauty alone. The lyric, *Dlya beregov otchizny dal'noy*, a love poem of 1830, he singles out in the belief that "the gracious, humane Muse of Pushkin never perhaps created anything more fragrant, pure, holy and at the same time exquisite than this poem, both in feeling and in form." <sup>3</sup> Turgenev and Goncharov have borne witness to Belinsky's sense of the beautiful, which shows itself everywhere in his appreciation of Pushkin, whether he is discussing *The Watersprite* (*Rusalka*) and *The Stone Guest*, both well-nigh perfect in his view, or such works as *Poltava* or *Boris Godunov*, where his disappointment in the whole gives way to delight in the beauty of individual passages. Of course, he never in his maturity subscribed to the theory of art for art's sake ("a thought of pure German origin"); but he did insist that literature must in the first place be artistic. "However full of beautiful thoughts a poem may be, however strongly it may indicate contemporary questions, if it has no poetry—then it can have neither beautiful thoughts nor any questions, and all that you can find in it is perhaps a beautiful intention badly carried out." <sup>4</sup> It is obvious from Belinsky's writings on Pushkin that he really believed this, and that formal beauty in itself was a pleasure to him.

But Belinsky's approach was not only, or chiefly, æsthetic. He saw literature as the expression of social forces, and, accepting Hegel's doctrine of change and development, he found in literature

the record of each moment in society's progress. Therefore it was necessary to mark dates and to study each of Pushkin's works in the right order. "Poems written by him in one year are already sharply distinguished, both in content and form, from poems written in the following one." <sup>5</sup> He rejects the grouping of poems according to their kinds, which was conventional for Derzhavin and other predecessors of Pushkin; and divides Pushkin's poetry into three classes—his immature work, in which are visible the influences of various older poets; his "transitional" pieces, in which Pushkin is winning his independence; and finally, his mature work, where he is fully himself. Belinsky realises that some poems, impressive in their day, are already old-fashioned. Speaking of *The Demon*, which "on its appearance, struck all with amazement at the depth of thought expressed in it and the perfection of its artistic form," he continues:

"Shall it be said? This piece has now outlived its glory, and time has pronounced judgment on it. There is something naively youthful in its expression, and now one cannot read without a smile these lines, once so marvellous:

In days when I was still awaking  
To life's impressions in their throng—  
To girls' eyes, and the oak wood shaking,  
The nightingale's nocturnal song—  
When passions full of exaltation,  
Glory, and love, and liberty,  
And art with all its inspiration  
So strongly stirred the blood in me,

and so on. This very demon, who called beauty a dream, despised inspiration, did not believe in love and freedom, looked mockingly at life—himself he has long since passed into the category of middling demons—and now one does not in the least have to be a demon to deride *that* love, *that* freedom, which he derided." <sup>6</sup>

*The Demon*, of course, was a "transitional" poem. But Pushkin's mature work, too, cannot be separated from the past. "One can only marvel at the speed with which Russian society moves forward: we look on *Onegin*, as on a novel of a time from which we are already distant. The ideals, the motives of this time are already so alien to us" . . . But then Belinsky goes on to claim that "the very shortcomings of *Onegin* are at the same time its greatest merits." Life has moved on; but Pushkin was true to the moment. "If in *Onegin* nothing now seemed antiquated or

left behind by our time, that would be a clear sign that this poem has no truth. . . ." 7

Belinsky's study of Pushkin begins with a historical sketch of literature before the new era, an account of the streams that merged in Pushkin's genius like the tributaries that are lost in the Volga. Such a survey Belinsky made at various times in his career. It was, indeed, almost the chief task he set himself, to find the organic link between past and present. As he said in the *View of Russian Literature of the Year 1846*, "the present is the result of the past and an indication of the future," and in this latter essay he gave an even ampler recapitulation of the recent past. Lomonosov occupied in literature the position of Peter the Great in society; and from his day to that of Pushkin, Russian literature was alien to the mass of the people, rhetorical and imitative. As a westerner, Belinsky regarded Lomonosov for all his faults as the father of Russian literature (an idea he had expressed in his first essay of 1834). But, like Lomonosov, his gifted successors (such as Derzhavin) could not write true poetry. the genius of Derzhavin shows itself "irregularly, in patches, in gleams." What made Pushkin's career possible was the year 1812. A new public with new demands now existed; the romanticism of the early twenties pointed forward to a new kind of poetry. It was only a small step from that school to Pushkin and the creation of a genuine Russian poetry. Having explained why Pushkin carried all before him, Belinsky had still to assess his world significance. This he did in another essay of 1846, *Thoughts and Observations on Russian Literature*. Remarking that Pushkin and Lermontov cannot help losing by translation (and even Elton's rendering has not put *Onegin* for us on a level with *Anna Karenina*), he concludes that Russian literature of this first period hardly exists for Europe. Gogol they will read, but only to reach through him to Russia. For sheer accomplishment, the best of Pushkin—he instances *Mozart and Salieri*, *The Covetous Knight*, and *The Stone Guest*—may be worthy of comparison with Shakespeare. But Russian literature can truly rival that of the west only in form: the content is narrower and poorer. Russian poets do not stand fully as themselves: they are called Russian Shakespeares, Byrons, Scotts. Later Belinsky foresaw that they would exist in their own right, and be called by their own names. But in his day Russia was too backward, and too much occupied with her peculiar problems for Europe to value her literature. Here history has borne out Belinsky. It is probably true to say that Pushkin, despite his astonishing sense of form, his spontaneity,

and the versatile range of his genius, belongs to Russia rather than to Europe as a whole.

Belinsky is perhaps at his best, not in discerning the beauties of the shorter lyrics (though he does this excellently), but in reviewing the longer poems. To them he devotes his five central essays, and in them he can judge what interests him most of all as a critic—the manifestations of society. *Onegin* he saw primarily as “a novel in verse” (which its author intended), and he analysed it exactly as he did the prose novels reviewed in later years. So with all Pushkin’s narrative poems, Belinsky looks first for their social content. In passing, he will praise their style and the beauty of individual effects; but the first criterion is their truth to the life of society at that time. Thus, when he deals with *The Prisoner of the Caucasus*, having praised the marvellous descriptions of scenery, he goes straight to the prisoner himself—the hero of that time. “This character appears too in subsequent poems of Pushkin, but no longer as it was in *The Prisoner of the Caucasus*: following it you continually find it at a new stage of its development and you see that it moves, goes forward, becomes more conscious, and so more interesting for you.”<sup>8</sup> This was truly a historical poem, written at a particular time, and for that reason unique, inimitable. But if his readers clung to the prisoner, Pushkin had already outgrown that phase, and so we come to Aleko of *The Gypsies*. Belinsky recalls the general dismay and the critics’ outcry when this poem appeared. Pushkin, he believes, had meant to exalt Aleko as the champion of human rights, but “instead of this he made a terrible satire upon him and people of his kind, pronounced upon them an inexorably tragic judgment which was at the same time bitterly ironical.”<sup>9</sup> The final stage of the character, for Pushkin, is found in *Onegin* (though Lermontov was to carry it still further in Pechorin). The public mostly misunderstood *Onegin*: they saw him only as cold and egotistical. But Belinsky penetrates to the stifled generosity, the profound dissatisfaction with self even more than with society, in *Onegin*. Elsewhere Belinsky spoke of people who are sceptics by nature, because they love truth, and want truth in all its purity.<sup>10</sup> Shallower natures like to be thought sceptics. But *Onegin* was not like these. He did not preen himself on his egotism: he suffered from it, because he wanted to love.

In discussing these poems, Belinsky made himself perfectly clear on one point. He discerned in them, naturally, the influence of Byron. But he never sought to explain them by that fact alone.

"The form of novels such as *Onegin*," writes Belinsky, "was created by Byron; at any rate, the manner of the narrative, mingling of prose and poetry in the facts described, the digressions, the poet's addresses to himself and especially the too palpable presence of the poet's character in his creation—all this is Byron's doing. . . ." But only the form and manner derive from Byron: the spirit of Pushkin's work is different. "Byron wrote about Europe for Europe. . . . Pushkin wrote about Russia for Russia."<sup>11</sup> Belinsky looked for *Onegin* first of all in Russian life, not in the pages of Byron.

It is on *Onegin* that Belinsky writes with the most unreserved praise and sympathy. Here for the first time Pushkin stood forth as a national poet. Belinsky starts by analysing the quality of *narodnost'*, or "popular spirit" in a work of art. Pushkin's first poem, *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, despite appearances, had nothing of this quality. But in a ballad of 1825, *The Bridegroom*, he achieved a facile form of *narodnost'*, though it could not for long satisfy a talent such as Pushkin's. Even Lermontov's *Song of Tsar Ivan Vasil'evich*, the *Young Oprichnik*, and the *Bold Merchant Kalashnikov*, far more significant than Pushkin's ballad though it was, remains alone of its kind, "a trial of the pen," which could have no progeny.<sup>12</sup> And here Belinsky, as might be expected, parts company with the Slavophiles. He quotes words from Gogol that had already appeared in the fifth essay: "true nationality consists not in describing a *sarafan*, but in the very spirit of the people. A poet may even be national, when he describes a quite alien world, but looks on it with the eyes of his own national element, with the eyes of the whole people, when he feels and speaks in such a way that it seems to his countrymen as though they themselves are feeling and speaking"<sup>13</sup> The real task of the national poet, then, is to describe all conditions of society—to make squire and peasant talk in their own voices. Pushkin had "taken this life, as it is, not abstracting from it only its poetic moments: he had taken it with all its cold, with all its prose and triviality." His achievement overthrew the false canons of previous poetry: with Griboyedov's comedy it prepared the way for Lermontov and Gogol. And such realism in the portrayal of Russian life is not easy, Belinsky adds. There are always romantics who will confuse *narodnost'* with *prostonarodnost'*, genuinely popular art with "folk" art. It will be seen that for Belinsky *narodnost'* is inseparable from realism. These two qualities are conspicuous in the prose tales of Gogol. Indeed, the attraction of *Onegin* for Belinsky probably was that



it had pointed the way from the obsolete epic to the realist prose novel—the form that he considered at the head of all other kinds of poetry, because it embraced them all.

In his essay *On the Russian Tale and the Tales of Gogol*, written as early as 1835, Belinsky had contrasted the spaciousness of the prose tale with the more exacting form of the drama. It is probably true to say that Belinsky felt far more sympathy with the novel, which allows "digressions, arguments, didacticism." But his interest in Pushkin's dramatic works was lively. To *Boris Godunov* he devoted a whole essay. It had moved him strongly on its publication in 1831, and apparently his first article in print was connected with this play.<sup>14</sup> Now, giving his final view after fourteen years, he declares that it is no drama, rather an epic poem in dialogue form; its characters talk, but do not live and act. The fault lies in mediæval Russian history, where we find the clash of characters, but not the clash of ideas; and it is ideas that bring individuality to a character. He accuses Pushkin of making Godunov the villain of a melodrama, because that was how Karamzin had represented him. And then Belinsky goes on to explain the real tragedy of Godunov: that he was no genius, like Peter the Great, who flouted the deepest prejudices of the people, and still they loved him; while they were cold to all the blandishments of Godunov. "Genius often acts instinctively, senselessly, and it always succeeds," whereas talent, for all its refined calculations, builds only a house of cards that falls with the first puff of wind. Godunov, without genius, without ideas, was doomed from the start. Why did Pushkin fail to realise this tragedy? Because "he was much more a man of tradition than is thought even now." Here Belinsky was mistaken: he had not read Pushkin's private correspondence, and he missed the undertones in the drama. But the interesting thing is that Belinsky should have had this belief in genius, almost as a law to itself. He returns to the theme in examining *Mozart and Salieri*: "As a mind, as a conscious being, Salieri is much higher than Mozart, but as a force, as an immediate creative force, he is nothing before him."<sup>15</sup> This reminds us of Belinsky's comment after talking with Lermontov: "Lord, how much below me he is in his ideas and how infinitely below him am I in my superiority." As late as the *View of Russian Literature of the Year 1847* Belinsky still believed that genius worked by instinct, "a dark, unconscious sense, that often makes up the whole force of a nature of genius: it appears to go at random, against general opinion, contrary to all accepted ideas and common sense, and all

the same it goes directly where it is necessary to go."<sup>16</sup> This notion conflicts with Belinsky's belief that art should be a conscious process. But he had before him the example of Gogol, the vagaries of whose genius could be explained seemingly in no other way. Belinsky was driven to this exaggeration, perhaps, by other circumstances. Turgenev speaks of the "pseudo-magnificent school" (*lozhno-velichavaya shkola*), Marlinsky and others, who posed as men of genius, until Lermontov, Gogol and Belinsky himself showed them up.<sup>17</sup> When Belinsky exalts the power of genius, he appears always to have in mind the rude energy and the intuitions of Peter the Great.

The dramatic pieces that followed *Boris Godunov* Belinsky reviews where they belong, with the later poems. This concluding essay is remarkable for the sheer æsthetic pleasure it shows. He praises the formal beauties of *The Little House at Kolomna*; he "would like to say something about the verse of *The Bronze Horseman*, its elasticity, force, energy, grandeur; but this is above our strength: only in such verse can one praise it, not in our poor prose."<sup>18</sup> *The Stone Guest* is "the pearl of Pushkin's works," and lovers of art for its own sake, of pure ideal art, will find nothing more perfect by him. Belinsky admires in it "the divine harmony of idea and form," the verse, the bold, careless artist's brush, "the antique, noble simplicity of style."<sup>19</sup> And it is on this note that Belinsky ends his survey, repeating that Pushkin was a poet and artist above everything. He will become the classical poet of Russia, whose works foster not only the sense of beauty, but also humane feeling.

The 19th century was an age of outstanding critics. We have to remember that Belinsky was born within a few years of Sainte-Beuve, and only a decade before Matthew Arnold. To compare the three is not my intention here. The contrasts are obvious enough. Belinsky with his terrible ardour, his sweeping, sometimes declamatory style, his moral digressions and polemic, seems to the western world more an evangelist than a critic. But that view is superficial. As Turgenev stated, he had all the qualities of a critic. After witnessing the critical errors even of distinguished minds one could only revere the sureness of Belinsky's critical instinct.<sup>20</sup> There was extravagance in Belinsky. He said himself that his nature was always in extremes and never hit the centre of an idea. But that seems far more true of his conversation, in which he loved to pursue thoughts to their utmost limit, than of his writing. He gains a unique importance because he was born

just when Russia needed a critic. His influence upon his own generation was profound, and it has not ceased today. He is an indispensable guide to the literature of his time, and reading him one often recalls Herzen's observation, how, when Belinsky was roused, "as he went along he developed his thought with extraordinary power, and extraordinary poetry."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Vissarion Grigor'evich Belinskiy v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov*, Leningrad, 1929, p. 215

<sup>2</sup> A. Lavretskiy. *Belinskiy, Chernyshevskiy, Dobrolyubov v bor'be za realizm*, Moscow, 1941, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Izbrannye sochineniya*, Moscow, 1947, p. 406

<sup>4</sup> *Vzglyad na russkuyu literaturu 1847 goda. Stat'ya pervaya Izbr. soch.*, p. 581

<sup>5</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, p. 371

<sup>6</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, p. 384.

<sup>7</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, pp. 459-60

<sup>8</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, p. 423

<sup>9</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, p. 428

<sup>10</sup> *Rech' o kritike Izbr. soch.*, p. 270

<sup>11</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, pp. 455-56

<sup>12</sup> Turgenev relates how Belinsky recognised the merit of this poem when printed anonymously in the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. (*V.G.B. v vospom. sovremenn.*, p. 219).

<sup>13</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, p. 455

<sup>14</sup> *V.G.B. v vospom. sovremenn.*, pp. 31, 32 n.

<sup>15</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, p. 514.

<sup>16</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, p. 583

<sup>17</sup> *V.G.B. v vospom. sovremenn.*, pp. 227-28

<sup>18</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, p. 509

<sup>19</sup> *Izbr. soch.*, p. 518

<sup>20</sup> *V.G.B. v vospom. sovremenn.*, p. 218

<sup>21</sup> *V.G.B. v vospom. sovremenn.*, p. 148.

# BULGARIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PART I: THE PAST

### BOOKS \*

DUE to well-known geo-political factors, Bulgaria was one of the last European countries to begin its own book production. In 1762 the Hilendar monk Paisiy's "Slavo-Bulgarian History" appeared in MS., followed in 1792 by the monk Spiridon's "Short History of the Bulgarian Slavonic People"; the former in particular sounded the clarion of modern Bulgaria's renaissance. In 1806 Bishop Sofroniy's "Kiriakodromion" (or "Sofroniye"), a collection of gospel texts with precepts and commentary, was printed in Rimnik (Roumania). This is generally accepted as the first book printed in Bulgarian, though in 1651 (two centuries after Gutenberg's invention of printing) the Catholic Bishop Filip Stanislavov had printed his "Abagar," a Catholic prayer-book for converted Bulgarians. This, however, was an isolated phenomenon.

Although a hand-press was brought into Bulgaria in 1828, it was not till 1838 that a printing press was established. The first school in Bulgaria was opened in 1835 at Gabrovo, while the first Bulgarian periodical was issued in Smyrna (1844) and the first newspaper in Leipzig (1846).

Publications up to the liberation in 1878 numbered about 1,650 books and 103 periodicals (collected into about 250 annuals), these low figures being due to fewness of readers and the primitive character of printing equipment. Since the liberation the average has been:

1878-85: 200-220 books per annum	1919-23: 1,600 books per annum.
1886-95: 800       "       "       "	1932-39: over 2,000       "       "       "
1906-12: 1,500       "       "       "	1947: 2,541       "       "       "

Up to the end of 1947 publications totalled about 103,000 books (besides 9,200 periodicals and newspapers) of which over 95,000 have been recorded by bibliographers. The large unrecorded balance is due to the absence prior to 1897 of compulsory deposition of Bulgarian publications in a central institution, and even subsequently the law was laxly applied. Moreover, most publications before the liberation were printed abroad in cities as far apart as Moscow, Leipzig and Smyrna, and many were never registered on account of state secrecy, political banning, etc.

\* TR. NOTE 1. The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

NLS—National Library of Sofia,  
SU —Sofia University,  
BAS—Bulgarian Academy of Sciences,  
BBI—Bulgarian Bibliographical Institute.

Before 1878, a register of Bulgarian publications was attempted by several research workers, Bulgarian and foreign.

There is also bibliographical value in the book-lists issued from 1862 onwards by the Bulgarian publisher and dealer Hristo G. Danov.

Two attempts at a comprehensive bibliography deserve mention. Ivan V. Shopov (our first bibliographer) published in 1852 his "List of Bulgarian books published up to the present," first in the *Constantinople Gazette* (No. 99, 1852) and then as a 15-page pamphlet printed by the same journal. This list numbered 112 books and periodicals (to which 15 more were added by the editorial staff), and was increased to 143 entries when published separately. Secondly, the Czech professor, K. Jireček, published in 1872 his "Bibliography of Modern Bulgarian Publications 1806-70" (Vienna, L. Sommer, pp. 48) as an appendix to *Periodichesko Spisanie* (I, 1873, Nos. 7-8), organ of the Bulgarian Book Society in Braila, later the BAS. Full details are given of many of the 550 books and periodicals, for the compilation of which list all previous lists and surveys were used, including P. I. Šafařík's materials.

The pre-liberation period was covered by two solid works. First, the famous bibliographer, Prof. Al. Teodorov Balan, published in 1893 his "Bulgarian Bibliography Part I—from the time of the first modern Bulgarian printed book to the recent Russo-Turkish war (1641-1877)" as a Supplement to Bk. IX of "Collection of National Lore, Science and Literature" (Sofia, Ministry of Education, 1893, pp. 176). This work, rated high in its time, records alphabetically 1,167 books and periodicals from the Abagar (wrongly dated 1641) to 1877, some annotations being still of value. Omissions and errors were rectified by S. Argirov (1895), I. Kermidciev (1895 and '97) and N. Nachov (1904). Secondly, the Russian professor, Valerij Pogorelov, compiled in Sofia after the Great War his "List of Old Printed Bulgarian books 1802-77" (NLS, 1923, pp. vi, 795). Omitting periodicals, and using his predecessors' works (including the revisions of Balan's bibliographies) together with his own research, Pogorelov recorded chronologically 1,646 books in what is the best present reference book on this period thanks to its accuracy (always checked *de visu*), annotations, textual extracts, and author index. Additions and corrections were made by N. Nachov (1923), St. Stanimirov (1926) and N. C. Derzhavin (1934).

A comprehensive 100-year bibliography was attempted by the same indefatigable Balan in his "Bulgarian Bibliography over one hundred years, 1806-95; Materials" (Sofia, Bulgarian Book Society, 1909, pp. ii, 1667) which contains entries of 15,258 books and periodicals, followed by a systematic index in 18 sections. Despite shortcomings, this is the best and hitherto unsurpassed source on the first century of Bulgarian book production. Corrections and additions were made by N. Nachov in 1911, 1914 and 1925.

Book production since 1905 is recorded by current bibliographies of

the NLS to be discussed below. No comprehensive bibliography on a national basis was published since Balan's work.

### PERIODICALS

(a) *Lists*. Two good lists of periodicals and newspapers were published before 1900. "Bulgarian Periodical Press from its birth to the present. Arranged by Y. Ivanov, Vol. I" (Sofia, State Press, 1893, pp. 587) is a chronological account of 325 periodicals and newspapers from 1844 to July, 1893, noting briefly the nature of their contents together with invaluable biographical details of their editors. Material for Vol. II was passed by the compiler to the NLS for general use. Secondly, "List of Bulgarian Periodicals in the NLS, 1844-1900" (Sofia, NLS, 1903, pp. iv, 145) describes 517 newspapers and 229 periodicals (all studied *de visu*) with an appendix listing 93 newspapers and 11 periodicals missing from the NLS, and indexes by their location and year of publication. Relevant details exist also in the above-mentioned bibliographies of Jireček (1872) and Balan (1893 and 1909). No comprehensive bibliography for the last four decades has yet appeared.

(b) *Indexes of contents*. Our more important periodicals publish occasional indexes of contributions. The handbook for Sofia University's numerous publications is "Bibliography of Sofia University 'St. Kliment Ohridski' 1904-42. Compiled by Asen St. Kovachev.—University library No. 263" (Sofia, SU, 1943, pp. 366) in which are listed alphabetically under the authors' names all contributions to university publications (over 3,000 monographs, articles and books) with a complete subject index, also issued separately as "Catalogue of University Publications Chronological index, 1904-42" (Sofia, SU, 1943, pp. 92). BAS publications are likewise covered by "List of Publications of the BAS and Bulgarian Book Society, 1870-1926" (Sofia, BAS, 1926, pp. 183) with data arranged according to the nature of the publication, and an alphabetical index by author and subject. The best index of contents for other periodicals is considered to be that of *Dărzhaven Vestnik* (State Gazette), i.e. "Complete Guide to the Laws of Bulgaria from its Liberation to 30 June, 1939, compiled by T. Pechev" (Sofia, State Pub. Ho., 1939, pp. vii, 1025). This important handbook with its analytical index excels all previous work of this sort as a thorough compilation of material on sixty years of Bulgarian legislation and administration as reflected in *Dărzhaven Vestnik*. In addition to the above we have:

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Periodical</i>	<i>Bibliography of Periodical's Contents</i>	<i>Period Covered</i>
Ministry of Education	"Uchilishten Pregled" (School Review) monthly	"Index of official regulations of Min of Ed, also articles, criticisms, etc in 'Uchilishten Pregled,' yrs I-XXV inclusive, as appx to XXV, arranged by Petăr Petrov (Sofia, 1927, pp. 187)	1896-1926,

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Periodical</i>	<i>Bibliography of Periodical's Contents</i>	<i>Period Covered</i>
Macedonian Scientific Institute (Sofia) now defunct	"Makedonski Pregled" (Macedonian Review) quarterly	"Tenth Anniversary of 'Makedonski Pregled'" (Sofia, Macedonian Scientific Institute, 1936, pp. iv, 42), with author index and list of the Institute's other publications	1924-1936, i.e. 1st 42 issues
Bulgarian Archaeological Institute	"Izvestiya na . . ." Yearly	"Guide to 'Izvestiya na . . . Druzhestvo,'" vols. I-VII, 1910-1920, and to "Izvestiya na . . . institut," vols I-VII, 1921-1933 (Sofia, Bulg Arch Instit, 1934, pp 66). Arranged by volumes with indexes by author, title and material. Compiled by T. Gerasimov	1910-1933
Bulgarian Economics Society	"Spisaniye na . . ." (Journal of . . .)	"Journal of . . . Index for the first 25th anniversary." (Sofia, Bulg. Ec Soc, 1929, pp 253. compiled by Stefan Dimitrov 1927-1946)	1896-1927
Union of Bulgarian Chemists	"Himiya i Industriya" (Chemists & Industry)	"20 years of 'Himiya i Industriya.'" Part I: Authors' index, Part II. Subject index (Sofia Union of Bulg. Chem and Chem. Engineers, 1946, pp 32, 23)	1922-1942
Royal Botanical Institutes	"Izvestiye na . . ." Yearly	"15 years Annals of the Royal Botanical Institutes in Sofia" in Book XV, 1942, pp 257-304, compiled by the Director of the Institute, Iv Buresh	1928-1942

Other attempts have been made, e.g. for the newspaper *Mir* (1894-1944), initially the National Party organ and then for the last quarter of a century an independent daily, recognised as our intellectuals' platform. On private initiative an Index was attempted of its valuable material on Bulgarian culture and society, and the incomplete results are now deposited at the BBI.

(c) *Articles*. A retrospective account of articles in the whole Bulgarian periodical press, though often attempted, has hitherto never reached print. It is urgently needed especially for 1844-1878, i.e. the period of those publications (today great rareties) issued outside our ethnographical boundaries. In 1902 D. P. Konsolov (compiler of a law bibliography) announced preparation of a bibliography of 19th-century periodicals, including over 20,000 articles alphabetically on the Brussels decimal system. Though not printed, this was presented by the compiler to the NLS. St. Chilingirov, the noted writer and former director of the NLS, subsequently compiled over 200,000 entries of articles in our periodicals and newspapers, 1844-1910. After twenty years this list still awaits publication. Although some fields of academic and special studies have been partially provided with subject bibliographies recording articles (principally from periodicals) as well as books, much of Bulgarian life—and especially the socio-political field—has yet to be bibliographically covered.

## ACADEMIC SUBJECTS

*Slavonic philology* (including literature) is, as might be expected, the subject best covered. Since 1905 several contributions have appeared, almost all in "Researches of the Slavonic Philology Seminar at Sofia University" (referred to below as RSPS), edited by the late Prof. L. Miletich:

<i>Reference of RSPS</i>	<i>Compiler</i>	<i>Title of Bibliography</i>	<i>Period Covered</i>	<i>Details of Bibliography</i>
Bk I for 1904 and 1905 (Sofia, 1905, pp 415-63)	Albert Gechev	"Bibl. of the History of Modern Bulgarian literature in the Bulg. Press up to 1900"	1762- 1910	Entries for 32 books and 804 articles
Same issue, pp 381-414	St Romanski (later Prof of Slavonic Philology in Sofia Univ)	"Bibl. of Slavonic Philology in Bulgarian Press"	1901- 1905	Books, articles and other material arranged in sections under: Philology, ethnography and folklore, literary history and criticism
Bk II for 1906-1907 (Sofia, 1907, pp 471-530)	ditto	"Bibl. of Artistic Literature"	1901- 1904	Divided under originals and translations
Bk II for 1906-1907, pp 531-87	M. Mazhdra- kova	"Bibl. of Slavonic Philology and Literature in Bulg. Press"	1905- 1906	Arranged as Romanski's work above, including section for literature
Bk III for 1908-1910 (Sofia 1911, pp 675-740)	D. Genov	"Bibl. of Slav. Phil. & Lit. in Bulg. Press"	1907- 1909	Also systematically arranged
Bk IV (Sofia, 1921, pp 569-642)	A Hristo Vakarelski (Director of Ethnog. Museum)	"Bibl. Essays on Slav. Phil. & Lit. Hist. & Criticism in Bulg. Press"	1910- 1920 (inclusive)	ditto
Bk. VII, pp. 541-637 (Sofia, 1931)	K Mirchev and Iv. Lekov (both now Profs., Sofia Univ)	"Bibl. Essays on Slav. Philol. (philol., ethnog., & lit. hist.) in Bulg. Press"	1921- 1930	ditto

No bibliography since 1930 has yet come out.

Bulgarian dialectology has three reference books:

<i>Reference of RSPS</i>	<i>Compiler</i>	<i>Title of Bibliography</i>	<i>Period Covered</i>	<i>Details of Bibliography</i>
Bk I for 1904 and 1905 (Sofia, 1905, pp 144-72)	Marija Mazhdarakova	"Bibl. Survey of Publications & Dialectology"	1822- 1904	Includes contributions in foreign languages



<i>Reference of RSPS</i>	<i>Compiler</i>	<i>Title of Bibliography</i>	<i>Period Covered</i>	<i>Details of Bibliography</i>
Bk III for 1908-1910 (Sofia, 1911, pp 607-74)	Hr Gerchev	"A Glance at the Development of Bulg Dialectology (Historico-bibl survey) "	Up to 1910	Additions to above work and new contributions
Offprint from "Collection of the BAS," Bk XXXI (Sofia, BAS, 1937, XXVIII, pp. 141)	St Stoykov (now Pro- fessor at University)	"Index to materials published on Bulg Dialectology "		Material arranged alphabetically by villages with 2 indices

The history of the Bulgarian novel has an indispensable reference book in St. Minchev's "From the history of the Bulgarian Novel. 1. Attempt at historico-literary observations on the Development of the Novel during the 19th century up to the War of Liberation, 1877" (Sofia, Danov, 1908, pp. 86). On pp. 31-74 the "History of the Modern Bulgarian Novel" contains 381 entries. An interesting bibliography of our women authors' work was compiled alphabetically under the late Prof V. Tsonev's editorship, including 2,074 books and articles (both original works and translations) during fifty-eight years since 1852, i.e. "Index to Women's Writings in our country" (Sofia, "St Sofia" Press, 1911, pp. xu, 146).

*History and geography* are represented by a few retrospective bibliographies.

<i>Periodical Concerned</i>	<i>Compiler</i>	<i>Title of Bibliography</i>	<i>Period Covered</i>	<i>Details of Bibliography</i>
"Balgarski Pregled" (Sofia, Year IV, 1897, Bk VII, pp. 82-97)	Ivan P Kepov (secondary school teacher)	"Index to materials on Bulg history published in Bulg periodicals "	Up to 1897	A small first attempt at a bibl. of history, in- cluding 477 articles
Geografska Bibhoteka No 5 (Sofia Bulg Geog Soc, 1935, pp 107)	V. Mikov	"Sources for the History and Geo- graphy of our towns and vil- lages "		
Sudost For- schungen Munchen VII Jahr- gang, 1942, S. 546-73	Prof Iv. Duychev	"Die bulgansche Gesichtsforschung wahrend des letz- ten Vierteljahr- hunderts "	1918- 1942	
As above, VIII Band, 1943, S. 211-27	Prof Iv Batakhev	"Die Entwicklung der Bulgarischen Geographie von 1918 bis 1940 mit besonderer Ber- ucksichtigung der landerkundlich- anthropogeographischen Richtung "	1918- 1940	

<i>Periodical Concerned</i>	<i>Compiler</i>	<i>Title of Bibliography</i>	<i>Period Covered</i>	<i>Details of Bibliography</i>
<i>Archæology :</i>				
Offprint from Annual of the National Museum for 1922-1925, pp 613-49 (Sofia, National Museum, 1926)	Prof. B. Filov	"Bibl on the Archæ- ology of Bulgaria"		Bulgarian and for- eign books, peri- odicals and notes, systematically arranged
Offprint from "Annals of the Bulg. Arch Inst.," Bk XIV, pp 311-40, 1943.	D. Dimitrov	ditto		A supplement to Filov's bibl
<i>Pedagogy :</i>				
"Uchilishten Almanach," pp 76-141, year I (Sofia, "Trud" Press of Plovdiv, 1900, pp xvi, 840, ed Hr D. Maximov)	Hr D. Maxi- mov	"Chronological bibl of textbooks and pedagogical books from the first printed textbook to the recent Russo-Turkish War"	1824- 1877	Entries —434 books and con- tents of 6 peda- gogical and child periodicals
"Uchilishten Pregled" Appendices to X, XI & XII years (Sofia, 1905- 1907, pp 711)	G. Enchev	"Index to Pedago- gical Literature of 19th century"	1844- 1900	Attempt to cover all relevant 19th- century litera- ture, checks 11,137 books and articles with an authors' index
<i>Sociology and Economics :</i>				
"Collection of National Lore, Science & Litera- ture," Bk XXIV New series, Book Six II. Sec- tion for Pol- itical Science (Sofia, BAS, 1908, pp 1-259)	St. M. Mărzev	"Index to our socio- economic litera- ture (Pamphlets, articles and mono- graphs) to the liberation"	Down to 1877	Contains 4,828 entries
As above, Bk XXV (Sofia, BAS, 1909, pp 1-442)	ditto	ditto	1878- 1885, 6 Sept.	Contains 8,561 items

The following three references to this same collection indicate a total of 8,370 entries covering the period 6 Sept, 1885-1895 Bk XXVI (Sofia, BAS, 1912, pp. 1-276) "Collection of BAS," Bk I Branch of historical philology and folklore (Sofia, BAS, 1913, pp 1-182): Bk III Branch of historical philology, philosophy and sociology, 2 (Sofia, BAS, 1914, pp. 1-76)

The above five indexes are systematically set out, presenting the fullest bibliography of 19th-century works in this subject. In each three indices are appended: alphabetical of authors and/or translators, of subjects and of chronology. A new bibliography in the same two fields has just appeared under the title "Economic and Social Literature in Bulgaria. Bibliography of Bulgarian books and articles, 1850-1945" (Svishtov, Akademiya Press, 1948, pp. vi and 951). This 4-volume work, compiled under the editorship of Prof. T. Vladigerov, contains 23,071 entries. A bibliography of our Cooperative Movement (books and pamphlets) is supplied by Dimchevka's "Bulgarian Co-operative Literature (published up to 1931)" (Sofia, "Knipegraph" Press, 1931, pp. iii, 123).

*Agricultural Economy* is covered fairly comprehensively by lists of periodicals and many books and pamphlets arranged under each branch of the subject on pp. 769-826 of the second edition of "Agriculture in Bulgaria" by Sava Botev and Josif G. Kovachev (Sofia, Staykov Press, 1934, pp. xv, 865).

*Silviculture* Prof. T. Dimitrov in his "Survey of Bulgarian Silvicultural Literature during 50 years (1879-1928). Offprint from 'Collection of BAS,' Bk. XXVI" (Sofia, BAS, 1930, pp. 43) includes 389 books, pamphlets and articles, chronologically given, with alphabetical index, completed by five bibliographies of Bulgarian silvicultural achievement.

*Law* is covered up to 1902 by the 259 titles in the work of the famous jurist and publicist S. S. Bobchev, "Bulgarian Juridical Bibliography" in "Jubilee Memorial for 10th Anniversary of *Yuridicheski Pregled*," 1893, Plovdiv-1902, Sofia, pp. 61-75 (Sofia, Băzaykov Press, 1903). In the same Jubilee Memorial are listed 1,435 articles on legal questions in D. P. Konsulov's "Juridical Bibliography of Bulgarian periodicals, 1844-1900" (Sofia, Băzaykov, 1902, pp. 60). Criminal law was recently covered by the lawyer Hristo Y. Chervenko with an account of articles and books with indices by author and by subject (according to the articles of the Bulgarian criminal law code) entitled "Systematic Guide to Criminal Law Literature in Bulgaria" (Mil. Publishing Fund, 1934, pp. 103).

*Mathematics*. The years 1833-86 are surveyed in a 17-page bibliography (the first on an academic subject in Bulgaria), compiled by N. Nachov: "Bibliographical Survey of our Mathematical Literature from its very beginning to end of 1886" (Shumen S. Popov, Press, 1889, pp. 17).

*Geology* and allied sciences from 1828 to 1928, including work in foreign languages by both Bulgarians and foreigners, with detailed annotations and two author indexes, are described by Professors Naum Nikolov and V. G. Radev in their "Survey of publications on Geology, Palæontology, Mineralogy, Petrography, Mines, Quarries and Mineral Waters of Bulgaria" (Sofia, BAS, 1928, pp. 123).

*Medicine*. For the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Bulgarian medical

service, Dr. M. Russev edited "*Jubilee Book. A Historical Survey of the Medical Section and of Medical Publications in Bulgaria.* 15 August, 1878-15 August, 1903" (Sofia, K. Chinkov Press, 1904, pp. 216, 272), while in Part II, pp. 1-272, of the same publication are listed books and articles by Dr. Hristo Doktorov in his "Index of Bulgarian Medical Literature."

*Military Science.* See Iliya Musakov's "Fifty years of Bulgarian Military Literature. 1888-1938" (Sofia, Mil. Publishing Fund, 1939, pp. 52, 102).

*Marxism.* See the late and meritorious Marxist bibliographer G. Bakalov's "The Marxist Book in Bulgaria. Historico-bibliographical Sketch for the Years 1875-1929" in *Zvezda* (Sofia: Year I, 1932-1933, pp. 441-50, 487-94).

#### OTHER REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHIES

(a) *Biography.* Here lies possibly the greatest gap in our reference literature. Attempts at a comprehensive bibliography in this field have hitherto been so unsatisfactory that information on deceased and living personalities is best sought in the two encyclopædias: L. Kasárov's "Encyclopædic Dictionary" (Plovdiv, Manchov, 1899-1907, 3 vols., pp. 3172) and the brothers N. G. and I. G. Danchov's "Bulgarian Encyclopædia" (Sofia, St. Atanasov, 1936, pp. 1720). Though rather out of date, Kasárov's dictionary can still be used for certain earlier and less known personalities. It gives brief bibliographies. The Danchovs' work contains brief accounts of some 1,000 Bulgarian personalities, though without a bibliography.

Members of the BAS are described with detailed biographical and bibliographical information in "Chronicle of the Bulgarian Book Society" (later the BAS), issued since 1901; which includes nearly all professors, lecturers and assistants of Sofia University who have taught from its foundation (1888) up to 1939, in "Almanach of Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski. Biographical and bibliographical information about its teachers," II edition—University Library, No. 207 (Sofia, SU, 1940, pp. viii, 726). The first edition (publ. 1929) contains fuller details of many earlier teachers. A similar reference book was recently published on teachers of the Economics Faculty of Varna State University "Index—biographical and bibliographical—of teachers of the Economics Faculty of Varna State University St. Kiril Slavyanobălgarski which succeeded the Commercial High School on the latter's twenty-fifth anniversary (1921-1946)" (Varna, State University, 1947, pp. 65).

On Bulgarian writers there exists fairly copious information. Foremost is the six-volume work written collectively under Prof. Arnaudov's editorship "Bulgarian writers. Life—works—ideas. Illustrated historico-literary Library" (Sofia, Fakel, 1929-1930). Leading writers from Paisiy to Debelyanov and Elin Pelin are amply and competently

covered by various critics, together with a bibliography of criticism on each author. One of the latest works is the critic Georgi Konstantinov's "Bulgarian writers bibliog. data" (Sofia, Hemus, 1947, pp. vi, 454), packed with valuable bibliographical and biographical details about 196 Bulgarian poets, prose-writers and cultural pioneers from Paisiy to the present.

Personalities of various professions and trades may be found in a series of general or special reference books; musical personalities in Ivan Kamburov's "Musical Dictionary" (Sofia, Hemus, 1933, pp. vii, 816); artists in Nikolai Raynov's "Dictionary of Art" (Plovdiv, "Otets Paisiy" booksellers, 1928, pp. 291), and teachers, pedagogues and philosophers in Lyubomir Rusev's "Pedagogical Dictionary" (Sofia, Chilingirov, 1936, pp. v, 376). There are also many bibliographies of individual scholars and authors published separately or in miscellanies, e.g. Ivan Shishmanov (1920 and 1929), A. P. Stoilov (1924), V. Zlatarski (1925), Ekaterina Karavelova (1928), Anton Strashimirov (1931), Ivan Buresh (1931), St. Vatev and St. Petkov (1936), Jos Fadenhecht (1938), Venelin Ganev (1939), Mih Geraskov (1942), K. Pashev (1942) and many others. A model bibliography on an individual is the recent "Vasil Kolarov. Bio-bibliography on the Occasion of his seventieth anniversary 16 July, 1944" (Sofia, BBI, 1947, pp. x, 180).

(b) *Printed Library Catalogues.* Like the great libraries of Russia and Western Europe, some of our libraries have printed their catalogues. Although these are only ordinary lists scarcely ever conforming to the rules of correct bibliographical recording (some are real curios) they still have a certain value, both for the general reading public and the bibliographer. The NLS published in 1900 a one-volume catalogue of its books (pp. 664). Bibliographically not too satisfactory, it was not continued. In 1914 the same library published a one-volume catalogue (pp. ix, 270) with 2,670 items of the private library of Marin Drinov (eminent historian and former Minister of State) acquired by the NLS on his death. The Plovdiv National Library has its printed catalogue (pp. 184) up to 1 January, 1886, and till recently it published a list of its periodicals and newspapers in its Annual (issued since 1905). Neither Sofia University with its rich collection of academic works nor the BAS has a printed catalogue, though the latter's yearly acquisitions of books and periodicals were entered until recently in the Chronicle of the Academy. Libraries with printed catalogues include those of the War Ministry (1908, pp. 301), the Ministry of Education (1906, pp. xxviii, 250), the military clubs of Plovdiv and Shumen, the Varna municipality and the Society of Engineers and Architects in Sofia. In 1930 the question of a new catalogue for the NLS was raised in the press but it led to nothing for several reasons. An air-raid during the recent war destroyed its entire existing catalogue, as well as part of our book collection—the repository of our entire book production. When its books have been re-catalogued and the most serious losses made good, a printed

catalogue may be undertaken, at any rate for Bulgarian books or those in Cyrillic script.

(c) *Bookdealers' Catalogues* issued periodically by the larger firms often supply material useful to the bibliographer, especially on the years before 1897 (the date of our law for compulsory deposit of printed matter in the NLS). Even since this date such catalogues are sometimes useful because of the long delay in issuing the bibliographical bulletins of the NLS. The catalogues issued by the publisher Hristo G. Danov (founded 1855) are still the most valuable. A jubilee collection published in 1905 on the fiftieth anniversary of the founder's work lists the 919 books, geographical maps, pictures, etc. published to date. His latest bibliography appeared in 1934: *Knigopis, 1933-1934*, III edition (Sofia, Danov, 1934, pp. 240). Good catalogues have been issued by many other dealers and publishers, e.g. Dr. V. Manchov, Ivan D. Igatov, Iv. B. Kasarov, T. F. Chihev, Al. Paskalev, "Fakel," or "Hemus." Some, including "Fakel," St. Simeonov (Ruse) have issued catalogues on special subjects also. Particular attention should be paid to Chihev's "General Jubilee Catalogue," I. Official publications (Sofia, Chihev, 1939, pp. 278) and to their latest "General Catalogue of Most Recent Books, 1938-1940" (Sofia, 1941, pp. 150).

One of our largest publishers for the last sixty to sixty-five years has been the State Press (together with the State Publishing Ho. founded later), responsible for nearly all official publications, periodical or otherwise. Its current work could till recently be followed from extracts in booksellers' catalogues and in irregular issues of brief lists, e.g. its most recent "List of Stored Documents, Laws, Regulations and other State Publications" (Sofia, State Publishing Ho., 1942, pp. 26). Of late it has only listed unexhausted editions in *Därzhaven Vestnik*.

Three years ago a State Publishing Firm was founded with wide commitments. Having already a monopoly for school textbooks, it is pressing into the field of non-educational books and periodicals, seeking to compete with private firms. It has not as yet circulated any account of its books and periodicals.

(d) *Lists of Good and Bad Books* have been produced by several institutions, trying to select reading matter for a particular section of society, e.g. "Catalogue of books for Libraries of Divisions, Regiments and for lower ranks" (Sofia, Vălkov Press, 1892, pp. 114), which indicates books which may be contained in the libraries of various army ranks. The Ministry of Education has issued lists of books which may be bought for school libraries and textbooks permitted for schools, e.g. "List of Textbooks permitted for use in Schools in Bulgaria, confirmed by Ministry of National Education" (Sofia, State Press, 1901, pp. 40), containing 599 titles.

For the reading-rooms or *chitalishte* (an important institution of culture and education) a selection of material was made in "List of Books, Periodicals and Newspapers which a *chitalishte* may procure with

'social funds by Art. 11 of the Law on National *Chitalishta*' (Sofia, Ministry of Education, 1931, pp. 151), for which the publishers obtained the Ministry of Education's approval. Appended is a list of the 53 books (almost all fiction) most necessary for the *Chitalishte* library. The *Chitalishte* Directorate recently issued a precise bibliography of 296 works chosen by experts obligatory for each reading-room on Bulgarian literature, history, ethnography, customs and culture, geography and travel, and the national question, entitled "Basic List" (Sofia, Supreme *Chitalishte* Union, 1943, pp. 43).

Only recently Bulgaria has acquired also its *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, i.e. "List of Fascist Literature, liable to be seized by Decree XII of the Ministerial Council of 6 October, 1944" (Sofia, Ministry of Propaganda, 1945, pp. 22), as well as a second list in 1945 with pp. 22. These lists hold 701 and 289 entries respectively of books, periodicals, etc. to be weeded out and forbidden to libraries. The latter list includes a few dozen books in foreign languages.

(e) *Other Reference Works.* A thorough investigation of pseudonyms and the authors of anonymous works is, despite several fruitful attempts, yet to be made. Nor is there yet any comprehensive bibliography of Doctorate theses. Besides the above-mentioned State Publishing Ho. and the State Firm, several other state organisations (including Chief Directorate of Statistics, Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Foreign Affairs) issue books and periodicals, no single bibliography yet covers these publications from 1878 to the present.

No bibliography has hitherto been made of legal and illegal manifestos, leaflets, posters of social interest, appeals, etc. with which our restless political history abounds. These have not been collected in our national libraries with the completeness which is essential, and the elaboration of these lists will encounter serious difficulties.

(f) *MSS.* in Bulgaria are recorded in several excellent registers. The Rilski Monastery Collection was described by V. Cholakov in 1859, B. Tsonev in 1900, L. Miletich in 1902 and finally in E. Sprostanov's "Account of MSS. in the Library of Rilski Monastery" (Sofia, St. Rilski's Monastery Publisher, 1902, pp. 136). This last, recording 136 MSS., is the best. Its author noted another 128 MSS. in his "Account of MSS. in the Library at the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Church in Sofia" (Sofia, State Press, 1900, pp. 234). Prof. B. Tsonev has given us the following model works:

- "Account of MSS. and old printed books in Sofia" (The NLS, 1910, pp. xxii, 555, plus sheets 18).
- "Account of Slavonic MSS. in the NLS" (Sofia, NLS, 1923, pp. xvi, 552, plus sheets 52).
- "Account of Slavonic MSS. and old printed books in the Plovdiv National Library" (Plovdiv, National Library, 1920, pp. xi, 5,291, plus sheets 40).

" Slavonic MSS. in the BAS " in " Collection of BAS, Book 6. • Branch : of historico-philology and philosophy and sociology. IV " (Sofia, BAS, 1916, pp. 1-85, plus sheets 15).

## BULGARICA

In attempts at recording foreign literature on Bulgaria and the Bulgarians our famous bibliographer Nikola Mihov stands foremost, who for forty years has been collecting bibliographical material in foreign languages on the history of the Bulgarians up to 1878. An epoch was marked in the bibliography of our history, economics, statistics and ethnography by his works such as: the four-volume " Bibliographical Sources for the History of Turkey and Bulgaria " (BAS, 1914-1934), which includes 1,585 essays and articles containing bibliographies on Bulgaria and the Bulgarians; the four-volume " Population of Turkey and Bulgaria during the 17th century and 19th century " (Sofia, BAS, 1915-1945), a bibliographical study with statistical and ethnographical data in which are quoted materials from 3,050 books and articles, mainly German, French, English and Italian. Third in importance is his series on the history of Bulgarian commerce, of which so far two volumes are published. " Contribution à l'histoire du commerce bulgare. I. Rapports consulaires belges " (Svishtov, École des hautes études commerciales, 1941, pp. xii, 162), and " Beitrage zur Handelsgeschichte Bulgariens " (as above, 1943, pp. vii, 461). Several others of his works have received due praise both here and abroad, including the outstanding fruit of thirty years' searching through European libraries: " Bibliographie des articles de périodiques allemands, anglais, français et italiens sur la Turquie et la Bulgarie " (Sofia, BAS, 1938, pp. xii, 686), in which are given 10,044 articles.

Other *Bulgarica* are recorded in:

Country	Author	Bibliography	Periodical
France .	Jean Kersopoulou	" Essai de bibliographie franco-bulgare (1613-1910) "	Pp 269-335 of " Revue des Bibliothèques " Paris, 21 <sup>e</sup> année-1911 (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 67)
	Recently republished as " Bulgarie. Ouvrages et articles de revues parus de 1613 à 1937 "		" Les Balkans, Athènes—Série de bibliographies françaises sur les nations balkaniques," No 2 (Athènes, Edition Flammarion, 1937, pp 180)
Italy	Petăr Jordanov	" La Bulgaria in Italia Bibliografia delle pubblicazioni italiane sulla Bulgaria " (1870-1942)	" L'Europa Orientale " (fasc 7-12-1-2 del 1942-1943) (Roma, Associazione italo-bulgara, 1943, pp 86)
Germany .	Mathilde Sanger	" Verzeichnis deutschsprachiger Bücher über Bulgarien "	Bulgaria Jahrbuch 1942 der Deutsch-Bulgarischen Gesellschaft Berlin, 5, 335-82 (Leipzig, F. Meiner, 1942, 506 S.)



<i>Country</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>	<i>Periodical</i>
Czecho-Slovakia		Bibliographie česko-slovensko-bulharská (Praha, Nakladem obce pražské 1934, pp 41)	
Hungary :	Petăr Miyatev (archæologist)	"Hungarian bibliography on Bulgarian Questions "	Offprint from "Annals of the Bulgarian Archæological Institute" (vol. XIV, 1940-1942, pp 295-310)

The BAS has recently published three bibliographies of material on the pioneers of Slavo-Bulgarian culture, Cyril and Methodius

G. A. Ilyinski's	"Attempt at a systematic Cyril and Methodius Bibliography "	(Sofia, BAS, 1934, xlii, pp 302)
M Popruzhenko and St. Romanski's	"Bibliographical Survey of the Slavonic Cyrillic Sources for the life and work of Cyril and Methodius "	(Sofia, BAS, 1935, xxviii, pp 68)
Same as above	"Cyril and Methodius Bibliography for 1934-1940 "	(Sofia, BAS, 1942, xxviii, pp 169)

Material in various languages was collected by Reserve Admiral Sava N. Ivanov in his "Bibliography of the Black Sea and its Coasts" (Varna, Black Sea Scientific Institute, 1940, pp 268). The bibliography of much other foreign research is here omitted for lack of space.

## PART II: THE PRESENT

### Books

In 1897 a law (proposed by the writer, Konstantin Velichkov, then Minister of Education) was passed to decree compulsory deposition in the National Libraries of Sofia and Plovdiv of a certain number of copies of all materials published in the country, i.e. books, periodicals, newspapers, lithographed sheets, maps, etc. The NLS was likewise required to issue a quarterly bibliographical bulletin of all works as they were published. Neither of these measures, however, was applied with requisite strictness. Even worse, the bulletin (rightly planned as a quarterly) appeared punctually only in its first year, twice in its second year and thereafter only once yearly. From 1897 to 1945 this bulletin (called since 1929 *Bălgarski Knigopis*) managed to record only a few works at time of publication. Thus instead of an up-to-date source for scholars, writers, librarians, book-dealers and publishers it became a historical record of documentary value only for library workers and bibliographers. Its editing was also subjected to well-grounded criticism. A new law in 1925 barely improved matters, and our bibliographers watched enviously the achievements of European states, large and small, with monthly, weekly and even daily (as in Germany) registration of current production.

This situation was finally ended on 1 January, 1945, by the staff of

the NLS when *Bălgarski Knigopis* came out again quarterly, each number appearing one to three months after the period under review. Moreover the staff is gradually catching up on all bibliography delayed in the past, and publications are much more comprehensively covered. Since 29 July, 1945, a new law has been more effectively applied to the depositing of printed and lithographed works, and the number of those not deposited has undoubtedly been reduced to a minimum. Much has also been achieved in the editing of the bulletin, though an expert could still point out faults and needed improvements. Its quality will probably be raised still higher, if it is entrusted to the now consolidated BBI, as often petitioned in the past.

The unsatisfied demand for registration of current production in the past gave rise (since 1904) to a few miscellaneous bulletins of newly issued books, periodicals, newspapers and even newspaper articles, but such bulletins barely lived a year. Only one appeared two years running.

#### PERIODICALS

*Bălgarski Knigopis* contains information on current periodicals and newspapers. Till 1908 they were entered in a common volume with books, according to the deposition law, while from 1908 to 1944 periodicals were recorded in a separate bulletin. Since 1945 both are again being recorded in one bulletin, periodicals being entered only when they begin to appear. A comprehensive list of periodicals current on 9 Sept., 1947, is to be found in "Bulgarian Periodical Press" (NLS, BBI, 1947, pp. 55). Periodicals received are regularly recorded in the Annual of the Plovdiv National Library.

A bulletin of the contents of periodicals was attempted in 1897. Unsatisfactory in method, it lapsed after the first quarter of the next year. A further and serious last attempt was made in 1930-1931: in *Bălgarski Knigopis* there was systematically set out a bibliography of all current articles (in all Bulgarian periodicals), 17,141 the first year and 15,457 the second. Our newspaper editorials have had their more important writing spasmodically covered in *Knizhmnna* (1913-1914), *Knigopis* (1928) and *Knizhoven Pregled* (1936-1937). All these attempts were likewise too short-lived to be of real value.

#### ACADEMIC SUBJECTS

Current book production in special academic fields is best followed in *Bălgarski Knigopis*, though articles from periodicals are recorded only in the periodical of the relevant field as follows:

Subject	Periodical Recording Bibliographies	Years Covered	Remarks
Philology and Literature	"Language and Literature"	1946-	Organ of Society of Slavonic Philolo- gists in Bulgaria
Ethnography	"Annals of the Bulg Ethnog Museum in Sofia" (yearly)	1921 till recently	Natl Ethnogr. Mus

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Periodical Recording Bibliographies</i>	<i>Years Covered</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
History of Bulgaria and Bulgarian land	"Annals of the Bulg Society" (yearly)	Hist. 1905-	Bulg Hist Soc
Archæology	"Annals of the Bulg Institute" (yearly)	Arch 1922-	Bulg. Arch Soc
Geography	"Annals of the Bulg Society" (yearly)	Geog 1932-	Bulg Geogr Soc.
Economics	"Periodical of the Bulg Society" (yearly)	Econ. Till recently	Has ceased publication, probably temporarily
	"National Economy Archive"	1946-	Quarterly complete bibliography of articles on econ. questions publ. by Inst for Econ. Research, Technical College, Svishtov
Silviculture	"Forest Review" or "Silviculture Thought" "Forest Economy"	Till recently 1945-	Organ of Society of Silviculturists
Botany	"Botany"	1938-	Published by Bulg Botanical Society
Law	"Juridical Thought"	1946-	Published by Ministry of Justice
Military	Special bibliographies	1940, 1941, and 1942	Not yet revived since the war

*Bălgarski Knigopis* contains a bibliography, (1) of doctorate theses of the universities of Sofia (which has conferred this degree since 1924) and of Plovdiv, which recently acquired this right, and (2) of the publications of the State Publ. Ho. and the State Firm. We still lack a bibliography of bibliographies and, in contrast to the U.S.S.R., Germany and elsewhere, of reviews of newly published books. Sporadic attempts have been made at the latter.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEWS

Due to past shortcomings of *Bălgarski Knigopis*, the needs of both bibliographers and public created the following short-lived reviews launched by private initiative:

<i>Title</i>	<i>Editor</i>	<i>Duration</i>
"Knigopisets" (Sofia, monthly)	Al Teodorov Balan and Nikolai Nikolaev	1904-1906 (10 issues of Annual I)
"Knizhovnik" (Pleven, monthly)	Committee under Y. Hlebarov	1910 (5 issues only)
"Knizhnina"	L. Ilev and G. Koev	1913-1914 (8 issues)
"Knigopisets" (see above. revived as organ of the BBI)		1920 (6 issues of Annual II)
"Knigopis" (monthly literature and book review)	Sava Chukalov	1928 (6 issues)
"Bălgarska Kniga" (bi-monthly, with rich contents)	T. Borov	1930 (5 issues)
"Knizhoven Pregled" (monthly)	Boyan Sekulov	1936-1937 (2 complete annuals of 10 issues each)

Today the soundest bibliographical periodical publication, indeed the only periodical of this sort, is the quarterly *Bălgarski Knigopis* (re-established in 1946), which is becoming an indispensable aid to all interested in the Bulgarian book at home and abroad.

#### INSTITUTIONS

Although a special Bibliographical Institute had been envisaged since the start of the century, it was not till 1918 (due to the wars) that a group of ardent bibliographers and scholars under Prof. Balan planned one with these aims: (i) to follow the country's entire book production, making a bibliographical survey including articles from collections, periodicals and newspapers; (ii) to follow foreign literature concerning the Bulgarians or reflecting the general progress of knowledge and technology, (iii) to issue a monthly record of current publications and publish an annual cumulative bibliography, as well as, where possible, retrospective bibliographical studies on particular branches of science and past publications; (iv) to build up a suitable library. The venture of these pioneers collapsed since the support expected from official cultural institutions was not forthcoming; thus *Knigopisets*, re-published as *Annual II* in 1920, ran to only six numbers.

Accentuated by the increase of book production during the inter-war period, the need was finally met in 1941 (thanks to the generosity of a cultured Bulgarian lady) when a new BBI was founded in Sofia. It is undertaking the co-ordinated development of Bulgarian bibliography on this long-term plan:

1. To effect by card-index (on the model of the International Institute of Documentations at Brussels) a general catalogue of Bulgarian books and articles from periodicals to be eventually printed in a series of volumes.
2. To issue a bulletin of current book publication, an annual of bibliographical monographs, criticisms of the more important publications, and a survey of the year's cultural and scientific life and research.
3. To publish single and serial bibliographical studies and reference works.
4. To co-operate in centralising cataloguing of the Bulgarian book.
5. To work out for the more distant future a comprehensive catalogue of the contents of the larger Bulgarian libraries after the *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog* or American "Union List of Serials" by Winifred Gregory.
6. To organise a book-loan service between Bulgarian and foreign libraries and to arrange Bulgarian participation in the international book-exchange.
7. To organise courses for bibliographers and librarians.
8. To answer inquiries for bibliographical information on cultural and research questions.

The Institute is autonomous, directed by a Committee with representatives from SU, BAS, NLS, the Union of Publishers and Book-dealers and the founder. Active members, limited to thirty, are elected by a general assembly, and T. Borov, bibliographer and professor of Librarianship at SO, has been the Director since its foundation. It is already equipped with a research staff and has published a series of publications thanks to the generous State help. By the end of 1948 the first volume of its Annual is to be published.

In August, 1947, an expert Commission on Slavonic Studies was attached to the BAS with sections, including one for bibliography charged with the development of bibliography on Slavonic studies.

#### FUTURE TASKS

This exposition, designed to illustrate and not to catalogue Bulgarian bibliographers' achievements, indicates no lack of initiative or fine work in the ancient bibliographical tradition of Western Europe, but there is still much to be desired. The work has been unco-ordinated and is the fruit of the devoted diligence of learned individuals; but the true bibliography should be the joint achievement of many specialists' efforts. Here lies the rôle of the BBI in co-ordinating the efforts of research workers and grading of their works. The unequal standard of past works, including those too weak to deserve publication, or even amusing curiosities, indicates a lack of direction in the theory of bibliography which the BBI is called upon to supply with works as exemplary as already published, as well as the series of manuals now planned.

The Bulgarian book has not always been well represented in the various bibliographical publications of international scope, usually due to inefficient co-operation on the Bulgarian side. Thus it was nowhere represented in the first edition of *Index Bibliographicus* issued in Geneva in 1925 and published by the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, or in the quarterly *Index Translationum* which began to come out in 1932. It is fairly well represented in the recently published vol. I of Theodore Besterman's "A World Bibliography of Bibliographies," but the whole entry would have looked different if there had been Bulgarian participation.

Henceforward Bulgaria must establish relations for international book exchange. An interest in our academic and scientific literature exists abroad, primarily among University Slavonic faculties, and demands in this field from both institutes and individual scholars are being met on our side by suitable bibliographies.

To conclude, our long-term tasks are: (1) to cover our whole past printed production; (2) to make a bibliography of everything written in foreign languages in the past on Bulgaria and its people; (3) to cover all literature in Bulgarian published outside our frontiers, including doctorate theses, special publications, etc.; (4) to arrange once and for all for the

efficient, punctual registration of current production in Bulgaria (books and articles) and the regular noting of works printed abroad on Bulgaria and the Bulgarians or by Bulgarian authors.

Such tasks are no short matter, and their gradual fulfilment will undoubtedly absorb the energies of more than one generation of experts.

HRISTO TRENKOV.

*Sofia, Aug. 1948.*

*English version by V. DE S. PINTO, JR.*

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## UNPRINTED DOCUMENTS

W(IENER) S(TAATS) A(RCHIV), BERICHTE AUS RUSSLAND. FICQUELMONT  
À METTERNICH, 4 OCTOBRE, 1843. SEC. VIENNE.

Mon Prince,

Dans son entretien du 21 soir l'Empereur aborda les affaires d'Orient et en parla de la manière suivante :

Un des points principaux sur lesquels je désirais m'entretenir avec le Prince de Metternich, c'est la position chaque jour plus précaire dans laquelle se trouve l'Empire Ottoman ; il ne nous donne plus aucune garantie de paix intérieure, ni même de durée. Nous ne pouvons pas abandonner les événements de cette nature au hasard, ni aux intrigues de ceux qui ne cessent de s'en mêler. Il faut convenir de ce que nous voulons faire. Tout le monde m'accuse à chaque occasion de vouloir m'emparer de Constantinople et tout ce qui arrive, c'est moi qui le prépare pour arriver à ce but. Les Turcs eux-mêmes sont à tout moment la dupe des soupçons de l'Europe ; ils ne me tiennent aucun compte de ce que je n'ai pas fait. Ainsi les ménagements que j'observe ne leur sont pas utiles. Une catastrophe est inévitable ; elle tombera sur nous, mais surtout sur vous, comme la cause d'une guerre qui ne réglerait rien, si nous n'avions rien réglé d'avance. Vous savez vous personnellement mieux que personne les raisons pour lesquelles je ne veux pas de Constantinople ; je vous les ai dites dans les tems ; quand on se réunirait pour me le donner, je refuserais ; cette possession changerait la nature de mon empire et c'est un empire russe que je veux conserver et laisser à mon fils.

Mais il faut que cette ville appartienne à quelqu'un et puisque les Turcs ne sauraient *[sic]* pas s'y maintenir, c'est vous seuls qui êtes appelés par votre position et la nature de vos populations à vous y établir. Je ne passerai jamais le Danube et tout ce qui est entre ce fleuve et l'Adriatique doit être à vous.

Soyez le porteur de mes paroles ; je prie le Prince de Metternich d'y réfléchir et de me faire connaître sa pensée ; qu'il n'écrive rien, c'est le plus sur moyen de secret ; il peut m'envoyer quelqu'un de sa confiance pour me faire dire ce qu'il pense de ma proposition. Cette combinaison est la seule qui puisse nous préserver d'un épouvantable bouleversement, cela m'occupe depuis longtemps tous les jours ; je n'en trouve pas une autre qui puisse la remplacer.

Je répondis : je ne suis pas autorisé à émettre une opinion sur un pareil sujet.

Aussi dit l'Empereur : je ne vous demande que d'être le rapporteur de mes paroles.

Je puis cependant, sire, me permettre une observation ; je suis fâché de voir que votre proposition, sire, soit une espèce d'ultimatum

de votre pensée ; parce que je crois pouvoir l'assurer que telle qu'elle et faite [*sic*] cette proposition ne trouvera pas d'accès à Vienne.

Je ne veux pas insister pour que vous me disiez les raisons du refus que vous prévoyez. C'est à vous seuls de savoir ce que vous voulez et ce que vous pouvez ; ce que je dois vous dire de mon côté, c'est que si vous ne pouvez pas vous décider à vous réunir à moi pour agir, je suis résolu à passer outre et à agir seul. Je ne puis pas continuer à suivre plus longtems un système qui vous le voyez ne nous conduit à rien de bon, parce qu'il n'est que négatif ;<sup>1</sup> je ne puis pas ainsi livrer d'aussi graves questions à des influences auxquelles je ne veux pas laisser l'avantage de l'initiative.

C'est ainsi que se termina l'entretien du 21 sur cette question.

Le 23 l'Empereur avait commencé sa conversation par les affaires de Prusse et par la proposition d'une réunion. Sa Majesté m'avait permis, si je devais ne pas l'avoir bien comprise, ou si j'avais des observations à lui faire, de m'expliquer. Je demandais donc la permission de le faire. Je dis à l'Empereur : j'ai parfaitement compris avant hier tout l'exposé que Votre Majesté a daigné faire de notre position dans les affaires d'Orient, de la marche qu'Elle nous propose de faire et de sa résolution de passer outre et d'agir seul pour le cas de notre refus d'une action commune. Je vois [*sic*] me trouver vis-à-vis du Prince de Metternich fort embarrassé de répondre à une question très simple qu'il m'adressera.

Avez vous pressenti, me demandera-t-il, la marche que veut suivre l'Empereur Nicolas pour le cas de notre refus d'agir dans le sens de la proposition qu'il nous fait.

Depuis 36 heures, sire, je cherche une réponse à cette question et je ne la trouve pas. Les combinaisons sont si différentes qu'il m'est impossible de pénétrer laquelle pourrait vouloir adopter Votre Majesté.

Ma conduite sera simple ; je vais vous la dire. D'accord avec vous je sais ce que je peux vouloir, parce que nos deux volontés réunies sont assez fortes pour assurer l'exécution de ce que nous voudrons. Si je reste seul je sais alors ce que je ne veux pas et le voici.

Je ne veux pas d'un rétablissement d'un empire byzantin ; jamais je ne le souffrirai.

Je ne veux pas que ni les français ni les Anglais, réunis ou séparés, viennent occuper ou protéger matériellement Constantinople.

Je m'opposerai à ces trois combinaisons avec toutes mes forces ; vous pouvez en être certain. C'est à vous de voir si vous pouvez encore alors vous tenir à l'écart et si vous ne serez pas entraîné malgré vous à prendre part à une querelle sans savoir d'avance ce que vous voulez et comment vous en sortirez. Ne vaut-il donc pas mieux venir au devant des événements et en prendre la direction ? Je vous le répète : Je ne veux rien au delà du Danube ; c'est à vous qu'appartient de droit tout ce qui est situé entre ce fleuve et l'Adriatique. Je m'en suis ouvert au Roi de

<sup>1</sup> Marginal comment by Metternich : Conserver n'est pas une négation.



Prusse ; mon idée l'a beaucoup surpris ; mais il a fini par la comprendre. Si vous occupez Constantinople, comme je le désire, il vous faudrait une tête du point [sic] en Asie, cela s'entend de soi même.

Que les Anglais prennent alors l'Egypte, s'ils la veulent ; qu' eux et les Français partagent les isles de l'Archipel, cela m'est égal, et je crois que cela pourrait alors vous être aussi indifférent. Vous voyez que je suis aussi décidé sur ce que je ne veux pas que sur ce que je veux. C'est ainsi que se termina ce second entretien sur l'Orient.

De mon côté je terminai en disant à Sa Majesté que puisqu'Elle venait de me charger de la proposition d'une réunion des trois Souverains et des trois Cabinets Votre Altesse y trouverait l'occasion la plus naturelle de s'expliquer sur des matières aussi graves sans avoir besoin d'intermédiaire, que je croyais donc que Votre Altesse attendrait cette époque pour répondre à l'ouverture dont je me trouvais chargé.

Veuillez agréer, etc.

W.S.A., WEISUNGEN NACH PREUSSEN. METTERNICH À TRAUTTMANS-DORFF, 23 NOVEMBRE, 1843.

J'ai attendu une occasion de courrier pour répondre à Votre lettre du 22 octobre ; c'est aujourd'hui que je m'acquitte de cette tâche.

Veuillez avant tout remercier en mon nom Mr. le Bn. de Bülow de tout ce qu'il Vous a dit, et priez le de croire que ma gratitude est en proportion de la gravité des objets dont il s'agit. Convaincu que le Roi ne voit et ne veut dans les choses que ce que voit et doit vouloir l'Empereur, je découvre dans cette conformité de jugement et de volonté entre les 2 Cours une puissance qui ne saurait être remplacée par aucune autre force.

Les questions principales dont nous avons à nous occuper sont les ouvertures de l'Empereur de Russie relativement à la position de l'Empire Ottoman et à une rencontre des Souverains dans le courant de l'année prochaine.

A l'égard du premier de ces objets, il convient avant tout de l'examiner sous les points de vue suivants :

1<sup>o</sup>. L'Empire Ottoman ainsi que Sa Majesté Impériale de Russie paraît l'admettre, est-il effectivement prêt à crouler ?

2<sup>o</sup>. Entre-t-il dans les intentions de l'Empereur Nicolas d'amener la chute de l'Empire turc, ou bien ne faut-il voir ici que la prévoyance de Sa Majesté Impériale qui calcule les chances de dissolution pour cette Puissance d'après les causes de mort qu'elle recèle ?

Après avoir ainsi posé les questions, nous pouvons énoncer, dans les termes suivants, le jugement que nous en portons :

*ad 1<sup>m</sup>.* Nous ne regardons pas la dissolution de l'Empire Ottoman comme imminente.

*ad 2<sup>m</sup>.* Nous sommes convaincus que l'entreprise d'opérer la chute de la Porte, tournerait contre ceux qui en concevraient le projet et causerait inmanquablement un immense bouleversement politique en

Europe. La destruction de la Monarchie ottomane peut sans doute être produite par cette force des choses contre laquelle échouent les plus sages conceptions, mais c'est au temps qu'il faut abandonner le développement progressif de ces germes de dissolution, car s'il amène le mal, il place aussi à côté le remède, il l'indique, et rend sensibles, aux individus comme aux Cabinets, les voies qu'il faut suivre pour opérer le propre salut.

Tout ce que je Vous dirais au delà de ces indications, n'apprendrait rien ni à Sa Majesté Prussienne, ni à Son Ministre, sur le compte de nos impressions. L'Empereur s'est ouvert envers nous sur sa pensée par l'organe de Mr. le Comte de Fiquelmont. Il nous a assigné la part qu'il regardait comme devant nous revenir des dépouilles de l'Empire Ottoman. Cette part est large; ce n'est pas là toutefois que se trouve la véritable question; il y en a une qu'il faut décider préalablement; c'est celle de savoir si l'Autriche a envie de s'agrandir? Or, comme cette envie n'existe pas en nous, le partage proposé est sans valeur.

Ce qui pour moi est encore une énigme, dont je remets au temps de nous fournir la clef, c'est le motif qui a pu suggérer à l'Empereur Nicolas un plan opposé à ses vues antérieures, ou du moins à toutes ses ouvertures et explications envers nous, plan dont l'exécution amènerait infailliblement une guerre générale et cela dans une époque où la position du corps social est certes la moins propre à une aussi vaste expérience! Peut-être est-on mieux instruit à Berlin sur une aussi importante question et je saurais un gré infini à Mr. le Bn. de Bülow s'il voulait me prêter la lumière qui me manque et me fournir une base qui puisse me servir de point de départ pour asseoir ma pensée.

Mr. le Comte de Fiquelmont s'est, comme de juste, borné à prendre ad referendum l'ouverture que lui a faite Sa Majesté Impériale; cependant il ne Lui a point caché la surprise avec laquelle nous l'apprenrions. Il en a soin à la fois de nous établir une marge suffisante en faisant entrevoir à l'Empereur comme possible que nous ne veuillons point nous expliquer avant la réunion tenue en vue par ce Prince dans le courant de l'année prochaine. Jusqu'à cette heure nous avons gardé un silence absolu sur cette matière envers la Cour de St. Pétersbourg.

En ce qui concerne le second objet des ouvertures confidentielles de l'Empereur Nicolas, savoir, l'entrevue qu'Il propose, personne plus que moi n'attache de prix à la rencontre des hommes placés au faite des affaires. Mais plus il en est ainsi et plus je dois tenir qu'une mesure prise dans un but salubre réponde à son objet, et à veiller à ce que de fautives dispositions ne fassent pas tourner le bien en mal. La réunion des trois Monarques et de leurs Cabinets est un grand événement et qui, par cela même, peut être éminemment utile ou fort dangereux.

Moi, Mr. le Comte, qui suis en droit de me considérer comme l'inventeur de ce genre de réunions, moi qui ai provoqué toutes celles qui ont eu lieu entre les années 1813 et 1823, qui par conséquent les ai vu naître et mourir, je ne suis pas exposé à me tromper sur ce qui a la valeur de conditions *sine qua non* pour établir l'utilité ou le danger des réunions de

*Souverains et de Cabinets.* Avant tout, pour qu'elles soient utiles, il faut qu'elles ne puissent pas tourner contre l'attente de ceux qui les entreprennent. Or, pour cela, il est nécessaire *qu'elles aient un but formellement reconnu et qu'elles soient suffisamment préparées pour que la certitude morale du parfait accord entre ceux qui sont appelés soit assurée d'avance.* Faute de ces conditions, les réunions sont pleines de danger et cela non seulement parce qu'elles ne conduiront pas au but que l'on se propose, mais encore parce qu'elles peuvent amener aisément ce qu'il s'agit d'éviter !

Ce que je viens d'établir à l'égard *des réunions* de Souverains et de Cabinets et qui, à mes yeux, a la valeur d'une législation, n'est qu'en partie applicable *aux rencontres* entre les Souverains, surtout si ces dernières ont lieu sous des conditions naturelles dans leurs formes. L'Empereur Nicolas a parlé à Mr. le Comte de Fiquelmont d'une cure que ses médecins lui recommanderaient sans doute l'été prochain. Quelles eaux, Sa Majesté Impériale ira-t-elle chercher ? seront-ce celles de Bohême ? Dans ce cas rien ne sera simple comme des visites qui Lui seraient faites, et comme le temps est un bon conseiller ce sera à lui qu'il sera prudent de laisser le soin d'indiquer la mode et l'opportunité de la forme et de l'époque.

Tels, Monsieur le Comte, sont les éclaircissements que je puis Vous charger de prêter sur notre pensée au Bn. de Bulow. Mr. le Bn. de Canitz envers lequel je me suis expliqué sur les mêmes objets, sera à même d'ajouter à ce court exposé ce que la conversation prête de facilité pour s'entendre.<sup>2</sup>

Recevez, etc.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to express my thanks to Professor Santifaller of the *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv* for arranging to have my transcripts of these despatches checked with the originals

G. H. B.

# OBITUARY

## NICHOLAS BERDYAEV

NIKOLAI ALEXANDROVICH BERDYAEV died on 23 March, 1948, in his house in Clamart near Paris. He was one of the most influential philosophers of contemporary Russia, and one of the few men of his generation who had a following in the West. His voice was listened to both in Europe and on the other side of the Atlantic. It is impossible to identify Berdyaev with any recognised school of Philosophy; all his life he fought a lonely battle, often clashing with those who once had claimed to have him on their side. Yet he was not a mere individualist representing nothing but his own outlook: on the contrary, he had deep roots in the Eastern Orthodox tradition of Russian Christianity and he can be understood only as one of the long line of Russian religious thinkers.

He was preoccupied with the specifically Russian problems of freedom, sin, social justice, of the West and its relation to the Christian East; and his answers were consonant with the thought of Dostoevsky, Soloviev and Nikolai Fedorov.

Berdyaev was born in 1874 in Kiev. He belonged to the Russian landed gentry, but as a youth he rebelled against his class and upbringing, and joined the circle of Russian radicals. At the end of the last century these were greatly influenced by Marxism with its promise of a final solution of all the social contradictions of modern society. Berdyaev was so much taken by a doctrine which claimed to be able to destroy forever all forms of human exploitation that he enthusiastically began to preach it, and as the result of his revolutionary activities he was temporarily exiled to the North of Russia.

But if he could not fit into the conventions of the society to which he belonged by birth, he proved equally ill-adapted to the mentality of his new friends. The narrowness of their outlook, their party orthodoxy, their intolerance of other points of view alienated him from the Marxist intellectuals.

Berdyaev was not alone in his reaction to the materialistic creed professed by the majority of Russian radicals, the breach between whom and the group of young philosophers and economists occurred in 1909 when the latter published a celebrated volume called *Landmarks*. It contained articles written by Berdyaev, Bulgakov, Gershenson, Izgoev (Lande), Kistiakovsky, Peter Struve, and Frank. The contributors differed considerably among themselves, both from the point of view of their interests and their ideology. Besides philosophers and economists they included an art critic, a lawyer, and a journalist, but they were unanimous in their defence of spiritual liberty and in their opposition to the materialistic interpretation of man and of history. They warned the Russian intelligentsia of the coming of a new tyranny which in the

name of economic equality would enslave men and enforce uniformity upon their thought and actions. The stir caused by *Landmarks* was so considerable that Prof. Paul Miliukov made a special lecture tour of the main provincial cities of Russia in order to counterbalance the danger of a return to religion among the intelligentsia, which he feared as the result of the wide circulation of that book.

In 1910 Berdyaev published a collection of essays under the general title *The Spiritual Crisis of the Intelligentsia*, in which he further developed his thesis that man's freedom depended on his acknowledgment of his Creator, that a godless man was bound to become the helpless slave of impersonal forces to which he would be obliged in the end to surrender his dignity and independence. Six years later another book appeared—*The Meaning of Creativeness*, in which he discussed the mystical aspects of Eastern Orthodoxy. The collapse of the Empire in 1917 placed the author for a short time in the Chair of Philosophy at Moscow University. His outlook, however, clashed with the materialist creed believed in by the adherents of the new order, and after two arrests he was expelled from Russia in 1922. Among his fellow exiles were Bulgakov and Frank, two other contributors to *Landmarks*.

This unusual decision of Soviet authorities to send their intellectual opponents to the West, instead of banishing them to one of the camps in the North or to Siberia, was made during the short period of Liberalism which characterised the last years of Lenin's rule. A generous gesture, it saved for the world some of the most outstanding Russian scholars and thinkers, and among them Nikolai Berdyaev.

All his most important works were produced during the time of his exile in Western Europe, and it was here that his thought reached its full maturity. At first he settled down in Berlin, where he founded with the assistance of the Y.M.C.A. the Russian Academy of Religion and Philosophy. In 1925 he moved to Paris where he remained till his death. This last period of his life was the most productive, and during it he acquired the reputation of a great Christian thinker. Berdyaev worked hard, he read extensively, and no book of importance published in any main European language escaped his attention. His own reflections on contemporary problems were incorporated in his numerous writings. He contributed regularly to the Magazine *Put* (*The Way*), which he edited from September, 1925, till March, 1940. He wrote also some fifteen books during that time, most of which were translated into English and other European languages.

Two main subjects were discussed in his writings: man and his destiny, and the part played by Russia in the present crisis. *Freedom and the Spirit* (1936),\* *The Meaning of History* (1936), *The Destiny of Man* (1937), *Solitude and Society* (1938), *Spirit and Reality* (1943), belong to the first group.

The second theme formed the content of *Russian Revolution* (1931),

\* The dates indicate the publication of the book in England.

*Christianity and Class War* (1933), *The End of Our Time* (1933), *Dostoevsky* (1934), *The Origin of Russian Communism* (1937), *The Russian Idea* (1947).

Besides his literary works Berdyaev used to give every year a course of lectures at the Russian Religious and Philosophical Academy in Paris, and he participated in the Russian Christian Movement in Exile, in *L'Action Orthodox*, the Fellowship of S. Alban and S. Sergius, the World Student Christian Federation, and other similar religious societies. In the years preceding the war of 1939-1945 he gave his support to the Œcumenical Movement, and was a speaker at the Conference on "Life and Work" in Oxford in 1937.

He remained in France under the German occupation; his friends made possible emigration to America, but at considerable risk he refused to go away, for he did not want to leave Europe in the hour of her humiliation and distress. After the end of hostilities he resumed his literary activities, and in 1947 he visited England once more, when he received an Honorary D.D. at Cambridge. His death occurred at his desk while he was working on his new book.

It is not easy to summarise Berdyaev's contribution to modern thought. We stand too close to him to estimate properly his interpretation of our period of crisis and transition. He is puzzling, for he was a man who combined in himself many elements which are usually considered to be contradictory, though in him they were harmonised and became a source of originality in all he wrote. He was essentially a Personalist philosopher, for he had an intense conviction of the absolute value and uniqueness of every man. At the same time, he always saw the individual as a member of society and he was very sensitive to every form of social injustice. He never ceased to protest against the abuse of power which belonged to the gifted and the privileged, and which tempted them to oppress and exploit weaker men. He was a thinker and social reformer whose main interest was not in abstractions but in persons, and he placed in the centre of his system *man* in all the contradictions of his threefold nature.

Berdyaev had a rare gift of discerning the key problems of the stormy scene of modern life; and his answers were eagerly studied since they corresponded to the questions raised in the minds of his contemporaries in all parts of the world. The solutions he offered were often provocative and unexpected, for he himself never walked the trodden path, and he felt deep distrust of ready-made formulæ. He moved far away from the revolutionary Marxism of his youth with its self-assurance and its crude atheism; yet he remained to the end a radical, though his radicalism became more dynamic the more his thought matured. It was no longer the struggle between political parties but the contest between man's creative spirit and the inertia of fallen nature that occupied his attention. Berdyaev believed that man received from his Creator a task to perform here on earth which required the fullest use of the spiritual and physical

powers given to the individual, but he felt that this task could only be achieved through the willing and free co-operation of all people. This conviction made him an uncompromising opponent of conventional Christianity, of bourgeois morality, and of left-wing dogmatism, all of which try to avoid the challenge of man's freedom and the frank recognition of human wickedness and foolishness.

This was the reason why, though a convinced Christian, Berdyaev, often shocked devout members of his Church. A socialist, he had been expelled by the Soviet Government from his country, and while he deeply loved his native land he was suspected and criticised by the rest of the Russian "exile" community. He was very Russian but he was equally at home in Europe, and therefore he could not be identified entirely with either the East or the West. He was absorbed in specifically Russian problems, yet he often acted as an interpreter of one Western nation to another. Thus, it was through his writings that some German philosophical ideas became familiar to his French and Anglo-Saxon audiences. These equally organic links which Berdyaev had both with his own nation and with the West may provide the key to the solution of his unusual personality, and answer the question as to the source of his influence.

For Berdyaev typified in himself the great paradox of our time, that the major battle for the future of Christian civilisation is being fought out in Russia, and by a people who seem to the majority of Western Christians to form no part of their cultural community.

His importance consists precisely in his realisation that Russia and the West are involved in the same destiny and that they face the same problems though approaching them from complementary angles. This knowledge has made Berdyaev's analysis of the present situation fresh and revealing, and the solutions offered by him satisfying. He was able to see clearly the complex nature of each problem because he knew that there was not only the Western, but also the Eastern Christian answer to them, each with its own distinct contribution. He is the outstanding prophet of our time, for he reconciled in himself the Christian East and the Christian West, and saw in their co-operation the hope for the expansion and consolidation of those values which have given to Christendom its position of leadership in the life of Mankind.

NICHOLAS ZERNOV.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Munich: Prologue to Tragedy.* By J. W. Wheeler-Bennett; Macmillan, 1948, pp. xii and 507, 25s.

READERS of Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's substantial volumes on Hindenburg and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk will open his latest work with eager expectation, for no living Englishman has a wider knowledge and deeper understanding of our depressing performances during the inter-war years. We are still too close to the policy of appeasement which culminated in the Munich settlement to assess it *sine ira et studio*, and so far no writer has contrived to stand above the battle. Our author, like the rest of us, feels strongly and speaks strongly; as his sub-title reminds us, it was "the prologue to tragedy." Yet the careful student of this moving book is unlikely to feel that he is listening to a mere advocate. The preface and the bibliography suggest that he has cast his net far into the waters, and his acquaintance with some of the leading actors in England and Czechoslovakia brings a touch of colour into the picture. Moreover from time to time he speaks as an eye-witness of historic scenes who realised sooner than most of his fellow-countrymen what was at stake, wringing his hands as he contrasted the fumbling empiricism of the Western Powers with the fanatical resolution of the megalomaniac in Berlin.

If Hitler was the villain of the piece, Neville Chamberlain was the first of his many dupes. The conscientious Bethmann Hollweg, under whose unskilful guidance his country stumbled into war in 1914, has been called the German Hamlet, but the Conservative Prime Minister runs him very close. Here is the portrait of an able and high-minded man summoned by an unkind fate to confront a situation which demanded the resourcefulness of a superman and the training of a diplomatist. The poignancy of the story is increased by his inability to realise that he was qualified neither by experience nor by temperament for dealing with gangster régimes. Like the younger Pitt, Aberdeen, Asquith and Baldwin, in dealing with home affairs he was in a world which he thoroughly understood. When the storm blew up with Hitler's accession to power in 1933 he was out of his depth, as was quickly grasped by some of his most trusted colleagues. I remember Ramsay MacDonald remarking to me twenty years ago that he was an abler man than Austen and was indeed a "chip of the old block." It was at that time a common misreading, for though he inherited the business ability, the instinct for public service, and the limitless self-assurance of his illustrious father, he lacked the dynamism which would have made Joseph Chamberlain a great national leader in time of war. This impressive volume of five hundred pages might be described as an extended obituary, closing with the lapidary verdict of Tacitus on Domitian: *Omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset.* "He could not know the degree of infamy



with which he had to contend, but with the past record of broken Nazi pledges before him, he was culpably credulous in his dealings with Hitler."

Reading the first volume of Mr. Churchill's Memoirs at almost the same moment as *Munch*, one is struck by the virtual identity of the conclusions of two writers working in complete independence. What the great captain calls "the unnecessary war" was rendered possible and at a later stage seemingly inevitable by the stubborn refusal of French and British statesmen to look ugly facts in the face. Mr. Eden, who is here treated with marked respect, saw the red light before most of his Ministerial colleagues, and Lord Halifax, of whom we hear singularly little, was converted to a sense of urgency a trifle earlier than his chief. On the *incuria* of Baldwin, the obstinacy of Chamberlain, and the complacency of Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare, on the other hand, the author pronounces a verdict of the utmost severity, denying them all the essentials of statesmanship except excellent intentions and a passionate devotion to peace. Lord Templewood has commenced the story of his stewardship with his tenure at the Embassy at Madrid, and will doubtless in due course deal with his brief sojourn at the Foreign Office and his membership of the Inner Cabinet which conducted our diplomacy on the eve of war. Lord Simon, the most accomplished of advocates, and Lord Halifax, the most conscientious of men, will surely also desire to reply to the measured indictment brought against them by Mr. Churchill, Mr. Wheeler-Bennett, Professor Seton-Watson and other competent critics at home and abroad.

These pages provide no indication of the author's party affiliations, and the severest judgments are naturally pronounced on the highest officers of the ship of state, to whom the fullest information was at all times available. Yet there is no disposition to limit the indictment to a few men at the top. There were convinced appeasers in all camps, and the stubborn resistance of the Labour Party to rearmament up to the eleventh hour is very properly stressed. Moreover till the second and final rape of Czechoslovakia in March, 1939—the crime which awoke the Prime Minister from his wishful thinking—the bulk of the nation, like the majority in Parliament, was clearly on his side. Yet the man in the street, like the private M.P., can at least plead that he was largely unaware of what was going on, and that no ringing appeal was made to his patriotism till the enemy was thundering at the gates. When Mr. Woodward's volumes reach 1938—the crucial year in the pre-war drama—we shall learn what kind of warnings reached Downing Street from Berlin and Rome.

If Mr. Wheeler-Bennett has harsh things to say of our rulers while wicked Dictators were preparing to set the world alight, he comes down with hammer blows on the men entrusted with the destinies of France. High marks are naturally awarded to Paul Reynaud, the French *duodecimo* Churchill, who was called to the helm too late to arrest the rush of the avalanche. The chief offenders in these stinging pages are Daladier and

Bonnet, widely though they differed in temperament and outlook. With the former, who fought bravely in the First World War and whose patriotism was never in doubt, there are some extenuating circumstances which diminish the severity of our moral judgment without enhancing our estimate of his statesmanship. He was never in his heart an appeaser, much less, like Pétain and Weygand, a flabby defeatist. The charge against him is heavy enough in all conscience—infirmity of purpose, the lack of courage to do or to urge what he knew to be right. When the British Premier went to Berchtesgaden, Godesberg and Munich and threw Czechoslovakia to the wolves, he felt the comforting glow of righteousness in his heart. The French Premier, on the other hand, was uneasily aware that he had entered on the slippery slope and wondered how he would be received on stepping out of his aeroplane. Such leaders, whether or not we call them the children of light, are no match for the lords of darkness who trample underfoot the moral heritage of mankind.

Among the actors who throng the crowded stage no one except Hitler himself excites such fierce indignation in the author's breast as Georges Bonnet, whose tenure of the Quai d'Orsay lasted from shortly before the Munich crisis till shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War. Of the three French statesmen whose record is so closely analysed in these flaming pages Paul Reynaud is presented as the keen-eyed statesman who saw the light and tried to follow where it led, Daladier as the man who caught fitful glimpses of its rays and stumbled forward along the rocky path, Bonnet as the evil genius of France. Here, we are assured, was a man of undeniable ability who, with the aid of Pétain, Weygand and other military and civilian defeatists, lost the war before it began, who, sometimes openly and sometimes behind the back of his colleagues, ignominiously played for safety and encouraged Hitler to forge ahead by his unconcealed reluctance to stand firm. As in duty bound Mr. Wheeler-Bennett has carefully studied the first volume of his most interesting and plausible Memoirs, but he decisively rejects his apologia as a misleading interpretation of the facts. Bonnet's reply to the missiles hurled at his head by Paul Reynaud, Pertinax and other Frenchmen as well as by foreign critics, is that he was ready to implement France's pledges to Czechoslovakia, but that without British and Russian aid she could not hope to save that gallant little state from annihilation in the event of war. England, he continues—and here he is on firm ground—declined a definite promise of support throughout the critical spring and summer of 1938 when Hitler was perfecting his plans, and Russia, though willing to play up, was debarred by the Polish and Roumanian veto on the passage of her troops. To these contentions our author replies in effect that they were mere excuses for the policy of surrender on which he had resolved and the adoption of which paved the way for the grovelling of the Vichy régime. If any reader feels that the indictment is perhaps a little too shrill, in view of the lamentable military and psychological unreadiness of the French nation for a second life-and-

death struggle in a single generation, let him study these two books—the most powerful exposure and the most authoritative defence of the policy of appeasement and form his own conclusions.

In this picture, while dark shadows fall from London and Paris, bright rays stream out from Prague. Czechoslovak patriots of all parties will read this glowing tribute to Masaryk's Czechoslovakia and to the statesmanship, courage, and steadfastness of President Beneš, who may be fairly described as the hero of the book. For Mr. Wheeler-Bennett, unlike Neville Chamberlain, Czechoslovakia is not a distant country of which we know little, but a virile nation with an inspiring record and a right to live. The whole conception of purchasing what could at best be a precarious peace by the sacrifice first of the integrity and then of the independence of such a virile and progressive member of the European family fills him with wrath. Yet even here he does not allow his emotions to stifle his judgment. The Czechs, he admits, lacked political experience, and they were not always tactful in their dealings with their Slovak, German, Ruthene, Magyar and Polish fellow-citizens. That it would have been wise to grant reforms at an earlier date than 1938 is now evident to us all. That they had also been a discontented minority in the Hapsburg Empire made this dilatory handling of the Sudetan problem more difficult to justify. The Munich surrender, he admits, was inevitable at the moment it was made; "but let us not forget the shame and humiliation which were ours; let us not forget that in order to save our own skins—because we were too weak to protect ourselves—we were forced to sacrifice a small Power to slavery." The familiar argument that we bought time for the sorely needed rearmament is brushed aside with contempt. If the brief postponement of the struggle had in fact been followed by a net improvement in the military position there might have been a good deal to say for it. Unfortunately, and, as Mr. Wheeler-Bennett would say, inevitably, Germany made far better use of the year of grace than her foes, increasing instead of decreasing the lead she enjoyed in 1938, partly by hastening the construction of the West Wall, partly by eliminating the highly efficient army and air force of Czechoslovakia, and partly by the withdrawal of a disgruntled Russia from the ranks of a potential league against the arch-aggressor. Mr. Wheeler-Bennett, like Mr. Churchill, believes that Russia's promises of help to her ally in case of need were sincere, and that her ostentatious exclusion from the Munich negotiations led straight to the Russo-German alliance of 23 August, 1939. The least authoritative part of this book is the brief reference to our attempt after March, 1939, to mend the wires to Moscow; but that is not the fault of the author, because the details of the prolonged diplomatic negotiations have not been revealed. That the inveterate Russophobia of the Poles and the blind confidence of Colonel Beck in Hitler's good faith were among the main causes of their failure is known to us from other sources.

No portion of this indictment of British statesmanship is more con-

troversial than the detailed account of the Runciman Mission, which receives resounding condemnation. The idea of mediation was good, but Lord Runciman was despatched, not as a mediator but as an arbitrator, which is a very different matter. "No member of the Mission had background or experience either of Central European politics or minority problems. Nor was the personality of Lord Runciman, with its 19th-century liberalism and its general lack of imagination, the ideal one for the leader of so delicate an expedition." Why 19th-century liberalism, with its fine record of disinterested support for nationalities, should be regarded as a disqualification in this instance I find it difficult to guess; and old friends of Lord Runciman, one of the most trusted comrades of Lord Grey, would be interested to learn whom Mr Wheeler-Bennett would have invited had he been Prime Minister in 1938. It is not, however, a very important point, for no one could have persuaded Hitler to abandon the opulent programme of aggression announced to his astonished colleagues in November, 1937. Suggestions of compromise are a waste of breath if we are dealing with a parvenu dictator who believes in his star.

The principal moral of the whole story leading up to and arising out of the Munich settlement is that the policy of appeasement is not only impracticable but infinitely perilous when it is capable of being interpreted as a sign of weakness. Hitler required no special intuition to realise the military unpreparedness of England, the dry rot in France, the mutual suspicions of Moscow and the Western Powers, the superiority of unified direction over loose-limbed coalitions and leagues. The second chief lesson is that partnerships which win titanic struggles must somehow hold together if the fruits of victory are not to be cast away, and if the larger purposes which drive free nations into desperate conflicts are not to be stultified. Neither of these problems is new either to statesmen or to students of history. One useful result of this arresting work should be to persuade the ordinary citizen to devote greater attention to the broad issues of policy and to quicken his awareness of the dangers of premature disarmament, disunion and drift.

G. P. GOOCH.

Monumenta Poloniæ Historica. Nova Series. Tomus I. *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jakub de itinere Slavico*, quæ traditur apud al Bekri. Edidit, commentario et versione polonica atque latina instruxit Thaddæus Kowalski, cum adnotationibus J. Kostrzewski, K. Moszynski, K. Nitsch, Pol. Akad. Umiej., Wydawn. Kom. Hist., No. 84, Krakow, 1946.

IN the history of the Slavs the 10th century is certainly a milestone. One can say that at this time, if not discovered, at least there was unveiled to the west the Slav world of Central Europe. True, we had some news of it from the times of Ptolemy and Pliny, but how fragmentary, unclear and often contradictory! Then, from A.D. 919 came the advance of

the Germans towards the east, and their first thrusting beyond the Elbe. The Czechs, now baptised, came at once under the influences of German culture, while Poland appeared on the scene in A.D. 963, thanks to a clash with the invaders. Right through the century the Slavs along the Elbe remain under the pressure of the Saxons to the west. For this reason German sources give us most of our knowledge of this period. Thietmar, Widukind and the annalists will always be indispensable witnesses in this field.

But they are not the only ones. Alongside older sources like Jordanes, Fredegar, the Bavarian geographer and the Pannonian Legend, as well as Alfred the Great and later people like Adam of Bremen, Helmold, Nestor and Kosmas, we have the Scandinavian legend, not to mention the native traditions, handed on in later Polish and German chroniclers. A peculiar place in this collection of materials—Byzantine, Nordic, Frankonian and German—is held by the *Relatio* under discussion here—the work of the Arab traveller, Ibrahim ibn Jakub. It is contemporary, which is its great virtue; it is preserved in a document of a century later, which is its weakness. It is marked by a wide geographical range that includes Bohemia, Polabia, Bulgaria and Poland, as well as “the country of women” to the east. It is notable for relative fullness of description and unbiased presentation, such as one might have expected from a writer from far away. This explains the keen interest taken in the work, at least since the days of M. J. de Goeje, who was the first to draw attention to it as a monument to Slavonic history. A full survey of the literature from 1878 to 1946, including that of the Germans during the war, is given by Gerard Labuda in *Roczniki Hist.* (Poznań, 1947, Vol. XVI).

# I

The first edition of the Arabic text of the *Relatio*, together with a Russian translation, was put out by A. A. Kunik and W. Rozen in 1878; and in its train came Polish, Czech, Dutch and four German translations. In 1934 Georg Jacob had ready an edition of the Arabic text; and during the war there was the promise of a new one by the Berlin scholar, H. H. Schaeder. Russian scholars are also thinking of a new edition. This Polish edition has appeared first, even though it was six years in preparation and had to wait another seven years for publication. The thing was a necessity, conceded long ago by all.\*

At the outset the author clears up the situation, not clear before the war, as to the MS. of the *Relatio*; which, as we know, was written in A.D. 966 and was preserved in the so-called *Kitab al-mamalik wal-masalik* of al Bekri (1066). From the many MSS. of this work there exist today three that include the *Relatio*:

\* ED NOTE.—Professor Tadeusz Kowalski, author of this critical work, died early this summer in Cracow.

(i) Laleli 2144 in the Sulejman Library in Istambul, known at least since 1931 when H. Ritter gave us the first news of it. The codex comes from the year 1337, it was made in Egypt, and has not as yet been made use of by anyone.

(ii) Nuru Osmaniye 3034 in Istambul, discovered by Ch. Schefer, used by de Goeje and Rozen, comes from the year 1447.

(iii) The mysterious Codex of Landberg, which was in the possession of G. Jacob in 1934, not unearthed either by Kowalski or by the present writer, in spite of searches made in Upsala, Leyden and the U.S.A. whither it might have wandered with the books belonging to Baron Carlo von Landberg. It was used by de Goeje, and in part by Fr. Westberg. The variants of this codex in relation to the edition of W. Rozen were noted by de Goeje in a reference copy of the Rozen edition, to be found in the Leyden library. Kowalski declares, however, that the *Relatio* is not to be found in the codex of Gayangos in the R. Acad. de la Historia in Madrid, as was wrongly believed by Jacob; nor yet in the newly discovered codex in Fez (G. Colin, 1937), as the notes by V. Minorsky seemed to suggest in the *Bulletin* of the School of Oriental Studies, IX, 1, 1937.

The present edition takes account of all three codexes containing the *Relatio*, the two first directly, the third indirectly, with the help of the variants noted by de Goeje. It therefore is as fully based on sources as can be imagined, and in this respect it differs immensely from the edition of Rozen. The latter did not use even the Nuru Osmaniye MS. directly, though it was known, but was content with a copy made at the time, and by a Turkish copyist.

Not having at hand the original of al Bekri but only two codexes and the variants of the third, Kowalski set himself to reconstruct the text, giving philological precedence to the Laleli MS. While esteeming this text more highly, he criticises both the Istambul MSS. for "quite silly mistakes," and has no high opinion of them. In his view the Nuru Osmaniye text is a copy of the Laleli, "slavishly dependent on it," while the Landberg MS. is a modern copy of the Laleli, made for sale. It is a notable weakness of the present edition that it does not bring out the devious link that separates the text that has been established philologically from the original work of Ibrahim. Here the field of research is wide open and can be carried out by Arabic scholars in alliance with the historians. The edition gives reproductions of the text of both Istambul MSS., a reconstructed Arabic text, Polish and Latin translations, and a discussion of the MSS. in Latin. From the philological standpoint then the text is certain; in any case the critical apparatus and photostat make verification possible. Against the intention of the author the full historical commentary from the pen of J. Widajewicz (*Studies of the Relation about the Slavs by Ibrahim ibn Jakub*) has not been included in the volume but has been published by the Historical Commission of the Academy of Sciences as No. 1, T. XLVI, of Series II.

## II

Arabic scholars know well the problem introduced to science by G. Jacob under the slogan "Ibrahim-Tartusi." Its essence is as follows : Two chapters of the *Relatio*, handed on by al Bekri, have also been found in the Cosmography of Kazwini (1203-1283). These are the chapters dealing with the country of the Polish prince, Mieszko I (Kunik-Rozen, p. 36 : Kazwini *Cosmographii*, ed. Wustefeld, II, 415), as well as with the enigmatical country of the Amazons (Kunik-Rozen, p. 37. Wustefeld, II, 408). These chapters are so like one another that it would be simplest to assume that both al Bekri and Kazwini made use of the same source—the *Relatio* of Ibrahim ibn Jakub. The difficulty is that Kazwini does not use the name of Ibrahim but that of a certain at-Turtushi, i.e. the Tortosan, whose name is not given. Of three theoretical possibilities, (i) that the two men are one and the same, (ii) that they are different people, and (iii) that the second made use of the other's work, or vice versa, the third at once falls to the ground, since Ibrahim gives as the source of his information the Emperor Otto I, while at-Turtushi was reporting what he himself saw. Two possibilities therefore remain—the first being simpler and more probable, the second supported by an authority in the field of Oriental Studies like Jacob. This scholar argued for the existence of *two* Ibrahims—the one being ibn Jakub, who came to the court of the Emperor with the embassy of the Fatimides from Africa, the other being ibn Ahmed of Tortosa—who came with the embassy of the Caliph of Cordova also to Otto I—to Merseburg in the year 973. Both were keenly interested in the news given them by the Emperor about the country of Mieszko I and that of the Amazons ; and both wrote them down independently (cf. *Studien in arabischen Geographien*, II, Berlin, 1892 ; *Arabische Berichte*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927). Jacob changed his position during these years in certain details, but stood firmly by it in principle until his death. It is likely that both these possibilities would have remained tenable, if no new sources had appeared.

Among the new ones must be numbered the codex of the work of al Bekri, found in 1937 in the mosque at Fez. This MS. is a late one, of the 17th century. It is fragmentary and full of errors. But it contains simply priceless information about the matter of Ibrahim at-Turtushi. On page 245 of this codex one finds the full name of the Tortosan, viz. Ibrahim ibn Jakub al Israili at Turtushi (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule Iberique au Moyen Age*, Leyden, 1938). Kowalski had detailed information about this MS. from Professor Massignon in Paris as well as from the discoverer, G. Colin. This new proof lays prostrate the thesis of Jacob, and any defence of the view that there were two Ibrahims must from now on be regarded as mental aberration. We thus concede that the Ibrahim ibn Jakub of al Bekri and Kazwini's al-Turtushi are one and the same person—whom from now onward we shall call Ibrahim the Tortosan.

But Kowalski has not stopped in his analysis at this point. He has gone farther, urged on by yet another freshly discovered source. This is the description of the Iberian peninsula included in the *Kitab ar-raud al mstar, fi habar al-aktar*, by Ibn Abd al-Munim al-Himjari, published by E. Lévi-Provençal in *La Péninsule*, pp. 171 (text) and 205-6 (translation). It describes the city of Lorka in Spain, and in it is mentioned a conversation "of the King of Rome" in regard to the relict of a martyr buried near a church in that city. The same information about Lorka is to be found in Kazwini's *Cosmography* (Wustenfelf, II, 373), again with this difference that where Himjari calls the man who spoke with the Emperor Ibrahim b. Jusuf at Turtushi Kazwini calls him Ibrahim b. Ahmed at Turtushi. Seeing that we have to do with one and the same conversation, that of the Emperor about the relic in Lorka, there can be no doubt that the person is also the same.

In that case, however, we must admit that one of the names is a mistake. The question is, which? Since the passage about Lorka in Himjari refers to details from the life of Christian Spain, which al Bekri in the Fez MS. links up with Ibrahim ibn Jakub, i.e. the Tortosan, it is probable that the passage about Lorka also refers to the Tortosan. This would mean that Ibrahim ibn Jakub and Ibrahim b. Jusuf at Turtushi are the same. How then is the mistake "Jusuf" to be explained? Kowalski is of the view that the copyist left out the name of the father in speaking of the Tortosan (Jakub) and put in that of the grandfather (Jusuf) instead. Thus the full name would read Ibrahim b. Jakub b. Jusuf at Turtushi. As for the given name Ahmed, one cannot do other than presume that it is an error of Kazwini.

In this way Kowalski has identified the Ibrahim ibn Jakub of al Bekri, the Ibrahim ibn Ahmed of Kazwini and the Ibrahim b. Jusuf of Himjari as one and the same person. There were not two men but one, a Jew from Tortosa, about whom science can now say much more than heretofore. But our author has not pursued this path very far, and the way of research is still open.

### III

The third achievement of the author of this study is the settling of the date of Ibrahim's visit at the court of Otto I, which would give us the date of the *Relatio*. Around this also there raged no mean controversy since the time when Jacob announced his thesis on Ibrahim at-Turtushi. It is true that the already mentioned Widajewicz established some time ago, and convincingly, the date as A.D. 965. But Kowalski has confirmed this by independent evidence and in an independent way. In the description of Lorka by Himjari we are told that Ibrahim spoke with "the king of Rome" in the year 305. This date is quite wrong. The year 305 of the Hegira is 917-18 of the Christian era, and at that time Ibrahim was either unborn or still a child. In any case there was no "King of Rome" in Germany in A.D. 917. The title was given to Otto for the first time on his coronation, 2 February, 962. What is



the explanation? Kowalski argues as follows, employing a palæographical correction. In the MS. the date is given in Arabic  $\mu.o.$ , which means 305. Himjari wrote in the 13th century, and the MSS. used by Lévi-Provençal come from the 17th and 18th centuries. Mistakes are therefore possible, and it may be that in the original Himjari MS. the date was  $\mu_{oo}$  and that the copyist either read it wrongly or that his dot may have become a tiny circle—not a difficult thing with a reed pen. This second date is 355 of the Hegira and corresponds with the year 965 A.D. This is the date Widajewicz arrived at by another road; and is in fact, for other reasons, the only one at which Ibrahim can have made his northern journey. As noted, the Germans have stuck to the year 973, and this was defended even during the war by Brackmann in *Die Wikinger und die Anfänge Polens* (Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. Phil. Hist. Klasse, No. 6, Berlin, 1942, pp. 52–63).

If we bring together the attainments of the present work and relate them to those of 1878 we may say that great advance has been made. Kowalski has given us a tolerably sure text together with a commentary, and this makes the edition of the *Relatio* a show-piece *in usum scholarum*. He has established the origin of the author, his nationality and the date of his visit to Otto I. The reproductions of the two Istanbul MSS. make it possible for scholars to deal with the text; while the historical commentary, even if it does not solve all problems, at least gives a survey of all possibilities and of attempts at their explanation.

Up till now the *Relatio* has been sunk under a flood of writing, chiefly German and Polish. After Kowalski's work this literature becomes largely superfluous, though it can help in subsequent commentary, chiefly historical. Future investigation should follow one of two directions: First it must be seen how far the philologically sound text of our author stands in relation to the original, historical text. The first step in this direction has been taken by Gerard Labuda, as noted; but the historian without Arabic cannot get far. One must start from the other end. Secondly, the work and its author discussed here must be set against the background of Islamic culture in general, and of its Spanish form in particular. Only this may keep us from exaggerations and mistakes in our appraisal of the *Relatio* as a source work for Slavonic history. One may hope too that it will help in the clarifying of the many riddles and enigmas which the document still harbours.

LEON KOCZY.

*La Geste du Prince Igor*, épopée russe du douzième siècle. Texte établi, traduit et commenté sous la direction d'Henri Grégoire, de Roman Jakobson et de Marc Szeftel, assistés de J. A. Joff. (*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, Tome VIII: 1945–1947); distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 1948.

A HANDSOME volume has been published under the auspices of the French "École Libre des Hautes Études" in New York and of the "Université

Libre" of Brussels and dedicated entirely to the *Tale of Igor's Raid*. A number of leading scholars in the field of Slavic philology and Russian literature and history have here united their efforts in order to give a many-sided, careful and balanced answer to the problems raised by this great Russian mediæval poem. First are presented some remarks concerning the critical edition of the *Slovo*, its translations into modern languages and the reconstruction of the original text by Professor R. Jakobson of Columbia University (pp. 5-37); then a critical edition of the ancient text (pp. 38-78) by the same scholar, and then translations of the *Slovo* into French (pp. 39-79 by the Brussels Professor, H. Gregoire), into English (by the late Professor S. H. Cross, pp. 151-79), into modern Russian (by R. Jakobson, pp. 181-200) and into Polish (by the well-known poet, J. Tuwim, pp. 201-16). In addition, we have a historical commentary by Professor M. Szeftel of Cornell, very valuable, following the text verse by verse (pp. 97-149), philological notes on the "Alterations of the Text and Their Corrections" (by R. Jakobson, pp. 81-96); and—most important—an "Essay of Reconstruction of the *Slovo* in Its Original Language" by the same scholar (pp. 150-78). Then follows a brilliant and condensed article by Professor G. Vernadsky of Yale. "The *Slovo* from the Historical Point of View" (pp. 217-34).

The central place in this volume belongs to the most developed and the most substantial of all the contributions—the long study by Professor Jakobson dedicated to the problem of the authenticity of the *Slovo*. It is a searching, constructive approach to the chief questions of the origin of the *Slovo*, and at the same time a detailed and conscientious analysis of the recent theses of Professor A. Mazon of Paris (1938-1940, and 1944), who denies the authenticity of the *Slovo* and considers it a literary forgery of the 18th century. This essay by Jakobson, together with the article by Vernadsky, is the ideological kernel of the whole volume. Let us then dwell a little on it, and also on its presuppositions—the theories of the Paris scholar.

Sometimes exterior features or vague elusive resemblances, or even a preconceived idea to which one clings passionately, strike the imagination even of a usually sober and earnest scholar so strongly that he loses his grip on the facts and overlooks the concrete data. This was the case with Professor Mazon in his attempt to cope with the problem of the origin and the historical and literary value of the famous Russian mediæval (?) poem. To have demonstrated its authenticity—convincingly and decisively, step by step—is the great merit of Professor Jakobson. And more than that: this demonstration reveals that he is a very great scholar himself, and perhaps—in this field of ancient Russian philology, history and literature—sounder, better equipped and more balanced, with a greater range of linguistic, literary and historical facts at his disposal, than the French scholar.

Professor Mazon has been struck by certain impressions which gripped his imagination. He realised that a deep breath of chivalry permeated

the whole texture of the *Slovo*. But, denying the possibility of a spirit of chivalry in the Russian Middle Ages of the Kiev period (so strongly tinged by Norman influences!), in his sceptical attitude due to a certain preconceived distrust for Russian antiquity and the Russian national character in general, he is also backed by the impression of a certain resemblance between some poetical means—images, lyrical moods and hues used by the author of the *Slovo* and the melancholic, “romantically” tinged images and style of the “Ossianic” literary *pastiche* of the 18th century. This general elusive impression and the idea that the Russian imperialistic expansion in the reign of Catherine II created an atmosphere favourable to a historico-poetical falsification for the purpose of magnifying the past glories of Russia—this idea combined with the already mentioned view as to the total lack of the spirit of adventurous chivalry in ancient Russian history are the real presuppositions from which Mazon seems to start. But he does not want to throw brilliant ideas about at random, he wants to work them out in a scholarly way. so he tries to back his hypothesis by a detailed review of the linguistic and stylistic texture of the *Slovo*, desiring to prove in this way its non-authenticity, and its “modern” origin. He fails utterly to prove this. His fundamental philological and historical observations go to pieces. This is the impression which imposes itself with irresistible force if one follows step by step the careful analysis of the problem offered by Jakobson.

From the *linguistic* point of view there are no impenetrable “obscurities,” as Mazon is so fond of repeating. Jakobson challenges him and goes through each and every one of the examples quoted. Thus the difficult passage about Prince Vseslav with the Old Russian noun *vazn* receives its explanation in the light of other Old Russian texts, e.g. the *Izbornik* of Svyatoslav, the adversary of Vseslav (year 1073, p. 115). There are a number of very striking and impressive archaisms and also orientalisms in the vocabulary of the *Slovo*. These Mazon admits, but thinks that they have just been introduced by the 18th-century falsificator from ancient sources. However, there are strange coincidences. some of these old forms recur outside of the *Slovo* in recently discovered parallels which could hardly have been known in the 18th century. The number of such archaisms, moreover, is much greater than Mazon acknowledges. Jakobson quotes among others the word *stružie*, “incomprehensible” according to Mazon, but obviously having here the same meaning as in the ancient Russian translation of J. Flavius. And so on! What a surprising thing for a *dilletante* forgery to know all these Old Russian words which have escaped the notice and even the knowledge of many of the learned present-day philological commentators! Furthermore, “A côté d’une expérience de la langue ancienne qui surpasse de beaucoup celle de tous les savants qui, au cours du dernier siècle, ont cherché à commenter la Geste, l’auteur du *Slovo* a dû avoir une connaissance encore moins familière au temps de Musin-Puškin, celle des rapports linguistiques entre l’Orient et la Russie Kiévienne. D’anciens termes d’origine turque,

parsemés dans la Geste et à peine attestés dans les autres textes vieux-russes inclinent Mazon 'à penser que l'auteur du *Slovo* avait quelque érudition orientale'" (p. 246). Professor Mazon is baffled by this problem and tries to elude it as much as possible. He fails to show that in the ancient language of the *Slovo* there are elements which a literary *dilletante* of the 18th century—the presumed "forger"—could not possibly know; and still less successful, says Jakobson, are his endeavours to prove that the language of the *Slovo* shows clear traces of its modern origin—influences, for example, of modern Polish and French. Examining each of the passages quoted by Mazon, Jakobson shows the total lack of foundation in the assertions of the Paris scholar.

Nor is there any validity in the way Mazon tries to prove the presence of many modern Russian traces—in vocabulary as well as in construction—in the texture of the *Slovo*. His way of arguing is very simple. He declares modern all words and forms which are not corroborated by the *Zadonščina*, or are not found in either the survey of Peretc or in Sreznevskiy's *Materials for a Dictionary of Old Russian*. But the fact that a word is not attested in other ancient Russian documents is no proof against its authenticity and ancient character. And you cannot simply overlook the etymology of a word—its modernity is to be shown by its etymology, and this is completely left out of the discussion by Mazon. Thinking himself to be sufficiently initiated in all the hidden treasures and possibilities of the ancient Russian language, Mazon, in case a corresponding form is not mentioned by Peretc or Sreznevskiy, trusts simply to his ear in order to proclaim that this form is modern and can be used as a palpable proof of his thesis: an 18th-century forgery. Unhappily his knowledge of the sources which are now easily available to the scholars of the Old Russian language seems to be incomplete. So, for example, the word *inohodec'* is quoted by Sreznevskiy, according to Mazon, only on the authority of the *Slovo* and it rouses his doubts. But this word occurs in several charters of mediæval Russia, as is seen from the *Materials for a Terminological Dictionary* by Kočín (Leningrad, 1937, p. 135) which seems not to have been consulted. Moreover, the adjective *inohod7* is to be found in manuscripts of the 12th century (p. 253). It is a very difficult task to carry through a *negative* proof, to prove that something does not exist or does not occur. Such proof can be carried through only if the scholar in question possesses an *exhaustive* knowledge of the subject. This seems not to be the case with Professor Mazon, otherwise his philological proofs would be more convincing. The number of such instances increases as we read further. The adverb *daveča*, the noun *lada* in the sense of "husband," the expression *krovaviya rani* ("bloody wounds")—all denounced as "modernisms"—can be attested for the old period of the language (*krovavuyu ranu* we find in a charter of the Grand Duke Wassili I of 1397 and this passage is quoted both by Peretc and Sreznevskiy). Even worse, Mazon seems "not to have read in a sufficiently attentive way his two chief sources of information,

Sreznevskiy and Peretc " (p. 256). How explain this? Perhaps in one way only Mazon's prejudiced opinions have—for the time being, of course—blinded the critical faculties of this eminent scholar and made him overlook data which he ought to have known. Another example of this miscarried search for "modernisms" in the language of the *Slovo*: "Dyeti Byesovi," says Mazon, "ont je ne sais quoi d'occidental et de moderne." But a series of ancient Russian parallels, quoted by Jakobson (pp. 257–58), proves the subjectivity of that supposition.

This essay of Jakobson's becomes more and more an indictment of Mazon's works dedicated to the *Slovo*. We must confess that the objective data abound. There are weighty arguments (or seem to be) which must be answered by Mazon in an equally well-balanced, objective way, on the strength of historical and philological data, but on all available data, and not only on those which are to be found in several reference books or on brilliant flashes of constructive imagination.

In concluding this section of his study Jakobson makes this statement: there are *no* modernisms in the *Slovo*: "Par contre nous apercevons dans la Geste, 1) plusieurs mots qui ne sont attestés que dans des manuscrits découverts beaucoup plus tard que le *Slovo*, 2) des mots qui, tout en manquant dans les autres textes vieux-russes, s'appuient sur des modèles vieux-russes, inconnus à l'époque de la découverte du *Slovo*, 3) des mots qui n'ont de répondants attestés que dans d'autres langues slaves, mais dont la forme phonique dans le *Slovo* est parfaitement correcte du point de vue du vieux russe, et qu'un auteur russe de l'époque de Catherine, c'est à dire avant la naissance de la grammaire comparée slave, n'aurait absolument pu former . . ." (pp. 271–72).

Jakobson proceeds to show the non-convincing character of Mazon's parallels between the style and images of the *Slovo* and the "pseudo-classic" and "Ossianic" literature of the 18th century. Thus, the "corn-like torches" have nothing to do with the 18th-century style, but simply belong to the funeral ritual of ancient Russia, as proved by the miniatures on pp. 29a and 133b of the Radziwiłł manuscript of the Old Russian Chronicle (pp. 190, 275–76). The "wings of the wind" are not due to the influence of Ossian; these wings of the wind being, for example, a favourite image with Cyril of Turov, a Russian ecclesiastical writer of the same 12th century. And so on.

The "mists and fogs" of the landscape of the *Slovo* are due to the fact that the author is being "obsessed by the Ossianic landscape," says Mazon. But the most striking occurrence of these gloomy hues in the description of nature are in a passage common to the *Slovo* and to the *Zadonščina* (belonging to the 15th century) and this passage, although more striking, is not suspected by Mazon. Why, then, should other similar features be suspect? So much the more, since a parallel of dark mists foreboding mishap is to be found in the description of the Battle of Kalka in the Old Chronicle (*Laur.*, 6731). Sometimes Mazon considers as modernisms images which occur in the Bible—the "wailing" walls and

gates of the city are found in Isaiah and in Jeremiah's *Lamentations* (the Slavic text is quoted by Peretc, and again overlooked by Mazon). And when Mazon again scents stylistical modernism in the image of the "pearly soul" leaving through the necklace of gold the body of the dying warrior-prince, why does he not take notice of the most instructive essay of Aynalov (1934), tracing the image of the "pearly soul" to old Byzantine and Slavic sources (we find it in the Byzantine Chronicle of Georgios Hamortolos which was translated in Russia in the 11th century)? In general, the influences of old Byzantine literary tradition are so strong and manifold, and those Byzantine sources were so out of reach of the 18th-century scholars, that the fact of these influences shedding new and unexpected light on some passages of the *Slovo*, deemed until now as obscure and baffling, is itself an argument of utmost weight against the hypothesis of Mazon. Jakobson partly refers here to results arrived at by other scholars (A. S. Orlov, C. A. Manning, H. Grégoire) and partly leads the way himself. This chapter dedicated to "*Slovo* and the Byzantine Inheritance" (pp. 290-307) is of utmost value and interest for the historian of culture. How convincing, for example, is the comparison between the introduction to the narrative of the Trojan War in the Byzantine Chronicle of Manasses and the preamble of the *Slovo*, and especially the most interesting pages devoted by Jakobson to the tracing of Byzantine eschatological motives, whereby quite unexpected light is shed on such images as "Dyeva Obida" (compare the Virgin "Adikia" in the eschatological revelations which were attributed to Methodius of Patara); or such expressions as *sedmý vyek*—the "seventh millenary" (i.e. the time of the last eschatological struggle between the forces of Evil and God).

Professor Mazon is sometimes full of contradictions in his arguments. He makes the best of a forlorn case. How otherwise is to be explained a certain "double play" or let us call it inconsistency which comes to light in his comparison of the *Zadonščina* and the *Slovo*? This comparison is one of the chief pivots of his whole argument. Generally, the striking resemblances of many features of the two poems have been considered as one of the strongest proofs for the authenticity of the *Slovo*, the author of the *Zadonščina* being the imitator, inasmuch as the text of this latter is full of misquotings and misunderstandings. Mazon tries to prove the reverse relation, but his arguments seem not to be free of a certain amount of prejudice. If a passage of the *Slovo* which runs parallel to a passage of the *Zadonščina* is more lucid and conveys a more appropriate sense (whereas the parallel in the *Zadonščina* is clearly the result of inorganic imitation or misunderstanding), it speaks, according to Mazon, *against the Slovo*! If, on the other hand, a passage of the *Slovo* seems to Mazon more "obscure," it is, of course, again a proof *against the Slovo* (Jakobson, p. 328).

These are the result of a *preconceived idea*. All these strenuous attempts to prove the non-authenticity of the *Slovo* go to pieces for not

being soundly constructed. He has not even studied in an adequate way the different variants of the *Zadonščina*, which ought to have been the first stepping-stone in his attempts to prove its priority to the *Slovo* ! It is a study which is sadly below the level of present-day mediæval research works, concludes Jakobson (p. 360)

This verdict seems to be severe, but it is not unjustified. The eminent French scholar seems to have adopted a historically false thesis, and all his vast knowledge could not serve him, but only gives a semblance of a proof. Professor Jakobson seems to have inflicted a decisive blow on this scaffolding. The argument of Mazon must either be completely rewritten, or—better—abandoned.

The brilliant short study by Professor Vernadsky on the historical, geographical and archæological traits of the *Slovo* tends the same way. It gives a wide, well-documented and most interesting survey of historical and cultural presuppositions and backgrounds. It explains in its historical setting and purport the ardent desire of Prince Igor to "drink with his helmet out of the Don," i.e. to reconquer the way of the Don, the driving force of the expedition. How interesting, for example, is the explanation of some features in the uncanny dream of old Grand Duke Svyatoslav III of Kiev (p. 232) !

We owe to the scholars whose combined efforts produced this volume much more than the refutation of an untenable thesis of a great scholar who seems here to be more influenced by brilliant strokes of constructive imagination than by the severe voice of historical data. We owe to them a positive and attractive enrichment of our knowledge concerning this central and most entrancing document of ancient Russian poetry and culture.

New York City.

NICHOLAS ARSENIIEV.

*Slavic Civilisation Through the Ages.* By Samuel Hazzard Cross ;  
Harvard University Press (London . Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1948,  
pp. vi + 195, 30s.

THIS book represents a course of lectures delivered in 1939 at Boston by the late Dr. S. H. Cross, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University. They were left in the form of "a complete manuscript" and edited for publication by Mr. L. I. Strakhovsky of the same University.

It is a difficult book to review, not so much because of its posthumous appearance as because the criteria applicable to a book such as this are quite different from the criteria applicable to a course of lectures, such as formed the object of the manuscript, of which Mr. Strakhovsky has, naturally enough, revised only the form, not the content. A course of lectures is quite properly adapted to some particular audience ; it may be limited or conditioned by reference to other courses in the same subject ; and, above all, an experienced lecturer, will in speaking, depart

frequently and even widely from his text by way not only of supplement and illustration but of qualification, reservations and so on. A book on the other hand—certainly a book of this sort—is addressed to the general public, which cannot be expected to supply any necessary modifications.

Those who knew the late Professor Cross will expect a work of wide and various erudition—and will not be disappointed. Between these covers are compressed a great store of facts gathered over very wide ranges of time and space and mustered in a presentation which is simple, lucid (except for one or two rather mysterious sentences) and readable. To say so much is of course to attribute to the book not inconsiderable merits, and indeed for students of Slav history who open it either with some solid preliminary knowledge, or under the guidance of one who has, it may well prove useful or interesting or both.

But in the first place the title is altogether misleading. The theme of the book is not "Slavic Civilisation"—though there are about ten pages on the culture of the primitive Slavs, besides a chapter (23 pages) entitled "Foundations of Russian Culture" but in the main, and indeed essentially, it is a historical outline of the old-fashioned type, concerned with movements of peoples and politics, including wars and, where appropriate, "religion," i.e. Church history. There is also some account of the evolution of social classes, at any rate in Russia.

In the second place, it is only necessary to state that the book comprises 185 pages (some 65,000 words or less) to dispose of the claim in its first paragraph that it offers "a fairly detailed account" of the Slavs from their first appearance in history to their emergence in modern times as a group of nations.

Not only does the scale of the work exclude the possibility of a detailed account, but in combination with the absence of qualifications which were no doubt introduced extempore into the lectures, it results at times in an undue tidying of loose ends, i.e. in the presentation of what are only hypotheses, even if sound and quite acceptable ones, as facts. This occurs chiefly of course in reference to the early period. Examples of such more or less probable hypotheses disguising themselves as facts are: the explanation of the word "White" in such combinations as "White Russian," as meaning "fair-haired," and the assertion that the Scyths were Iranians—which is very likely true but ignores both the unresolved disputes of philologists, and the representation of distinctly Mongolic types on some Scythian vases, and the description of Scythian physique in the treatise "On Aurs, Waters and Places"—not to mention other minor pieces of counter-evidence.

A hypothesis which has not even the merit of probability is the contention (pp. 4-5) that the Vlaxhs who, according to the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, drove the ancient Slavs from their seats along the Danube are "most naturally" to be understood as the Celtic Gauls of the 4th century B.C. Apart from the negative objection that on the author's own showing there is no evidence for Slavs on the Danube before



the Christian era, how can it be supposed that such a simple concrete fact could have been recorded and remembered by such barbarians over a period of 1,400 years? What could the Romans of Scipio's time have told of the Italic invasions of Italy 1,000 years or more before their day? What could the Germans of Clovis recall of their ancestors of the 10th century B.C.? When barbarians keep a memory of some element of their remote history, it appears not in the form of clear bare facts but shrouded in the mists of allusion or myth, as in the Greek inkling of the "thalassocracy of Minos," or the Indic and Avestic references to the "land of the Aryans" (*Airyanam vaejant*) whence they had come. And talking of Aryans the Indo-European languages begin to appear "from Hindustan to the Atlantic and from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean basin"—or at least within that area—not "about 1000 B.C." but nearly 1,000 years earlier (in India, Babylonia, the Eastern Mediterranean, etc.)

But these are minor flaws. What is serious is the author's uncertainty of purpose and his lack (to use a formula which he applies to discredit the historians of Byzantium) of any philosophy of history.

His uncertainty of purpose has been hinted at already. The author calls his work an account of "Slavic Civilisation" and in fact devotes about one page in six to culture. But to begin to cover that aspect he would have had at least to double his work. As it is, he has nothing to say on Polish literature, mediæval Serbian architecture, folk poetry, peasant life or indeed almost any aspect of culture in the last 1,000 years outside Russia. And what can one make of the attempt to summarise the history of Russian culture since Peter the Great in ten pages, where Pushkin and Lermontov share two sentences between them, while Dostoevsky and Tolstoi are allowed one apiece!

The lack of any philosophy of history strikes the reader alike in the comparatively minor matter of terminology and in the major questions of perspective, organisation of material and judgment. Take the question of terminology. For Professor Cross the Russian Time of Troubles is "a period of violent revolution." But the whole passage leaves one uncertain whether for him revolution means anything more than violent political unrest.

Anyhow, far more questionable is the use made not once but again and again of the terms "race," "racial," "racially." One would have thought that by 1939 there might have been enough information of the use then being made of these concepts to make an educated man very careful in his own use of them. But Professor Cross uses these terms with blithe imprecision to designate either a biological type, as when he talks of anthropological evidence identifying the proto-Slavs "with the northern long-headed race" (p. 6), or a politico-cultural unit as in the statement (p. 42) that "the Khazars were a progressive race," or a linguistic and cultural group as in the description of the Slavs (p. 22) as "originally a peaceful race," or even apparently to signify a linguistic group, as when (p. 12) the Scyths are defined as "Iranians by race."

But there are also passages where it is impossible to know what meaning to attach to the term as in the proposition on p. 177 that "their (*sc.* 'the early Slavs') primitive civilisation does not stamp them as an inferior race." There are other passages—mostly in reference to the Bulgarians—where the haziness of his conception of "race" leads him into quite indefensible statements. Thus on p. 143 we are told that "the Bulgarians, though Slavic in language, are not pure Slavic racially"; on p. 174 there is reference to Bulgaria's "complex racial background" and even an attempt to explain the Bulgarians' alleged feeling of superiority to their Slav neighbours in the Balkans as "perhaps" due to "their mixed blood." Such explanations of course explain nothing; but it is a puzzle how Professor Cross could have come to imagine that the Bulgarians are any less "pure Slavic racially" (whatever that may mean) than the Russians or the Czechs, for instance. . . .

Turning from the question of terminology, we find ourselves confronted at every turn by evidence of the sad effect of the lack of a philosophy of history on attempts to formulate historical judgments. Thus in passage after passage the author appears at sea in his evaluations alike of the character of historical groups, of relations between events (and groups of events) and of the significance of great historical phenomena.

At their simplest the first kind of judgments can be noted in the surprising, not to say bizarre, choice of epithets. the Slavs were "originally a peaceful race" (p. 22), the Russian proletariat at the end of the 19th century is the ". . . ambitious proletariat" (p. 117), the austere quietism of the Bogomils appears as "the picturesque Bogomile heresy" (p. 155); and the Serbs are "a singularly gifted and instinctively democratic people" (p. 172). In the last instance the oddity of the adverbs is even more striking than the woolliness of the adjectives.

Judgments on the relations between historical events and groups of events imply a theory of historical causation. Professor Cross's theory is simple, traditional, naive. largely in terms of the time-honoured psychology of persons or of groups conceived and characterised as persons. "The republican principle thrived in Novgorod and Pskov because actually the princes had contributed nothing to the civic and economic growth of these areas, which owed their expansion purely to the energy of their own citizens" (p. 93). Why the princes should have played such a minor part in Novgorod as compared with Kiev is not examined. Similarly, parliamentary government "failed to mature" in 17th-century Russia "because the level of popular political intelligence was not high enough . . ." (p. 107). The collapse of Serbia in the 14th century is explained on p. 150 in terms of the lack of understanding, the selfishness and the rising influence of the Serbian magnates, and on the following page in terms of the lack of energy and prestige of the successors of Stephen Dushan.

When causality of a more abstract type is adduced it is often in the form of a welter of factors, merely juxtaposed without any particular

perspective, order of importance or examination of their interrelations ; and more than once factors of high or even the highest importance are missing from the list.

Thus the rise and decline of Kievan Russia is sketched without reference to the obstruction and reopening of alternative trade routes (the seizure of control of the Mediterranean by the Arabs and their gradual dispossession), and—though this is more controversial—without recognition of the politico-strategic unwisdom of Sviatoslav's blows against the Khazars and Bulgaria.

Similarly the rise of the Muscovite autocracy is outlined without any realisation of its geographico-strategic necessity, i.e. of the necessity of a strong central government to maintain the unity of such a vast area without natural strategic frontiers against the attacks of external enemies and its own centrifugal tendencies. But then this is only one case among many of Professor Cross's failure to appreciate the significance of geography. He is equally silent about its role in determining the evolution of Eastern Europe as a whole (meaning the territories between Russia on the east and Germany and Italy on the west) along lines so different from those of Western Europe.

As a final example of our author's causal analysis, one may quote the sentence on p. 183 : " The causes of World War II can thus be summed up in the fateful trio of revenge, strategy and nationalism." It is as simple as that ! Professor Cross's outlook is not so much non-Marxian and non-Freudian as pre-Marxian and pre-Freudian.

There is no point in expatiating on the few little slips and contradictions or in entering into controversy on matters where there is reasonable room for differences of opinion, such as the issue of relations—past and future—between Germans and Slavs. But something needs to be said in conclusion by way of illustrating Professor Cross's judgments on great historical phenomena. Two examples will suffice : the author's evaluations of the Tatars (pp. 102-04) and of Byzantium (pp. 100-02).

It is entirely characteristic that whereas the warp and the woof of mediæval Russian and East European history are formed by the impact of Byzantine civilisation and of nomadic barbarism, Professor Cross nowhere attempts a general picture of the culture and function of the nomads or of the general evolution and influence on his area of the East Roman Empire. What he does say briefly about Byzantine culture in relation to Russian and about the Tatar domination of Russia suggests that both these crucial subjects lay outside his field of interest.

The effects of the Tatar domination in Russia are represented as entirely negative and deplorable. " The Tartar incursion [surely a curious description of the two-century Tatar suzerainty] brought it [*sc.* the intellectual advance of mediæval Russia] to a full stop." In this connection it would be interesting to know on what basis Professor Cross could compare the intellectual " advance " of Russia under the Tatars with her intellectual " advance " during the half-century preceding the

Tatar conquest. Then . . . "the Tartar domination was a far more serious factor in the deterioration of cultural and spiritual values", "the Mongols . . . promoted a lower level of political morality and a hypocritical subservience to alien authority which left an indelible print on the Russian character." "The Tartar example ingrained in the Russian ruling class a notion of tyranny and autocracy which became basic in the Muscovite state . . ." These views sound a little old-fashioned ; they involve more than a little simplification and one-sidedness , and they contradict what the author himself says on the same page : "The gap between the cultural levels of the Tartars and the Russians was too great to allow the Tartar domination to penetrate deeply into Russian life or to shake its foundations " This seems to me true , but the extent and character of Tatar influence on Russian development is an exceedingly complex question, many aspects of which remain to be investigated. One modification of the traditional view which is likely to emerge from further study is the recognition that many elements in Russian development which had been attributed (without cause shown) to the Tatar domination are more probably to be derived from factors in the century or so preceding the appearance of the Tatars (the decline of Kiev, the progressive impoverishment and abandonment of the south, the great migrations to central Russia, the consequent transformation of the economic and with it the social life of the Russians, etc., etc.). However this may be, it is necessary to challenge the contention that the Tatars "were Asiatic nomads who preserved their semibarbarous existence unmodified." Of the Tatars in China and the lands of the Caliphate this is of course ludicrously untrue , but even if it be understood to refer solely to the Golden Horde and its successors in Russia it is not really defensible. It belongs to the popular conception of the Tatars which is based almost wholly on the period when they were actually conquering their empire. The Tatars, like their nomad predecessors in the South Russian steppe, especially the Scyths and the Khazars, lived on their control of the trade between the forest zone and the Mediterranean and West Asian lands. Like the Khazars they built towns for themselves, and the chief of these towns (Old Sarai near the present Astrakhan and New Sarai east of present Stalingrad) were not only great administrative and trading centres, but solid and imposing cities with a large artisan population drawn from the ends of the earth , with whole districts built of brick (including brick factories, potash kilns, pottery workshops, forges, not to mention the goldsmiths, tailors and other purveyors of the Khan's court) , with a water supply led to factories and private houses, with heating systems, and with decorations in marble and mosaic which show some regard for form. How many European cities could then boast of more—or as much ?

Even more negative and superficial is the appreciation of Byzantine civilisation. It opens intriguingly enough "Although Byzantine culture had its weaker aspects, we are too prone to underestimate its

level and its services to the world. . . ." The first clause makes one wonder what culture, present or past, has lacked its weaker aspects, the second why the professor then proceeds to condescend to "the picturesque and flamboyant features of oriental Christianity," to seek in Byzantine caesaropapism the key to "the superlative admiration showered on Joseph Stalin in our own day" and, while admitting the wealth, luxury and "military prowess" of the East Romans, to trounce them for lacking "the punch and drive which characterised the best days of the Roman Empire or the realm of Charlemagne," for their intellectual and literary conservatism, for their lack of creative imagination, of a philosophy of history, of a sufficiently spiritual outlook in religion—with never a word of tribute to the greatest of Byzantine achievements or of explanation of the prime cause of Byzantine limitations.

Byzantium, like the Ottomans after her and so many Middle Eastern powers both before and after, was always in the excruciating position of having to face two ways at once: with one arm she was busy fending off the inroads of European and Asiatic barbarians from the north while with the other she was desperately holding in play the great empires of the Middle East: first the Persia of the Sāsānids and then the Caliphate of the Umayyads and their Iranian and Turkish successors. This factor can hardly be over-estimated. It is no accident that the line of European development showed earliest and highest in Ireland, England, France, Spain and Italy, that is, in lands with their backs to the sea. It is the same in other periods of history: the powers which do not have to face several ways at once are those which as a rule evolve fastest and farthest. Powers which do have to face several ways at once are almost bound to be stunted or at least delayed and warped in their growth.

Instead, therefore, of asking why Byzantium was not *more* successful in her military and civilising activities, we should rather wonder at her actual successes. We should recognise that that 900-year-long solitary defence against the embattled forces of barbarism to the north and of alien civilisations to the south was in fact a colossal feat of courage and skill, unsurpassed in the history of civilisations, and that it is this epic struggle which gave Western Europe its chance to develop and mature, which preserved for us the treasures of Hellenic culture—Greek philosophy and literature and Roman law—and which dowered the Slavs with the rudiments of their culture: an alphabet and a literary language.

FRANK FRIEDEBERG-SEELEY.

*Soviet Economic Development since 1917.* By Maurice Dobb, Routledge, 1948, pp. 474, 18s.

*Voennoyaya Ekonomika SSSR v period Otechestvennoy Voini (The War Economy of the U.S.S.R. in the period of the Patriotic War).* By N. Voznesensky; Moscow, 1948, pp. 192.

MR. DOBB'S *Russian Economic Development since the Revolution*, published in 1928, one of the earliest and best of scholarly books on the U.S.S.R.,

was not superseded until Dr. Baykov's storehouse of information, *The Development of the Soviet Economic System*, appeared two years ago. Mr. Dobb's present book continues and replaces his earlier work and, like Dr. Baykov's, provides a reliable narrative adequate as a text-book and as a point of departure for the research worker. The appearance of these two books, together with Dr. Schlesinger's work on ideology (*Soviet Legal Theory* and *The Spirit of Post-War Russia*) marks a stage in the study of the U.S.S.R. in this country. The effect of Mr. Dobb's book is, however, likely to go further than that of the others. He is sufficiently readable in his narrative, and sufficiently explicit in discussing the implications of Soviet economic experience, to help considerably in bringing that experience within the horizon of western economists. The book has much to offer workers in related subjects. The author indicates the chapters likely to interest the economic historian, the economic geographer and the student of comparative economic policies. But the book, like any serious work on the U.S.S.R., may be of use to the social sciences generally which are split up, unavoidably, into an increasing number of specialisations, by which they tend to lose the very essence of their subject—the cohesiveness of society. The integration of Soviet society is both evident and self-conscious, so that any informed study of its economy and economic policies cannot avoid touching on the quality of "cohesiveness." (Authoritative Soviet statements on internal matters are found, on inspection, to be about little else, for example Mr. Voznesensky's book, reviewed below) It is possible that increasing attention by social scientists to the U.S.S.R. may make it easier to see our own less evident (but in some respects more far-reaching) cohesiveness, and speed the day when this country's government, economy, social relationships, traditions and internal conflicts will be treated as different aspects of the one social organism.

Mr. Dobb's book is in its way a contribution in this direction, although he does not stray (apart from a few footnotes that would have been more proper to a political history) from the word "economic" in its title. In fact he keeps too closely to it. The crucial problem of peasant incentives, as expressed in the time and effort spent on the collective farm work and on the household plot, is barely mentioned (footnote 1, p. 253). The decision "to liquidate the kulaks as a class" is not adequately explained, although its mechanics are well described as a case of "where the process of sapping and infiltration must needs give way before the simultaneous and abrupt assault" (p. 244). The politico-economic importance of the Machine-Tractor Stations, as party and industrial centres throughout the countryside, is neglected. The same applies to the effect of collectivisation in making possible direct state influence upon the peasantry; and to the effect of the first five-year plan in the spread of elementary training in industrial technique and habits. These points are not so much criticisms as examples of the difficulty of writing an "economic" history of a society in which the interlacing

of the economic, political and social is unusually evident. The ground covered in 450 pages is, in these circumstances, a feat of discipline and compression. It ranges from the Emancipation to the present five-year plan, with an introductory chapter discussing the effect of Soviet economic experience on western economic notions and four concluding chapters on the institutions and processes of Soviet economy.

The introductory chapter ("The Significance of a Study of Soviet Economic Development for the Problems of our Time") is an important contribution to economic thought. It is closely reasoned but, perhaps because it is so much more sensibly consonant with the facts of life than is usual in writings on economic theory, the argument is mostly in normal prose as distinct from the technical language of economists. The remaining two chapters of Part I sketch, in considerable detail, the economic background of the revolution. Part II is the narrative history of Soviet economy. The chapters covering the first decade are reworked from the earlier book. They are easier in style than the later narrative, and give a sense of greater familiarity than the latter, perhaps because the conditions they describe, which centre upon market problems freely discussed, are more familiar than those of the planning period. The account of the pre-planning economic problems and the politico-economic analyses and policies put forward is particularly good. The chapters on the first and second five-year plans are valuable short summaries of the available information, and include a very useful note on Soviet industrial statistics. The last chapter of this section, on the third plan, the war and the post-war plan, is the hardest in the book to read: it is, unavoidably, little more than a sketchy narrative based on figures, with a slight commentary, but it brings the story up to date and the effort of both the writer and reader is worth while. Part II contains occasional brief disquisitions of generalisation (e.g. pp. 206-07, 244, 312) deeply thought and finely expressed, rewarding oases in the journey through the closely-packed narrative.

Part III, though still in the main concisely informative, has somewhat more generalisation, for it deals with the structure and processes of Soviet economy, as reached in the later thirties when they were relatively stabilised but still changing fairly rapidly. The chapter on planning is perhaps the best in the book. It has an excellent short account of some of the problems of Soviet planning, and especially of the different approaches amongst Soviet economists prior to the first five-year plan. The section on the organisation of planning and economic administration is well done. A little more might have been said of the apparently technical problems of standardised forms, and of Gosplan's increasingly complex balance charts: for before the war the problems of their handling were, naturally enough, doing far more than the Soviet theoretical economists (cf. footnote 3, p. 334) to stimulate progress in planning methods. The generalisations in this chapter, the more substantial for being sparing and very adequately grounded in the Soviet experience

recounted, provide a marked contrast to much of the 'current' writings on planning which are sustained by a less adequate basis of considered experience. In the chapters on finance, industrial location, and labour and wages, more information is provided with more readability and economy of space than might be expected. The second of these is particularly successful in this respect and allows what pattern there is of Soviet experience in industrial location to demonstrate itself. The labour chapter might well have reminded the British readers for whom it was written of the youth and rawness of trade unionism in Russia when its place and functions in the new society were being decided in the party discussions of the early twenties. (It is impossible to imagine a party or government doing the same in any circumstances, for the great oak of trade unionism in this country.)

The statement on p. 13 that "it is very far from being true . . . that military considerations were a major motive in industrialisation" is difficult to understand. Industrialisation had a single motive—independence, within which the military is one of many strands. The U.S.S.R. saw its external context as a harsher one than this quotation would imply. The same applies to the Soviet Union's internal problems. There is no reference in the book to convict labour. This has been, and probably still is, of economic importance for its relative mobility and for the cheapness of housing in a country requiring much unskilled pioneering work in hard geographical conditions. A footnote on this point, perhaps to the chapter on location of industry, would have been more proper to the subject than, e.g., the non-economic footnotes already mentioned on pp. 94 and 97. This sin of omission is one of the occasional reasons for suspecting that Mr. Dobb tends to see the texture of his subject as smoother than it is. This is cloth that is cut according, amongst other things, to its own texture and to the harshness of the world's reality. It is, perhaps, not surprising that even so thoughtful, comprehending and careful an observer, in a country more finely woven by history and having yet to tackle the problem of independence in the modern world, should see the U.S.S.R. as smoother and easier than it is. Perhaps illusion of some kind, in some degree, is unavoidable on this subject.

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Mr. Voznesensky, a member of the Political Bureau and head of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Commission, combines in a unique degree first-rank political authority with economic specialisation. The reviews and circulation (250,000 first edition) of his little book confirm its authoritative nature. It contains a certain amount of new economic information, which is of most interest on the crisis of November–December, 1941, the evacuation process, the extent of the industrial growth of the various reception areas, war-time changes in the composition of the labour force and in wages, war economic losses and rehabilitation. It also gives a fuller indication than does the Law on the fourth five-year plan, of post-



war technical-organisational policy, e.g. the building up of reserve stocks and capacities to lessen the winter hold-ups in the basic industries.

The political side of the book is perhaps more interesting than the statistical and technical. Without being idiosyncratic, it has something of the feel of a Churchillian war-time speech articulating, instructing and accentuating the emotions and resolution of the united national audience. It could also be likened in some parts to a victory thanksgiving service, the thanks being rendered to the nation and its leaders; or to the Soviet war medal which bears the words "Our Cause was Just" and "We Won." The sense of the book is that victory was made possible by the socialist economic system, which is far superior to that of capitalism, and was secured by the intensity of the people's war effort and the wisdom with which they were led. This proud and simple message has probably, in the months since the book appeared, reached most of the adult and adolescent population through party and *komsomol* propagandists. Voznesensky amply states the message in a variety of terminologies. One of them is statistics. Another is the discussion of Soviet economic theory in the chapter on planning, e.g. pp. 148-50, where he lays down in Marxist terminology the difference between the operation of the law of value in capitalist and socialist economy, under five headings. These may puzzle economists, but translated into everyday language they turn out to be the following statements about the U.S.S.R. (i) all work is socially useful, (ii) factories co-operate and do not compete, (iii) there is a complete national investment policy, (iv) economic decisions are not determined by profit and loss, and (v) the economy is governed by man, not by blind forces. Elsewhere in this chapter he says the same sort of thing more directly, e.g. "The state plan . . . rests on the authority and practice of the whole Soviet people," "everybody's labour ultimately serves a single aim."

The book begins by explaining why the war economy of 1941-1945 is to be considered as a sub-section, with laws of its own, within the history of Soviet economy. This is an example of the care and precision of official formulation of the country's experience. A study of the verbal element in the U.S.S.R.'s machinery of government and cohesion would show that this constant precise formulating, even in such matters as historical periodisation, plays an important part. A more important example of such formulation in the introduction is the statement that the second world war, an inevitable result of monopoly-capitalist development, "historically coincided" with the Soviet-German war. This is a revision of the formulation stated by Stalin in February, 1946, before the major deterioration in international relations ("The second world war from the very outset assumed the nature of an anti-fascist war" and "the entry of the Soviet Union . . . could only strengthen . . . the anti-fascist and liberating character of the second world war"). Voznesensky tells his readers: "Lenin taught that the fate of all revolutions hitherto has been decided by long series of wars, that in

the civil war we concluded only one spell of war and must be ready for a second spell of war. The prolonged existence of the Soviet Union alongside aggressive imperialist states is fraught with a series of great conflicts "

All the chapters after the introduction are on economics, but the book may be easier for the western sociologist to understand than for the economist. It is a statement by a particular culture, in its own conventional terminology, about itself: its sources of strength and cohesion, its great and successful endeavours, its recent peril and victory, the dangers which face it and the achievements it seeks.

J. MILLER.

*Młode pokolenie chłopów (The Younger Generation of Peasants)*. By Józef Chałasiński; Warszawa, 1938, with a Preface by Florian Znaniecki. Four vols, large 8vo. Vol. I: *The Social Bases of Young Peasant Movements in Poland*, pp. xl + 326; Vol. II: *The World of Life, Work and Aspirations of Young Peasant Groups*, pp. 553 with a map; Vol. III: *The Role of Young Peasant Groups in the Social Transformation of the Countryside*, pp. 601, Vol. IV: *Towards a School-system for Peasants*, pp. 556.

THIS imposing work, though published ten years ago, was not obtainable in the outside world and has only now come to hand. It is a monument of the enterprise and industry shown by the Department of Sociology in the university of Poznań, founded and ably led by Florian Znaniecki, whose *The Polish Peasants in Europe and America* (in collaboration with Prof. W. R. Thomas of Chicago) established his reputation just thirty years ago as a coming master in the social sciences. Like the earlier study, this work by one of his ablest pupils is based on a rich series of peasant autobiographies collected by the Department during the thirties, of which two large volumes appeared in 1935 and 1936 as *Pamiętniki Chłopów*. A substantial part of each of these volumes, in particular of II, III and IV, is made up of similar life-stories, apart from numerous citations given in the text. They alone would be of permanent value, apart altogether from the argument of the author in expounding his thesis. It may be said at once that the production in 1938 of such a work is sufficient proof of the interest taken by Polish learning in the lot of the most numerous element in the country whatever truth there may be in the charge that it was neglected by the government.

Nothing in the nature of a proper review of these 1,800 pages of exposition and narrative can be given in the few paragraphs that follow. To do this would require pages, and belongs rather to the task of social science journals. Nevertheless a brief report of what Professor Chałasiński has attempted cannot fail to be of interest to our readers, especially in a time like the present when the future of all Central European peoples is being watched with interest.

In his Preface Znaniecki rightly notes the fact that "so far sociological literature does not possess any work based on such rich autobiographical

material" as this one now given to the public—alas<sup>1</sup>, one should add, in a language known to few non-Poles. He adds that the author has already shown his competence in dealing with such materials in his *Drogi awansu społecznego robotnika*, published in 1931. Then he goes on to show how valuable good biographical material can be to the social scientist, in particular when it comes from years of such startling transformations as were the lot of the Polish peasants in the first quarter of the present century. I should like to add here that, by way of introducing himself to the whole subject, the beginner could hardly do better than look at the life-story of a Polish village mayor, told by himself, which appeared in English as *From Serfdom to Self-Government* in London (Minerva Press) in 1941.

Chałasiński opens Volume I with this characteristic sentence: "The central problem of this work is the shaping (self-shaping) of the peasant stratum in Poland. this is one of the most far-reaching tasks of contemporary Poland." The title of his introductory chapter is "The Problem of Work," since everything must be judged in the light of the occupational factor; but he calls Chapter One *Chłopska prawda*, i.e. the truth as the peasant sees it, setting out with the help of numerous quotations the significance of the biographies both for the investigator and—something also to be remembered—for the writers. In Chapter II we are at once introduced to the background of the study as such, "From Serfdom to Political Freedom." Here, as indeed everywhere in these volumes, both the lights and the shadows of rural Poland are brought out. Betimes one is grimly reminded of the lag in which much of East Central Europe was still caught even in the thirties, part of which was due to the gulf that still existed between the *possidentes* and the workers. The author reveals the impatience of the latter with their lot, their disabilities, and their lack of educational opportunities: just as, on the other hand, one is shown how confident they were that all this would be speedily righted once the nation had become master in its own house. Attached though they were to their soil and to the ways of their fathers, the younger generation of peasants were resolved to blaze out new trails, and they looked to the makers of the new Poland for guidance.

Volume II is an essay in social geography. The constituent regions of the republic of inter-war years are taken in turn (though the central provinces get little attention), on the basis of the biographies contributed: and a greater part of the book simply reproduces the materials written. The reader has before him an unfolding of the picture of life and work, together with much of comment and reflection on the present and the future. In the fifteen biographies, ranging from six to fifty pages in length, we see the home, the community, the school, the church, the co-operatives, the local government, the various clubs and societies for entertainment or other ends to which the village people belonged, etc., etc. Nothing is clearer than that the writers had minds of their own, and were not afraid to use them.

In Volume III the author turns to these youth organisations in detail—as mediums of self-expression, an instrument of self-improvement and a dynamic factor in the transformation of the countryside from a passive element in public life to an active partner. The theme is divided into two parts. the first deals with the nature and evolution of these groups—the making of a “band” of young savages into a “circle” of young citizens, in which process the role of books and book-reading plays a vital part; while the second assays the consequences of all this for the individual personality. Here the claims of the state and the church get full attention, and the dangers of “extremism”, leading to anarchy, are not overlooked. Of special value is the section dealing with the revolt of the youth against the controls exercised in the past by the clergy.

Everything studied so far is now brought together in Volume IV, whose concern is the making of the citizen, in particular the share in this assigned to the schools of the country. It is not enough to say that the children of the peasants should have education; vitally important is that they should have the right kind, and that the mistakes of the past should not be repeated in this field. Hitherto the result of much effort has too often been the emergence of a half-baked intelligentsia, which turned its back on agriculture and sought an “escape” in town-life without by any means being properly fitted for any profession. The evils of this sort of schooling are self-evident. Fortunately, as the author brings out, not all educational effort was mistaken; in particular the work done by the People's High Schools on the Danish model, run by voluntary agencies, was bearing much fruit, as many of the biographies show. Ultimately, of course, it is the state which must accept the supreme responsibility in this field, without, however, either interfering in the handling of the task or imposing a single philosophy of life on those engaged in it.

It is notable that the author of this work, who refused to leave his country during or since the war, is continuing his battle for the highest ideals in popular education in post-war Poland, holding firmly to his liberal convictions in the face of pressure both from the Left and the Right. If only for its key position in Europe, Poland's experiments in this important issue will be followed by the outside world with no small interest.

W. J. ROSE.

*Obzor Russkoi Kultury. Istorichesky Ocherk (Historical Survey of Russian Culture)* By V. A. Riasanovsky. Vol. I, pp. 634, price \$6.50, Vol. II, part 1, pp. 553, price \$5.50; Vol. II, part 2, pp. 208, price \$3.00. Published by the Author. Eugene, Oregon, U.S.A., 1947-1948.

THIS book by Professor Riasanovsky of the University of Oregon, U.S.A., has as its object to introduce the reader to the main problems of Russian history and to make him acquainted with the development and the achievements of Russian civilization in its different fields.

The first volume embraces the period from the earliest beginnings of Russia's history to the end of the 17th century; the second deals with the last two and a half centuries.

The author starts his account by indicating the very few known sources of knowledge which enable us to form some ideas as to the life of the Eastern Slavs before the 9th century. Till comparatively recently most of the works on Russian history contained extremely little on that period. Only since the archæological research of the last 50-60 years—the works of Vassilievsky and Kondakov, and that of Rostovtzeff on the Iranians and Greeks in South Russia—which opened new horizons for the study of early Russian history, has it been possible to gain an insight into the antecedents of the Russia of Kiev. After having given an account of what has been discovered during the last half-century of research Professor Riasanovsky passes to the safer ground of the history of the Russian people during the period of one and a half centuries from the official adoption of Christianity up to the Mongol invasion. He deals in great detail with the part played by the Normans in Russia's history—one of the darkest and most controversial issues. Then he sets forth the cultural state of Russia during the Mongol domination and discusses the question how far Mongol influences have left their mark on the Russian mind and on Russian institutions. The first volume ends with an account of the Moscow State. In the last chapter the author gives a description and an appreciation of ancient Russian art. The account of each period includes statements on religion, education, literature and art, the author deals also with the structure of the State and with law. He includes many different subjects in this vast field and reviews broadly many aspects of the cultural development of Russia up to the time of Peter the Great. Our only regret is that this first volume pays relatively little attention to economics and to social development; the question of the origins of serfdom is only touched on. On the other hand, the different sides of spiritual life, in particular the development of art, are treated in a relatively full and interesting manner.

The second volume starts with accounts of the development of Russian civilisation in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century under the following headings: "Government and Society," "The General Condition of the State," and "Religion, Education, Literature and Art." Then follow chapters on the development of social and political thought in the second half of the 18th and in the first half of the 19th century: 18th-century criticism of the then existing social order, the development of nationalism, the constitutionalists of the beginning of the 19th century and their schemes, the Decembrists, Prince Odoevsky and his group, the Slavophiles, the Westernisers, and the Utopian Socialists. The next chapters deal with the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century: here again the general condition of the Russian State, its home and foreign policy, and the relations between the Government and the Russian society. Then he passes to the development of social

and political thought and political activities in this period: Herzen, Chernishevsky, Lavrov, Mikhailovsky, the Populist movement; Pissarev, Nechayev; Bakunin, Kropotkin; Tkachov, the *Narodnaya Volya*; the Nationalists—Katkov and Kostantin Leontyev, next Dostoevsky, Vladimir Solovyov, Feodorov, and Tolstoy, and finally Russian Marxism—Plekhanov and Lenin. Then follows a brief survey of the state of religion, education, literature and art in the U.S.S.R. and of the development of social and political thought after the Revolution. An additional chapter tells of the development of Russian-American relations. In conclusion, the author sums up his ideas about the history of Russian civilisation and its achievements.

This book is a sound piece of work, full of substance. The author avoids wild speculation without safe ground under his feet, and in most cases he is cautious in his statements. A few of them which raise doubts ought to be mentioned.

In the famous Norman controversy—for more than a century the most burning question of Russian history, to which the author gives 130 pages of his book—he adopts an extreme view in that he maintains that the part played by the Normans in the building up the Russian State was completely insignificant: this is going far too far.

Speaking of the famous controversy of the Slavophiles and the Westernisers, the author justly states that it was the Westernisers' historical prognosis which proved to be right (II, 1, p. 326). He could have added that Russia's development in the 19th century has proved that it was the Westernisers and not the Slavophiles who appreciated justly the general trend of Russia's history. He seems, however, to think that the Slavophil doctrine was profoundly rooted in the whole past of Russian spiritual development (II, 1, p. 202), tracing the origins of that doctrine to the theories current in the 15th and 16th centuries of Moscow as the "third Rome" and to the 17th-century political writer Križanič. To them he attributes the idea of Russia's Messianic vocation. In this Professor Riasanovsky is hardly right. As to Križanič—a really very remarkable political thinker for that time—he never spoke of Russia's Messianic vocation nor, since he was a Roman Catholic, could he have done so, both in his motives and in his objects Križanič was a champion of a Slavonic nationalism of a mainly defensive character, but Messianic ideas were alien to him and would surely be inconsistent with his constant pursuit of a middle course between two extremes. Moreover Križanič repudiated the idea of Moscow as the "third Rome," and he even considered this idea as a "vanity" invented by covetous Greeks in their craving for protection and support. It is worth attention that while referring to the "third Rome" theories and to the Slavonic nationalism of Križanič the author does not notice that they both were imported into Russia and not born on Russian soil. The same applies to the foundations of the Slavophil theories which had their spiritual roots in the German romanticism and in the philosophy of Schelling and Hegel.

Apart from these rather important points, there are in the book a few inaccuracies or slips of the pen some of which should be mentioned. In speaking of the Decembrists the author mentions their relations with a Polish secret society (II, 1, p. 144), in fact, there was only one meeting of the representatives of the "Southern Society" (Decembrists) with representatives of a Polish secret society, and this meeting came to nothing because the Poles were seemingly repelled by the political and social radicalism of the Decembrists. Speaking of the events which led to the fall of the Russian monarchy the author states (II, 1, p. 409) that Nicholas II reacted to the formation of the "Progressive Bloc," i.e. the liberal majority in the 4th Duma, by dissolving the Duma. This is incorrect. It is true that after the formation, in August, 1915, of a majority in the Duma which demanded urgent reforms and the formation of a Government which would command the confidence of the country, the Duma always existed on sufferance and under constant threat of dissolution. It was twice suspended. On the first occasion it was not convened for 11½ months, on the second its work was suspended when the upheaval began which was soon to sweep the monarchy out of existence. Yet up to the Revolution the 4th Duma was not dissolved. Further, a historical book should not speak of the "Erfurt Agreement" (II, 1, p. 165) because an agreement was precisely what did not result from the meeting of Alexander I and Napoléon at Erfurt. hence the war of 1812. Again, by an obvious slip the author calls the Verestchagin who was sacrificed by Governor-General Rostopchin and murdered by the mob a few hours before Napoléon's *Grande Armée* entered Moscow (the scene is described by Tolstoi in *War and Peace*) "the painter Verestchagin" (II, 2, p. 90). The unfortunate victim of Rostopchin was not a painter, and the painter Verestchagin lived much later and perished on board the *Petrovavlovsk* when that ship was blown up in 1904.

Professor Riasanovsky's book is crammed full of matter. I feel even tempted to say that the author's anxiety to omit nothing has done harm: there are in it unnecessary statements of theories and philosophies which somewhat overload the historical survey. The not very felicitous arrangement of the material is responsible for repetitions and the author's passion for completeness caused him to include a number of names of writers, painters, etc., which merely distracts the reader's attention. On the whole, however, the book exhibits not only sound knowledge but also a critical skill.

In a short review there is little to say except that this is a good and a very useful book. To the undergraduate specialising in Russian history and to everyone who is interested in things Russian this book will be of great value. It makes interesting reading and may also be used as a textbook as well as a reference book. An English edition, revised and somewhat abridged, would be a great help for the teaching of Russian history in English universities.

B. I. ELKIN.

*O poezji polskiej w wieku XVIII.* By Waclaw Borowy; Akademia Umiejętnosci, Kraków, 1948, pp. 398.

THERE is no need to introduce to the readers of *The Slavonic Review* Professor Waclaw Borowy, who between 1931 and 1938 contributed to this periodical a series of papers on modern Polish literature on *Pan Tadeusz*, on Wyspiański, Kasprowicz, Staff, Żeromski, Reymont, and on contemporary Polish literature. His recent book on the Polish poetry of the 18th century is—let us say it from the outset—the most important contribution to the history of Polish literature that has appeared since the end of the war. The book covers the whole of the century, not only the second half of it: not only the classical period of the “Stanislas Age,” but also the preceding sixty years of the most arid “Saxon times”

As we learn from the foreword, the book grew out of a short English essay prepared by the author before the war for the second volume of *The Cambridge History of Poland*. That essay bore the title of “Polish Literature in the Eighteenth Century.” The present work deals not with the “literature” but with the “poetry” of the period. Wherein lies the difference?

Although Benedetto Croce is mentioned in the book only once, and incidentally, it is clear that Borowy's concept of poetry follows that of Croce. Poetry is for him as for the Italian any literary work with emotional appeal. Thus the book covers not only poetry *sensu stricto* and any kind of imaginative prose; but it includes, for instance, also such a masterpiece of Polish political pamphleteering as Staszic's *Warnings to Poland*, because its lyrical prose appeals directly and strongly to the reader's emotions. On the contrary, the other prominent Polish political writer of the period, Kołłątaj, with his elegant, polished but cold prose is not included. The trouble with such a concept of poetry is that it applies romantic criteria to a fundamentally unromantic epoch. Nowhere are these difficulties to be seen more clearly than in the author's treatment of one of the most accomplished poetic works of the period—of Krasiński's *Fables*. These epigrammatic and matter-of-fact fables, masterpieces of condensation and *le mot juste*, are mostly unemotional, representing the precise opposite of the warm, chatty, easygoing style of Lafontaine's fables. That is why Professor Borowy, when dealing with them, either dismisses some of them as being not poetry but “rhymed prose” or exaggerates the importance of the emotional appeal of the others.

Not only the concept of poetry applied in this book was derived from Croce. The whole technique of presentation is Crocean as well. Like Croce in his well-known book *European Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (its original Italian title *Poesia e non poesia* is far more significant) Borowy does not bother about general literary trends—baroque (which in Poland survived far into the 18th century), rococo, classicism, pre-romanticism. From the very beginning he goes straight to the heart of the matter. Except for two chapters dealing with small fry and



translators, and for another one devoted to the anonymous poetry of the Confederates of Bar, the volume is a collection of seventeen separate essays on individual writers. There are no generalisations, no "synthetic" views. The essays are arranged in chronological order, according to the importance of the respective writers—some are longer and more detailed, and some shorter, but that does not alter the basic fact that the whole book is rather a collection of separate essays.

Yet as literary portraits all these essays are admirable. They belong to the best that has ever been written by Polish critics. They do not introduce revolutionary changes into our traditional picture of 18th century Polish literature. As concerns the Saxon period, in spite of some minor *trouvailles* (the most interesting being the collection of mystic poems, *Various Thoughts on Things Ultimate*, by J. Baka, which had been discovered shortly before the war by St. Estreicher, but Borowy was the first to recognise their real value and significance) the book confirms the verdict of previous critics that it was the most barren and uninteresting period of the whole of Polish literary history. As for the second half of the century, Borowy is the first to put to the fore the deep and pathetic religious poetry of Konstancja Benisławska, written—as he points out—like Baka's poetry under the influence of the great Spanish mystics. Another departure from the traditional picture is the high value attributed to the exquisite love poems of the young Książnin. Książnin dismissed them in his later pious years, and afterwards no critic tried to challenge that verdict. Borowy had rescued them from that undeserved oblivion already before the war, when preparing his poetical anthology *Od Kochanowskiego do Staffa*.

On the other hand, he rates lower than is usual the anonymous poetry of the Bar Confederates. In the same way Kajetan Wegierski, a second-rate classical poet, known as an ardent follower of Voltaire and once praised for the formal polish of his poetry, is dismissed as "one of the legends of Polish literary history." Moreover, there are, of course, rearrangements concerning the respective importance of single works of some known poets. The most interesting of these is to be found in the chapter on Krasicki, where instead of the didactic and dull *Pan Podstoli* Borowy puts first the far more vivid and interesting (but somehow hitherto neglected) *History Divided into Two Books*.

All in all, these departures from the traditional standards and perspectives are not very great. The originality of the book lies elsewhere, namely in the subtlety and justice of Borowy's literary portraiture, in his fresh and acute sensitivity to poetical values, in the range of his erudition, and in the precision, richness and clarity of his critical language. In his theoretical views he is a bit biased by romantic prejudices, but—and that is far more important—in his actual critical work he usually enjoys acutely the specific poetic values of the classical period, and knows how to make us share his enjoyment.

So then, this book supersedes previous outlines by Chrzanowski and

by Wojciechowski (the latter left unfinished). As a standard work it bears comparison with the well-known Russian book by Professor G. A. Gukovsky, *Russkaia literatura XVIII veka*. There are, of course, deep differences between these two books. Borowy's work was conceived under the high patronage of Benedetto Croce. Gukovsky, as becomes a respectful Soviet scholar, has nothing to do with such an idealistic heresy. The Russian book, being a manual, is more catholic in its scope, and consequently less homogeneous: it includes biographical data and it lays on the social background the stress one would expect from a Soviet critic. Borowy in principle is not concerned either with biographies or with social problems, although incidentally one finds in his book some trenchant remarks concerning them. He has given us literary criticism, pure and simple. Yet in spite of all these differences both scholars have in common not only deep and extensive knowledge of 18th-century literature but also a fine feeling for its peculiar values.

One should add finally that Professor Borowy, who is a fine English scholar as well (he is the author of a book on G. K. Chesterton, of studies on Shakespeare and T. S. Eliot, and of a series of fine essays on Anglo-Polish relations in the Middle Ages and in the 16th century, which are unfortunately scattered in not easily accessible periodicals, and therefore not as widely known as they deserve to be), pays in his book special attention to the influence on Polish literature of English writers, e.g. of Shakespeare, Swift, Pope (especially popular at that time), Sterne, Smollett, Goldsmith and others. One can see how well read he is in English critical literature from the passage where in connection with Krasicki he discusses the specific values of Pope's poetry.

~ WIKTOR WEINTRAUB.

*The Russian Idea.* By Nicholas Berdyaev; Geoffrey Bles, 15s.

THERE can, perhaps, be no greater reminder of the immense loss which the world has recently sustained in the death of Nicholas Berdyaev than the fact that the problem of Russia and the West has unmistakably emerged as the fundamental issue of our time. For Berdyaev was a prophet of the revolution which has been wrought by the incursion of Europe into Russia and of Russia into Europe, and by the fact that these forces find themselves face to face not on the Oder or in Berlin but in the very depth of mankind. The importance of Berdyaev's *The Russian Idea*, written in the darkest moments of the war, lies in that it shows the problem of Russia and the West to be one not primarily of organisation, or institutions, or law, but of spirit, which is itself the basis for any organisation of society.

"In attempting a definition of the character of the Russian people and of its vocation some selection must needs be made from the material at one's disposal, and I shall call it an 'eschatological' selection, in accordance with the final purpose of my enquiry." Berdyaev is not an "objective" thinker. Knowledge for him is an approximation to truth

wrought out of personal vision, and all his books are written out of passion and from a point of view. There is, accordingly, no cautious syncretism about *The Russian Idea* which leads to nothing being said at all. Berdyaev chooses certain facets of the drama of the Russian spirit to the exclusion of others and thus tries to discover the truth concerning Russia and to gain an insight into the nature and destiny of the Russian people. While most professional historians are suspicious of any such method, he does, in my opinion, succeed in showing the living image of Russia, and his apparent fragmentariness and occasional vagueness in detail serve to intensify the impact and effect.

After a general introduction, in which the principle themes are set out, Berdyaev takes the 19th century as the acme of Russia's cultural development and looks at the great figures of the epoch—Aksakov, Kireevsky, Khomiakov, Belinsky, Gogol, Hertzen, Bakunin, Dostoevsky, Soloviev, Tolstoy, and others—in order to assess the "Russian idea." He is concerned with ideas rather than literary forms or biography, and the portraits with which the reader is presented are outlined rather than solidified. He approaches them again and again from different angles in successive chapters, but the keynote is that spiritual and social messianic impulse which informed nearly all Russian thought of this and, to a large extent, the preceding centuries. That is, in fact, what he calls "eschatological selection." Eschatology draws back the curtain from the end of time. it is messianic. The Russians, as Berdyaev sees them, can never believe in time, and they represent on the stage of history the end of history before its actual end. They begin with the end and yearn for the consummation of all things, for the absolute and comprehensive. This is expressed in Russia's fatal inability to form a satisfactory political order, national organisation, or worldly culture, and to effect an arrangement between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Cæsar, between God and Mammon. It leads the Russians to question all values of civilisation, to be "revolutionary" and disdainful of the virtues of reason, balance and form. It is also at the back of their reaction against the West, of their horror of 19th-century European civilisation with its enslavement of man to material well-being and complacency which threatens to dehumanise and extinguish life. From his other books we are familiar with his interpretation of the anti-religious psychology of Russian communism as an inversion of religious motives, whereby the spiritual energy of religion flows into social channels. And we are shown on the example of a number of Russian revolutionary thinkers that loss of faith in a Russian can never mean a gradual and easy process of evaporation. it becomes a credo in itself, his enfranchisement from religion brings its own "messianic" faith and its own exacting discipline, and his social convictions are ultimately grounded on the rock of the buried religious experience.

The picture Berdyaev draws has evidently nothing to do with the sparkling and creative genius of Western civilisation (significantly

enough, he has little to say of Pushkin in this connection). Its basic element is the "homeless," "prodigal" man, who resolves to bear consciously the presence of the hell and heaven of his humanity. Berdyaev even shows that the Russian tries to use this element for solving his social and economic problems, by making it the basis for a new society which will avoid the illusions which come from concealing or ignoring it altogether. . . . Fortunately, he warns his readers against that peculiar and on occasion nauseating entity known as "the Russian soul," naturalised and domesticated in the West, though he does believe that the only thing of permanent interest about the Russian is the making of his soul, and that there are more things in heaven and earth than is to be found in the principles of sociology and economics.

At a time when "civilisation" is regarded as being equivalent with an Anglo-American alliance, and when people in the West adopt the posture of the Roman legions on the *limes* of civilisation *vis-à-vis* Russia, it is particularly edifying to take into account Berdyaev's persuasive arguments concerning the cultural and social interdependence and interpenetration of Russia and the West. However difficult it may be to draw a precise line of demarcation between Russia's outlook in Europe and in Asia, she remained bodily and spiritually a member of European society and cannot be explained away, as is frequently done by Western historians, as a more or less irrelevant, if highly explosive, phenomenon of an *alter orbis*. The incorporation of Russia into Europe was not, as historical textbooks would have us believe, the result of a brutal act by an autocrat—Peter the Great—who moved his capital to a foreign Western region and dragged old Russia, gasping and rubbing her eyes, out of a barbarous Asia into "enlightened" and "civilised" Europe, to the lasting detriment of alike the one and the other. This picture or caricature ignores the fact that Russia is an inalienable part of Christendom; the change at the beginning of the 18th century was itself a "manifest destiny" and, having occurred, it gave to Russia's position the historical uniqueness of a dramatic situation. East and West appeared as two impulses in a single soul interpenetrating one another and occasionally expressing themselves in extreme conflicts and oppositions. To know this is to know also that in the events of Russian history the destinies of Western society are intrinsically involved—a fact which needs no proving in a world that is, to-day as never before, polarised with reference to Russia.

Berdyaev is not, however, concerned with political issues. He wants to show above all that the great historic drama of East-and-West, as embodied in Russia, is the drama of the eschatological end, and that the problem and challenge of Russia turns in the last analysis on this elementary fact: every civilisation is doomed when, having confidently established itself in the finite world of moral perfectionism and material achievement, it grows forgetful of the End which threatens every human endeavour.

E. LAMPERT.

*Chekhov and His Russia.* By W. H. Bruford; Kegan Paul, London, 1947, pp 233.

CHEKHOV's stories and plays covered an enormously wide range of subject-matter, and were devoted, with negligible exceptions, to the description of contemporary Russian life as it was known to him at first hand. So successful was he in reflecting what he saw that two Russian critics, writing in the year of his death, called him "the most authoritative historian of the last twenty years," and suggested that a sociologist could reconstruct from his work a comprehensive picture of Russian life in the last two decades of the 19th century. It is this enterprising and unusual task which Professor Bruford has set himself. His book follows a clear and ordered plan. The first chapter contains a biographical summary, illustrating Chekhov's intimate knowledge of many aspects of Russian life, and defining the limits of that knowledge. The second chapter is an attempt to acquaint the English reader with the mental background which Chekhov would take for granted in his Russian public, "not merely matters of fact, such as, say, the relative importance of Moscow and Odessa, the social significance of the beard, or what happens on a particular church feast-day, but also emotional attitudes habitual in Russians then, towards an official of the fourth class, perhaps, to church bells, or to the first snow." The main body of the book, which follows, consists of six chapters, each devoted to an analysis of a particular section of the community as it appears in Chekhov's work: the Peasant, the Landowner, the Official Class, the Church, the *Intelligentsia*, Industry-and-Commerce. A final chapter is devoted to a discussion of "Chekhov's Values."

Professor Bruford is fully aware of the danger of treating fiction as a source, and is concerned at every stage to support his conclusions, often very fully, by reference to recognised authorities on Russian social history. This method has enabled him to achieve two results. In the first place he has produced an interesting and vivid picture of Russian life at the end of the last century. Secondly he has provided a very useful commentary on Chekhov's work. Hitherto no attempt had been made by an English writer to relate Chekhov's fiction to its social and historical context, and Professor Bruford's book is all the more welcome because Chekhov is the type of writer who suffers a great deal by undue abstraction from the period in which he wrote. This does not apply equally to all his work. *The Lady with the Dog*, for example, requires no commentary, but many other important stories, such as *The Peasants* or *Three Years*, may well come to be fairly assessed for the first time by some English readers owing to the way in which Professor Bruford fills in the background. The book also serves as a useful corrective to that over-emphasis on Chekhov's pessimism of which Russian critics are continually accusing us. It shows clearly that the depressing element in some of Chekhov's work was often inherent in the subject described rather than the author.

In presenting his picture of Chekhov's Russia Professor Bruford has ransacked the plays and the 500-odd short stories for illustrations, which are often extremely lively and amusing. So thorough is his survey that he has managed to quote more than 200 of the stories by name. The effect of this torrent of illustration, though exhilarating, may be slightly bewildering to the English reader not well versed in Chekhov. It would have been helpful if a more explicit attempt had been made at the outset to distinguish the various stages of his literary evolution. There is of course an immense difference between, for example, the flippant sketches of the early 'eighties and the mature work of the 'nineties (where Chekhov himself sometimes seems to have approached his fiction in the spirit of the social historian). All types of story are freely quoted in illustration, and though in practice a greater amount of space is devoted to the important stories, more might have been done to enable the reader to orientate himself, possibly by quoting the year of origin of each story.

Chekhov's fiction has been exploited with such thoroughness and evident relish that it is rather disappointing to find so little attention paid to *Sakhalin Island*. In a book devoted to distilling the sociological essence of Chekhov one might have expected a more adequate treatment of the one work in which Chekhov himself emerged as an outright sociologist. This gap is all the more regrettable because *Sakhalin Island* seems to have received very scant attention from Russian critics of Chekhov.

The final chapter of Professor Bruford's book—"Chekhov's Values"—is one of the most interesting. One might perhaps wish for a greater sensitivity to the element of development in Chekhov's thought, of which an unduly static impression is given. Apart from this, however, the survey is subtle and comprehensive. It is all the more valuable because Professor Bruford seems to share many of Chekhov's own qualities of mind—in particular an unwillingness to over-simplify and a horror of rash generalisations. Even Chekhov himself (who would certainly have detested most of the books written about him) might perhaps have subscribed to the description of his philosophy of life given here.

R. F. HINGLEY.

*Oris slovenskega knjižnega izgovora.* By Fr. Bezljaj; Razprave Znanstvenega Društva v Ljubljani 17, Filološko-lingvistični Odsek 5; Učiteljska Tiskarna, Ljubljana, 1939, pp. 125, with *résumé* in French, photographs, diagrams, and tables.

Two Slavonic languages, Russian (i.e. Central Russian) and Slovene, have literary pronunciations which are markedly at variance with the accepted orthographies. Both were described in terms of acoustic analysis and against the background of Eduard Sievers's conception of phonetics by Olaf Broch in 1910 (*Очерк физиологии славянской речи*, ЭОФ V, 2, St. Petersburg) and 1911 (*Slavische Phonetik*, Heidelberg), but, though conscientious, these identical accounts are incomplete and

require revision. An experimental exposition of the Russian system has been given by V. A. Bogoroditsky (Фонетика русского языка в свете экспериментальных данных, Kazan, 1930), and the work under review contains a tentative, but comprehensive account of literary Slovene. The author received his training in experimental phonetics at the Caroline University of Prague under Professor J. Chlumský, whose method inspired this analysis of the pronunciation of five persons associated with Ljubljana (including Dr. Fr. Ramovš). In his researches Bezljaj made use of X-ray photography, the kymograph, and palatograms. His work, beautifully produced and printed, embodies the data of his experiments in a mainly graphic form, the verbal element being reduced to an indispensable minimum. Particularly good are the numerous sciagrams, or diagrammatic reproductions of X-ray photographs, and the graphs illustrating tone.

The Slovene literary pronunciation is not homogeneous, and Bezljaj's limited record of it shows notable discrepancies between sound and symbol. The palatal consonants postulated for the literary dialect (e.g. *n'*, *l'*) appear to be non-existent, though the front vowels inevitably tend to give the consonants they follow a more advanced articulation. The consonantal system is simple and straightforward, with the usual slight preponderance of fricatives over plosives, three types of nasals (including *ŋ*, absent in Russian), *w* as well as *v*, velar *x*, represented in the spelling by *h*, and two sets of affricates (*ts*, *dz*, *tš*, *dž*). From the standpoint of voice Slovene consonants group themselves into the customary pairs, except the "sonants" (i.e. nasals, laterals, and vibrants) and the fricatives *w*, *j*, *h*, all of which have no correlatives. In spite of the admitted influence of German on Slovene, the characteristic German aspiration of consonants, found in Lusatian, is absent. Reduction affects consonants as well as vowels and occasions less energetic utterance, which in some cases leads to qualitative changes (e.g. *v* into *w* in enclitic position). The plosives illustrate differences of intensity by varying the degree of compression of the articulating parts and giving the voiceless sounds (*p*, *t*, *k*) a greater tension than the voiced (*b*, *d*, *g*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*). The relative intensity may be perceived by muscular awareness, by the eye (e.g. labial compression), on palatograms, which show a wider margin of contact for the voiceless sounds, and from kymographic records of duration (e.g. the voiceless sounds are longer than the voiced). The consonants *t*, *d*, *n* are alveolar, not dental, as in Serbo-Croatian (v. B. Miletić, "Izgovor srpskih glasova" in *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik* V, Belgrade, 1933), and though they are slightly "softened" by *j*, the resultant sound cannot be qualified as "palatalised." The consonants *k*, *g*, *h* are distinctly velar, but apparently not so "clear" as the corresponding sounds in Czech, though, as kymographic tracings show, there is no sign of aspiration. The hiss-sibilants (*s*, *z*) differ from the hush-sibilants (*š*, *ž*) in the size and shape of their front and back resonators rather than in mode of articulation, but this is evidently the cause of the former. Retraction of the mass

of the tongue, coupled with a more extensive area of constriction, creates chambers of resonance which produce the less concentrated, hollow tone of *š*, *ž*. The "liquids" *l* and *r* are capable of becoming syllabic (e.g. *lblana*, *čřv*), and the vibrant is always made with one tap of the tongue.

In pointed contrast to the "directness" of the system of consonants, the vowel system in Slovene is subtle and complex to a degree. All the Slovene vowels, like those in the other Slavonic languages, are formed without noticeable lip-rounding, i.e. more in the English than in the French fashion. The mouth aperture progressively decreases in size from *i* to *a*, which bears out the results of C. H. Grandgent's "vowel measurements" for American English and reverses the findings of P. Rousselot's experiments with French vowels, whose mouth aperture decreases from *i* (in *nids*) to *a* (in *Paris*) (*v. Principes de phonétique expérimentale*, Paris, 1924). We can assume *a priori* the existence of two qualitative variants, i.e. a more open and a less open one, for each vowel, but Bezljaj assures us that they are difficult to determine because of individual variation. The quality of the vowels depends on the incidence of stress and the nature of the pitch accent. Unaccented vowels in literary Slovene are, commonly, not reduced, but some speakers show traces of the vowel reduction peculiar to the Central dialect. Short accented (double grave) vowels are in all cases lower (more open) and more centralised than the long accented ones. There is little qualitative difference between vowels marked with the acute (rising) and those marked with the circumflex (rising-falling) accent. The author summarises the data of the Slovene vowel system in three tetragons, one each for the accented long, the accented short, and the unaccented vowels, and then combines them in a single tetragon, plotting twenty-four vowels distributed among the six types—*i*, *e*, *ə*, *a*, *o*, *u*,—which are best seen in the tetragon for the accented short vowels. This shows the Slovene vowels to constitute a triangle, with "lowered" *i*, *u*, open types of *e*, *o*, the *e*-type central (neutral) vowel *ə*, and a front variety of *a*. The accented long vowels distinguish a close and an open variety of *e* and *o*, as well as "raised" types of *i* and *u*, and their figure still remains a triangle. It is the unaccented vowels which justify the use of the tetragon (a figure more suited to French and English than to the vowel systems of most East European languages), discriminating as they do between front and back *a*. Among these vowels we notice two types of *i* and *u* and an advanced neutral *ə*, and refinements in the close vowels find the closer, as opposed to the more open varieties of these in "cardinal" position.

E. A. Meyer and J. Chlumský have demonstrated for German and Czech respectively that vowels are not of equal length in normal usage. Bezljaj does the same for Slovene, showing that the average length of vowels increases according to the following scale: *i*, *u*, *ə*, *o*, *a*. Where there are correlatives (pairs of vowels), the closer vowel tends to be longer than the more open (e.g. *kóža*, *kósa*); the back vowels, except *u*,



are usually longer than the front, *i*, *u* are the shortest vowels, and *a* is the longest. The length of vowels as a system is subject however to notable individual variations. Length varies too with incidence and quality of accent. accented vowels are longer (by *c.* 50–66 per cent.) than unaccented ones, the accented short vowels are naturally shorter than the accented long ones, and the circumflex accent is longer than the acute. In spite of noteworthy relative differences of vowel-length (short vowels are, on an average, a third the length of long ones), Bezljaj asserts that "Slovene no longer possesses long vowels in the proper sense of the term," and that "even the long-tone vowels cannot be regarded as long, because they are essentially (*prav za prav*) shorter than in languages which recognise length." But relative length is undeniable, and this holds good of the consonants as well. Here the shortest (in intervocalic position) appears to be *r*, then *ʃ*, *l*, *v/w*; the longest are the sibilants and affricates, then the voiceless plosives; and voiceless consonants are normally longer than voiced,—which coincides with their greater articulatory energy.

Slovene, like Serbo-Croatian, Latvian, and Lithuanian, still retains tones (pitch accents) such as are postulated for Indo-European, and the Slovene tones naturally resemble the Serbo-Croatian rather than the Baltic ones. But there are a number of differences between Slovene and Serbo-Croatian tonality. Unlike Serbo-Croatian, Slovene has only three tones—two falling (double grave and circumflex) and one rising (acute). The falling tones distinguish length, the double grave being short, the circumflex long. Bezljaj notes three melodic lines in each case. For the circumflex (long falling) tone (e.g. *dân*, *jesên*, *trûd*, *nôs*) he has an initial rise of from a third to a half the duration of the vowel, followed by a sharp fall. This appears to be the commonest type of circumflex, but in a minority of cases he has observed either an initial level tone or a fall from start to finish. The long rising (acute) tone involves for the most part a progressive rise, less commonly a rise following a slight initial fall, and still less commonly an initial rise followed by a fall element, which Bezljaj explains away as dialectal. The short falling tone begins normally with a short rise followed by a sudden fall (i.e., it presents a circumflex type), but less usually the initial mora (*μόρα*) may be level, or there may be a gradual fall from beginning to end. According to these analyses, confirmed by numerous excellent graphs, the typical or normal circumflex is a rising-falling, the acute a rising, and the double grave a rising-falling tone like the circumflex. In unaccented syllables the melodic line is mainly level or falling (a natural tendency), and in most cases the pretonic syllable has the lowest pitch.

The author's diffidence prefers to regard this work as exploratory. He is careful to delimit the field of his experiments at the outset and, knowing the supreme value of diagrams in phonetics, has lavishly illustrated his book with purely photographic as well as with diagrammatised photographic material. His bibliography is inevitably small, but it

contains most of the relevant records of phonetic experiment in cognate languages, especially Serbo-Croatian and Czech. There are one or two blemishes: the table of consonants on p. 46 has transposed "velar" and "palatal" as rubrics, and the tetragon on p. 72 has an over-long top line and does not tally in shape with those on the previous page, which it is intended to summarise.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

*A Concise Dictionary of the English and Hungarian Languages.* By László Országh, Ph.D.; Franklin, Budapest, pp. xi + 791.

DR. ORSZÁGH has produced in this volume a very handy dictionary. It is the first work of really useful size in this field since Professor Yolland's dictionary, which has been out of print for far too long. In comparing the English-Hungarian part of the earlier work with the volume before me I find that Dr. Országh has managed to include rather more, particularly in the realm of idioms, than Professor Yolland, in an area of type roughly one-third smaller than he used.

The work shows surprisingly few misprints in both English and Hungarian, and the type-setters and readers are to be congratulated.

On the other hand there are anomalies, omissions and inconsistencies, as one might expect in the first edition of the work of one man, and, in addition, certain features which give the work an unusually vulgar countenance. I have never before seen, even in large dictionaries, such a liberal, even feckless sprinkling of words not admitted to drawing-rooms.

The Hungarian student who comes to England will be able, with its aid, to understand most of the coarser expressions in the limited vocabulary of the "working-classes." I say "most" of them, because Dr. Országh has left out some common words of this type, though not, it seems, from fastidiousness.

It is difficult to understand why this group of words is included. They can hardly be a vehicle for any worth-while thoughts. The words themselves are perfectly good words, honest and unequivocal, no shuffling, prevaricating euphemisms of the type which reduces a simple and straightforward word to its initial consonant and then bowdlerises and deodorises that to a duplicated personal pronoun to be taught to children who are shushed into puzzled silence when they use it before strangers.

But since it is conventional to keep these words out of the drawing-room, I think Dr. Országh would have done better to take his cue from the first source he quotes, the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, and give the space so gained to repairing omissions.

The first of these concerns English-speaking users of the Dictionary. Some, at least, of the Hungarian notes in the Introduction would have been useful in English. Moreover, in translating words like *spring*, *fair*, *dip* and so on, which have more than one meaning, more help might have been offered to the English-speaking student who wants Hungarian equivalents.

Of other omissions (though I hasten to say I have not made a thorough search) I happened to spot the absence of *comic* (used as a noun in two meanings); *faggot* (the edible type), the alternative British pronunciation of *either*, *neither*; *primus* (the brand-name which has become a common noun and lost its capitalisation); *bell-tent* and *tent-peg*, *ken* (as verb); *D.B.S.T.*, *R.S.P.C.A.*, and the *R.* of *R.S.P.C.C.*; and two common U.S. usages; *call* in the sense of "telephone" and *stop off at*.

The author includes *bathing-drawers* but no *bathing-costume* or *swimsuit* (doubtlessly he expects ladies to stay in the bathing-machine which he thoughtfully includes. And let no lady imagine she may be modern and make do with the bathing-drawers and a bra, because he doesn't provide the latter in any form, abbreviated or full). Trophies from Ireland include a *shillelagh* and *poteen* but no *ceilidli*. He explains *spiffy* but not *spiffing*, the Edwardian *chin-chin*! but not the still current *chinwag*; *clink* and *jug* but not *cooler*, and *buzz-bomb* but not *doodle-bug*. He introduces *Ethan* and *Gilda* but not *Phyllis* or *Rosamund*, and he is ready to throw *helve* after *hatchet* but not the baby out with the bath-water.

There is no indication of obsolescence for 's *wounds* ([zwounz]!) and *contemn* or that, for instance *Tory* has a derogatory flavour.

Dr. Országh uses the sign ○ for expressions which he classes as slang or vulgarisms. But surely it would have been wise to make some distinction between the two grades of permissibility? There is enough distinction made in usage between *bash*, *blithering* and *blinking* on the one hand, and the Billingsgate whose inclusion I have regretted on the other.

But if the Billingsgate were dropped, we should still be left with certain inconsistencies. For if *bash*, *blithering* and *blinking* are to be called slang and vulgarisms, then *belly-ache*, *bellyful*, *backside*, *bottom*, *blimy*, *baccy*, *come-at-able*, *b.f.* (among the abbreviations at the back), *tuppence*, *god-damned* and *goddam* and others must not go scot-free.

The points I have mentioned involve, of course, minor blemishes which can be dealt with very easily in a second printing or edition. The work shows major good points which far outweigh them. It is an excellent thing, for instance, to have used the symbols of the International Phonetics Association for indicating the pronunciation of English words and to have given fairly full explanations of the sounds in the Introduction. At the same time I must say that the explanations need a little revision. There is, for instance, much qualitative, and a slight quantitative difference, between the *á* of *ráz* and the *a* of *arm*.

Idioms are very fully dealt with, for the size of the book, both U.S. and British turns of speech being included. I think, however, that the impersonal form frequently shown by Dr. Országh ("put *the* nose to the grindstone") is somewhat misleading.

He has been to great pains to include recently-introduced words (*gremlin*, *quisling*, *bulldozer* and others). And I am relieved to find he has not immortalised a current B.B.C. pet: *coupons* pronounced with a

resounding Anglo-French nasal *o*, finished off with an equally resounding sturdy English *s*.

This excellent dictionary (for in essence it is excellent) comes at an opportune time and I wish it all success. The promised second part, the Hungarian-English, should not be too long in appearing.

A. H. WHITNEY.

*English-Bulgarian Dictionary.* By G. Chakalov; Military Publishing Fund, Sofia, June, 1948, pp. xvi + 1229, clothbound 1650 leva edition: 5,000.

PROF. K. STEFANOV'S dictionary of the same title has long been felt inadequate; not a few changes have taken place in the vocabulary and structure of Bulgarian since 1929, not to speak of the recent orthographical reforms specified in a handbook produced by the Bulgarian Society of Philologists and Slavists—reforms which appear already to be having a marked effect also on the spoken language. The present large-scale production of printed literature in a completely uniform and simplified orthography marks a new stage in the crystallisation of Bulgarian and is an auspicious moment for Mr. Chakalov's work.

This fine contribution to Anglo-Bulgarian lexicology contains much new technical, military and colloquial terminology and is marked by an economy on obvious derivatives and agreeable extravagance of homonyms and examples of usage. The unsatisfactory and often grotesque transliterations used in previous works are here replaced by a system bound on scientific phonetics. There is a sprinkling of small blemishes, clearly printer's errors, such as "canoe" (p. 132), "sun of a gun" (p. 462), "releiving" (p. 867).

It would seem by the absence of stress accentuation and of grammatical detail (such as alternative verb aspects) that this dictionary is designed primarily for Bulgarians studying English—Americanisms tend to predominate. Nevertheless it is undoubtedly the most up-to-date and thorough dictionary available for English students of Bulgarian. Mr. Chakalov has recently begun work on what promises to be an even more valuable Bulgarian-English dictionary, to be ready for publication in two years.

The gratitude of all English-speaking students of Bulgarian is due to the author for his valuable work and a keen interest is felt in the harvest yet to be gathered in this field, such as specialised dictionaries (of which many Anglo-Russian ones now exist) on science, economics, agriculture, colloquial language and Bulgarian Turkisms.

V. DE S. PINTO, JR.

*Jan Sobieski, König von Polen.* By Otto Forst de Battaglia; Verlag Benzinger & Co., Einsiedeln and Zurich, 1946, pp. 379.

MR. OTTO FORST DE BATTAGLIA, who wrote a few years ago a good biography of the last king of Poland, Stanislas August, has given us

now a biography of the Polish king best known to Westerners · Jan Sobieski, the Liberator of Vienna. There have been several good biographies of this monarch, by Korzoń, Konopczyński, Górka, etc., but this one is of a new type, at least for a Polish writer, following rather the somewhat "romance" form inaugurated by Emil Ludwíg. However, the vivid descriptions of his hero do not lead Mr. Battaglia away from facts. He divides his narrative into 21 chapters which we shall indicate as they depict the work · (1) A strong man engendered by strong men ; (2) On the way to power and glory. (3) *Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Johannes*. (4) King, strategist and diplomatist. (5) Urges toward the sea, Baltic or Black ? (6) Alliance with France or with Austria ? (7) On the way to the Holy League. (8) The Austrian alliance. (9) The beginning of the Turkish War. (10) Riding to Vienna. (11) The battle on the Kahlenberg. (12) Thanks from the House of Austria ? (13) Sobieski's Turkish War, heroic foolishness or political wisdom ? (14) The Holy League and the continuation of the last crusade. (15) Returning to the French alliance. (16) The reform of the Polish State and the Succession. (17) Turning to Austria and to the Holy League. (18) The marriage of Jacob Sobieski and the family struggle. (19) French triumph, collapse of the League's policy. (20) The sombre evening of life and the death of the hero. (21) *Nachhall und Nachrof*, i e. obituary note and glory after death, in which the author tries to assess the real significance of this King for history. The whole book is well pondered and measured ; even though one does not share all the opinions of the author about his hero, he is always interesting and the style is very readable. The first chapter shows the influence of an article Battaglia published in 1933 in *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny* about the genealogy of the Sobieski family. Battaglia had written the chapter on Sobieski in the *Cambridge History of Poland*,\* where he gave the bibliography which is absent from the present book. In the meantime a good book was published in Poland on Sobieski's French Queen, *Marysienka Sobieska* by T. Boy-Zeleński. To this work and the correspondence of the two lovers is due the "piquantness" of some pages.

W. MAAS.

*Baltic Eclipse*. By Ants Oras, Gollancz, 1948, pp. 307, 15s.

THE lot of small nations has never been easy, and the "summer of independence" enjoyed by the Baltic States during twenty years came to an abrupt end when the Great Powers turned to war. The author of this book, a professor of English Literature in the ancient university of Tartu (of old known as Dorpat), has told a plain unvarnished tale of what happened under his eyes from the time when the Soviet occupation of his country began in the summer of 1940 to the autumn days of 1944 when he and thousands of others escaped by boat to Sweden rather than come

\* ED. NOTE.—Not yet published.

again under Soviet rule. ' It is a pretty grim story, of which the moral should be learned by conquerors. No alien government can expect to be welcome anywhere in the enlightened world of the 20th century if it deliberately antagonises public opinion by at once overturning everything men and women have lived by, and their fathers before them. The author watched the Sovietisation of the administrative agencies, of the university, and of the thing his people were proudest of—their fine agricultural system. He then looked on, as a hunted patriot, while the deportations were in progress, and while the German armies were advancing eastward. Three years of "darkness" was the sequel, the German task being made easier by what their opponents had done to break the power of the subject nation. This book should be read as another contribution to the *vra dolorosa* of millions in our day.

W. J. R.

*First and Last Poems.* By Theresa Bogusławska. Translated into English verse by L. E. Gielgud, Frederick Muller Ltd., 1947, pp. 47.

THESE twenty-five lyrics, less than half of those written by a Polish schoolgirl during the Nazi occupation of Warsaw, before she died in her sixteenth year, deserve attention. Even a mature artist would not need to be ashamed of them, and the English versions are a credit to the translator. The author was arrested before the Rising of 1944, spent two months in the Pawiak prison, and developed there the tubercular symptoms from which she died soon after. At thirteen she could write :

" I love the summertime's resplendent heat  
Despite the dust that burns my aching feet  
As I go on, mile after weary mile,  
In search of something I shall never meet."

And she could ask the question many people are still asking :

" Will there be shed, in after years,  
In tranquil Mays immune from grief,  
In Poland freed from foes and fears,  
Tears of resentment, or relief ? "

W. J. R.

*The Last Attempt.* By Birger Dahlerus. With an introduction by Sir Norman Birkett, P.C. ; Hutchinson, 1947, pp. 134, 8s. 6d.

WE have here the English version of a Swedish book from the autumn of 1945, telling of the strenuous efforts made by the author, a well-known engineer with first-rate contacts in Britain and Germany, to bring together influential people of the two countries in the hope of averting a second world struggle. Happening to know Goering personally, he assured

himself first of backing among London acquaintances and then went to Berlin. What seemed at first to promise well was soon complicated by various hostile forces, though the mediator did not give up until the "shooting" had begun. One wonders how he stood the purely physical strain. From it all Ribbentrop emerges as the villain, Hitler as the maniac, and Goering as the well-meaning and (perhaps) honest "broker," who however could not stand the pace. It is notable that Mr. Dahlerus has only good to say about Sir Neville Henderson.

W. J. R.

#### ERRATA

Ad. No. 67. Inside Cover, top of page,  
and likewise at top of p. 526  
for *Nazov* read *Nazov*







# THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

VOL. XXVII, No. 69

May, 1949.

## POETRY

*Poems by* FRANCÉ PREŠEREN *translated from the Slovene by*  
KENNETH MATTHEWS

### A TOAST

(FRANCÉ PREŠEREN, 1780-1849, is the classical poet of Slovenia. The German censorship banned the publication of this poem in the author's lifetime. In the recent war, stanzas 3 and 4 of this poem were circulated in an underground pamphlet, of which a copy was on view in London at the exhibition of the European underground press.)

Once more the vines have thriven,  
My friends, and the sweet wine brims high,  
Whose use is to enliven  
The veins and clear both heart and eye,  
To drown care  
Everywhere  
And kindle courage from despair.

Who shall be first in favour?  
What first toast crown this happy scene?  
Our native land, God save her,  
And all who call themselves Slovene!  
All are one  
Blood and bone  
Who the same glorious Mother own.

May the clouds roll in thunder  
And strike with doom our every foe;  
Free as our fathers found her  
May our dear homeland forward go;  
And may all  
Held in thrall  
See from their limbs the fetters fall.

One mind, one joy, one healing  
Temper prevail throughout the land ;  
All of Slav race and feeling  
Up and put hand in comrade's hand ;  
In that hour  
Shall sovereign power,  
Honour and plenty be our dower.

And you, fair flowers, God bless you,  
Our young unfolding womanhood !  
Earth has no nobler issue  
Than maiden of our Slovene blood.  
Of your thighs  
Shall arise  
Sons which shall scourge our enemies.

You of our future story,  
Young men, yours the next toast we give ;  
Long may our country's glory  
In your heart's heart untainted live !  
She shall thus,  
Though time pass,  
Find strong defenders after us.

Say now—God save all nations  
Who long to see that shining day  
When, from earth's farthest stations,  
Warfare and strife are swept away.  
They, as we,  
Shall be free,  
Nor fiend, but friend, our neighbour be.

And now, friends, after others,  
Ourselves—come ! send the last toast round !—  
Who have borne ourselves as brothers  
Because our hearts and minds are sound.  
May God spare  
For many a year  
Each and every good man here !

## TWO SONNETS

Since angels sang at Bethlehem and forthtold  
In glad hosannas over land and sea  
The scattering of man's darkness, thirty and three  
And twice three times three hundred years had rolled  
To Holy Week, the Saturday, when I strolled  
(As one whom Christ's death drew in piety)  
Ljubljana's churches, and came last to thee,  
Ternovo, and the day was ten hours old . . .

Ternovo ! all misfortune in a name !  
There, to my mystery, at that tenth hour,  
Struck from two eyes a pure and single flame  
When *she* to the lighted Easter image came.  
Deep now at heart I feel the fires devour,  
Not to be quenched by any summoned power.

No little wind of kindness ever fanned  
Those orphan songs which I for you have sung,  
And that sweet praise on which their bare life hung  
They never had, nor hoped for, at your hand ;  
They feared that you, dear, scornful maiden, and  
Your gifted friends who use the German tongue,  
Might utterly despise them, being sprung  
From the Parnassus of our fatherland.

Poor, poor Slovene ! whose poets all grow old  
Like spinsters left neglected and forlorn,  
Whose glories are on foreign verse extolled ;  
And like the edelweiss in Alpine cold,  
The rare flowers of our poetry are born  
On glacier-tops, shut in by crag and thorn.

## THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

(This poem is learned by heart in the Slovene schools and had become a popular song, with a haunting melody, long before the liberation of the Slovenes in 1918.)

What was there need of you,  
Baby dear, pretty one ?  
What will your mother do,  
Young and unmarried too ?  
What was there need of you ?

My father beat and cursed me ;  
My mother cried who nursed me ;  
Friends would see me and turn ;  
Strangers pointed in scorn.

And he, my love, my one  
True love, through whom you were born,  
Goes in shame, God knows where,  
Somewhere under the sun.

What was there need of you,  
Baby dear, pretty one ?  
What was there need of you ?  
O, all and all my heart  
Adores you, need or none.

It is like the lights of heaven  
Shining, when your eyes shine ;  
When they smile into mine,  
All, all I suffered's forgiven.

God keep you happy, who feeds  
Each small bird under the sky ;  
I shall love you, need or none,  
With my whole heart, till I die.

THE BATTLE OF SISEK<sup>1</sup>

*Translated from the 18th-century Slovene by FANNY S. COPELAND*

*(Notes by M. M. DEBELAKOVA)*

Hassan Pasha<sup>2</sup> schemes and ponders  
What shall bring the Turk renown?  
To collect a mighty army,  
Capture Sisek, tower and town.

To and fro he wildly paces,  
Rapt in meditation fell,  
Till the plan is clear before him,  
And the fitting means as well.

Then a warlike host he mustered,  
And to Sisek led them on  
Till the River Kolpa stopped him:  
Said his men: "What's to be done?"

Stood the Pasha by the river,  
And his drumstick he did swing;  
Wrathfully he thrummed the parchment  
Till he made the welkin ring!

Loud the Pasha fumed and snorted,  
As becomes a Turkish lord:  
"Stretch me hides across the river  
On a double row of cord!"

Did his men as they were bidden,  
Safely reached the other side,  
Camped below the town of Sisek,  
Dug them trenches deep and wide.

"How to further," thought the Pasha,  
"That which brings the Turk renown?"  
Straight he sat and wrote a letter  
To the warden of the town.

## THE SLAVONIC REVIEW.

“ Allah, Allah, good Sir Adam,<sup>3</sup>  
Sisek's warden wise and brave,  
Are you willing to surrender,  
Or prepared to fill your grave ? ”

Good Sir Adam sent his answer,  
Sisek's warden wise and brave :  
“ I am all against surrender,  
And decline to fill my grave.

“ I shall muster my defences,  
Still would Sisek's warden be ;  
You don't know Slovenian fighters,  
And you have not met with *me*.”

Then bethought him good Sir Adam,  
Sisek's warden stout and free,  
Got him paper, pen, and inkhorn,  
Letters wrote to counties three .

Styria, Carniola, Carinthia,  
Also to Ljubljana town,  
That the Turk had crossed the Border,  
And 'fore Sisek sat him down.

When the Styrians read the letter,  
Grew their faces sour and long ,  
To their boots went all their courage,  
For they deemed the Turk too strong

The Carinthians saw the missive,  
And decided on the spot :  
“ With the Turks we will not meddle,  
For that porridge is too hot !

“ Fearsome foes with baggy breeches  
And mustachios long and fell :  
They will surely slit our weasands,  
And what else, no man can tell ! ”

But the Mayor and city fathers  
Of Ljubljana were agreed :  
“ We must cast about for allies  
To befriend us in our need.

“ If the Turk should capture Sisek,  
Fair Ljubljana’s fate is sealed :  
This will be a Turkish province,  
They will ravage farm and field

“ We must write to Baron Rowbar,<sup>4</sup>  
—Summon help without delay ;  
He’s a wise and valiant captain,  
*Leads* his men in every fray.”

So they penned an urgent message,  
And to Krumberg sent (of course !)  
To the doughty, ne’er-defeated  
Baron Rowbar of the Horse.—

From his turret window leaning,  
Rowbar looked at early morn  
On the spreading fields beneath him,  
Golden with the ripening corn.

As he looked around the country,  
Soon espied his watchful eye  
Someone posting to him swiftly  
With a letter held on high.

Rowbar clapped his hands in wonder,  
Took the letter, read it through,  
Burst into a roar of laughter  
At the Turks, and Pasha, too.

Back he turned into the castle,  
Sought his spouse, the Lady Kate :  
“ I must leave you for a fortnight,  
For a game that will not wait.”



Lady Kate was sorely troubled,  
 Scarce restrained a tearful word  
 As she buckled on his sabre,  
 Fearing greatly for her lord.

Then he roused his eighteen Croats,  
 Bade them rise without delay :  
 " Up, ye sluggards, and bestir you,  
 Water horses right away !

" Saddle them and bridle quickly !  
 We must mount and sally forth :  
 We are off to Fair Ljubljana,  
 And must ride for all we're worth ! "

Swift his men were in the saddle,  
 Swiftly too they rode ahead,  
 Till they came unto the Sava,  
 Where the river stopped them dead.

To the Boatmen at Črnuče \*  
 Rowbar called : " We are in haste,  
 Row us quick across the river,  
 For there is no time to waste ! "

But the ferrymen were drowsy,  
 And they gave him little thanks,  
 For the Sava was in flood-time  
 And had overflowed its banks.

Master Andrew of the ferry  
 Pointed to the waters wide :  
 " Sir, *we* cannot cross the river,  
 Nor *you* reach the further side."

Rowbar let his pennies jingle  
 Till the boatman heard the sound,  
 Winked an eye and nudged his fellows :  
 " It will do for drinks all round."

\* There are—or, at least, there were before the war—two bridges at Črnuče, one for the Ljubljana–Kamnik local line, and the other for road traffic. F. S. C.

So the boatmen launched the ferry,  
Pulled an oar and breathed a prayer,  
That they all might cross in safety  
And receive the bigger fare !

Ample payment Rowbar gave them,  
Then he galloped on again  
Towards the city of Ljubljana,  
Gleaming white across the plain.

There he woke the dreaming burghers :  
“ Up, and leave your downy beds,  
You must buckle on your armour,  
Out, and fight, you sleepy-heads ! ”

Then the goodwives of Ljubljana,  
All in tears to Rowbar come,  
Offering gold and silver ransom  
Meant to keep their men at home.

“ Not a word,” said Captain Rowbar.  
“ Good my women,—mothers, wives,  
This is not a time to haggle :  
We are fighting for our lives.

“ For the Turk has crossed the frontier,  
With his banners ta'en the field,  
And if he should capture Sisek,  
Fair Ljubljana's fate is sealed :

“ This will be a Turkish province,  
Like the Lowland countryside.”  
So the drum beat out the summons,  
Summons not to be denied.

Thus did Rowbar raise his forces,  
And to Sisek lead them straight ;  
Like to ants about an anthill  
Swarmed the Turks about the gate.

Rowbar called his trusty servant  
 "Run ahead and climb that tree,  
 Look toward the Turkish army  
 And report what you shall see:

"For if *white* you see their banners  
 We shall have but scath and woe;  
 But if *red* you see them flaming,  
 We can safely charge the foe,

"And as children picking cherries  
 We shall eat them out of hand,  
 Never we shall cease from fighting,  
 Till we drive them from the land."

Red as blood appeared the banners,<sup>5</sup>  
 So they charged with might and main,—  
 Fell upon the Turks at Sisek,  
 Till the last of them was slain.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The text from which this translation was made was taken down by *Valentin Vodnik* at the end of the 18th century, and may therefore be relied upon to represent popular tradition. *Vodnik's* text is given in *Slovenske Balade in Romance*, publ. by Družba Sv. Mohorja, Celovec (Klagenfurt), 1912. (P. 27)

<sup>2</sup> In 1593, Hassan Pasha, of Bosnia, laid siege to Sisek, then a prosperous commercial town, at the confluence of the Kolpa and Sava

<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, the garrison of Sisek was commanded by two priests. The cavalry contingent of the Imperial Army which came to the relief of the city was led by Adam Rauber, the well-known and distinguished commander of the Carniolan Horse

<sup>4</sup> The Rauber (Slov. Rovbar) family owned property in Carinthia, Styria and Carniola. Their seat in Carniola was the castle of Krumberk (Kronberg?), between Moravče and Kamnik, about 12 miles from Ljubljana, north of the Sava

<sup>5</sup> The Battle of Sisek was fought on 22 June 1593. The Turks were signally defeated. This day, that of St. Ahacius, is still (or was up to the war of 1941-1945) celebrated by an annual commemoration service in the Cathedral Church of Ljubljana, when the officiating priest wears a robe made out of the voluminous cloak of Hassan Pasha which formed part of the Christian booty after the Turkish rout.

# THE FARM INSPECTION

*Translated from the Bulgarian of* GEORGI KARASLAVOFF  
*by* VALENTINA JUKOVA

THE lightweight gig fluttered along the dusty highroad like a startled bird. Rays of soft sunlight caressed the bare tops of the mountains ahead, and swept the light morning haze away into the shaded wrinkles of the foothills.

The Director of the Extramural Faculty of Agriculture took in deep breaths of the cool, fresh air, and gazed absently into the distance. Now and then he would cast a lazy glance at the beheaded sunflower stalks by the roadside, and measure with his eye the extent of the harvested fields of stubble; thinking all the while of that expensive set of chinaware in the "New Transvaal" store, on which his wife had already had her eye for several days. The son of a notable member of the ruling Party was getting married, and for some time his job had necessitated their seeing a lot of each other; now he could not but buy him an expensive present. Expensive it would have to be, though it need not be of the slightest practical use. That is what his wife said and she was right. "Two thousand down the drain but there's nothing else for it!" sighed the Director, and leaned back in his seat.

The District Inspector of Agriculture kept a tight hold on the reins of the plump mare, and muttered something about field clearance. The Director listened with half an ear, stared at the empty field and answered with humphs and nods, thinking all the time of the expensive present and of that wretched two thousand.

"An absurd business!" he ejaculated and pulled himself together.

"What? Do you mean the field clearance?" The District Inspector swung round astonished towards him, still keeping one eye on the measured trotting of the sturdy mare.

"Oh, no, no!" The Director waved his arms as if shooing away a wasp. "No, not the clearance, no! Nothing to do with that. In my opinion the clearance will revolutionise our methods of agriculture, radically alter the whole conception of our economy, and exercise a decisive influence on the way of life and prosperity of our peasants."

"I don't doubt it," said the Inspector with some embarrassment.

"Only we were talking a moment ago about the clearance, weren't we? that's why . . ."

"How could you even think such a thing?" The Director's head revolved on its fat neck towards him. "Am I not one of the original pioneers of the idea of correct timing in stubble clearance? At once! without a moment's delay, on the very heels of the reapers. . . . Even before this problem was raised I wrote a long exhaustive article . . ."

"Yes, so I recall. . . . Where was it printed?"

"No. I wrote it, I didn't print it," replied the Director testily. "But we know there's no serious agricultural periodical nowadays. Now in my time, when I was still at school in Sadovo, what magazines used to come out . . . *The Plough, The Cornfield, The Farmer* . . . But today? A collection of half-baked, young maniacs in Sofia—would-be writers . . ."

"Yes, yes," kept on nodding the District Inspector. "I've heard that the idea of field-clearance was yours. . . ."

"It was I who gave the Minister the idea. . . . I developed an over-all plan for him. . . . And as soon as he adopted my idea I said to myself: 'That's the right path, forward!'" And the Director, screwing up his eyes, pointed with his hand at the mare's broad back.

"Only there is a great drought this year!" the District Inspector sighed heavily.

"Terrible! You should have seen what an argument I had with the Minister yesterday. It was getting on towards four. He rings me up. After this drenching shower, he shouts. 'Give immediate instructions for the clearance to begin!'"

"'But over here,' I reply, 'there has been no rain whatever.'"

"'What, no rain?' he says, and just imagine, he flies into a temper."

"'It's a scandal,' he says, and slams down the receiver."

"Here's old Stanyo's orchard!" The District Inspector half stood up in excitement and pointed with the whip.

"Yes!"—the Director turned round too. "Who is he?"

"Old Stanyo of Zlatorek; he was the first to build himself a modern stable"

"Oh! Yes, yes! The one to whom we gave the five thousand leva grant. Magnificent orchard . . . Just look! We've got some wide-awake farmers among our villages."

"Ah, but this one is exceptional," flared up the Inspector. "Solid gold! A live wire! A living example! Quick on the

uptake and prompt in execution. Hardly had I finished my talk on the modern stables and announced the conditions, when he put his name down first. He at once proceeded to bring three cartloads of stones . . .”

“ I’m thinking that there was someone else from Zlatorek.”

“ Yes, old Kosta Guerenliyata. But he is more distrustful, an awkward fellow. . . . He loves philosophising. . . . No, old Stanyo is the first. And there is not another like him to be found in all Bulgaria. He’s quite well read, frank, quick off the mark, and he hangs on every word I say. Whatever I tell him goes. The other peasants would hum and haw, cluttering up my path with all sorts of objections. He’s the only one who stands up to them. ‘ I am with science,’ says he ; ‘ whatever the inspector plans, that goes ! ’ Only he’s a poor man, he hasn’t much land. . . .”

The District Inspector tightened the reins and turned round :

“ Shall I drive along the high road, or shall we turn off to the right ? ”

“ To the right.”

He tightened the reins and the gig turned along the bumpy village lane. They drove between the yellowing, scorched vineyards. Here and there they caught a glimpse of hanging bunches of grapes, their growth arrested by drought. The grass along the vineyard boundaries had turned brown, and the leaves of the vines were already turning yellow, their edges wrinkled with drought and blight. Here and there would appear some better-tended, more sheltered vineyards. Amongst the other wilted plots, they preened themselves with their thick leaves hardened by frequent spraying of Bordelais solution.

“ There are no grapes this year.” The Director shook his head. “ Only unripe ones and raisins.”

“ But the wine will be as thick as molasses ! ” The District Inspector licked his lips

They drove in among the orchards of mulberry and other fruit trees. A few moments later there came into view the roof-tops of the squat cottages on the village outskirts. On the threshing-floors were scattered dried sunflower heads, remnants of the thrashed-out maize ears, pumpkins, jagged spades and broken pitchforks. The gig turned into a narrow lane and emerged into a broad village square. Out of the pubs and coffee-houses peered a few heads. Three peasants came up to the gig and shook hands with the visitors.

“ Is old Stanyo Drangazoff here, by any chance ? ” The District Inspector turned to them.

"He usually goes to Dimitro's place"—one of the peasants pointed at the pub opposite; "but this morning I don't think he's turned up yet."

"But, come, drive up and let's have a drink!" said the other peasant, inviting them. "As to Stanyo, we'll send someone to fetch him."

"And I'm sure he won't be long," joined in the third of their welcomers.

"No!" The District Inspector waved his hand. "We were only thinking that if he were here, we'd take him along. . . . We're going to his house. . . ." And he gave the reins a jerk. The mare started off at a light trot across the square; the peasants took off their hats and waved.

"Well then, happy journey!"

After a short drive through the meandering lanes of Zlatorek, the Inspector halted in front of a broad yard near the edge of the village.

"Welcome!" he said with a bow, pointing to the ramshackle gateway. "We've arrived. There, look!" He indicated a fine, new, tidy, well-kept building standing opposite, at the bottom of the yard. "That's the stable. It's been built precisely to my instructions. Old Stanyo has a fine cow. He's got a little heifer from her too. With luck in a few years he'll become the leading cattle-raiser in the district. . . ."

The yard which the visitors entered was, like all village yards, dirty and disordered. There stood in the middle a sort of covered bottomless basket. To one side lay a broken wheel-barrow made from a front-axle, while on the other were scattered twigs, bits of a broken trough, dried maize ears and pumpkins. Two little girls were playing together; but so absorbed were they in their game that, even though the visitors were something out of the ordinary, they only glanced round at them and again plunged their tousled little heads among their toys.

The District Inspector was about to ask them whether the master and his wife were in, when from the stable emerged Stanyo's wife with a great copper cauldron in her hand.

"Splendid!" winked the Inspector delightedly. "She's evidently milking and no mistake!"

Stanyo's wife saw them, hesitated a moment, spun round, rushed back into the stable, put down the cauldron and reappeared. As she walked she wiped her hands with her apron, grinning at them.

"Come in! Come in! You're very welcome!"

"Is old Stanyo here?" The Inspector shook hands with her, as though he were an old friend

"No, he's not in. This very moment he went off somewhere. A man never stops in his own home. Shall I send the children to fetch him, eh?"

"No need." The District Inspector stopped her. "We came about the stable. We want to see what you've done."

"Oh, we made a fine job of it. It's turned out a real pleasure to look at," said Stanyo's wife, bubbling over with self-adulation as she hurried to open the door. "Come in, please! It's not yet arranged as it should be, but you'll excuse . . ."

The visitors entered, blinked and stood agape. At the back, in the place where all the manure should run out into the cesspool, as had been planned, there was placed a plain washstand; over to one side was a cupboard against which stood a low table; while under the windows, which were set high in the wall, clothes were laid out. Over the bed was spread a rug, from under one end of which could be seen a child's dirty little head, while flies clustered round its little mouth, which lay open in contented sleep.

The District Inspector wanted to say something, but his tongue clove to his palate. The Director turned with wide-open eyes, unable as yet to grasp in what place he had landed.

"What is this?" He spread wide his hands.

"But of course, we moved in here!" grinned Stanyo's wife.

"But the cattle . . ." the Inspector gulped painfully.

"The cattle are in the house, while we've moved in here. Stanyo and I thought and thought, we did, and then I said to him: 'Isn't it a shame, Stanyo,' I said, 'that we should squeeze into that burrow, while the cattle should stay in such a fine dry place?' We are very well off now, by God's grace. And for all this we've you to thank, Mr. Inspector. If it hadn't been for you giving us those five thousand leva we should have been enduring agonies to this day. . . ."



# KRKONOŠSKÁ PILGRIMAGE

*Translated from the Czech of K. H. MÁCHA*  
by H. H. MCGOVERNE<sup>1</sup>

It drew on towards evening. A solitary pilgrim trod the narrow pathway below the peak of Sněžka on the extensive summit of the mountains of Krkonoše. The loud howling of the wind sounded as though Silesia was endeavouring to speak in secret words to her Bohemian sister across the rocky rampart which divided them.

“ A wilderness all around,” sighed the youth, “ bird and beast have long since vanished from this region, neither tree nor flower grow here, man alone presses onwards ever higher and higher towards the purer azure of the heavens, and what does he find here? nothing, unless it be the mysterious rustling of the moss and the cold snow.” Suddenly a butterfly, harassed to death, swept against his cheek; vainly it strove to defend itself with its coloured wings, wishing to return once more to the flowering region below from whence the stormy wind had carried it. “ Poor unfortunate! dost thou yearn again for the motley-coloured meadows that were thy cradle;—thou didst not wish to be in this region? did the wind, which cradled thee in thy youth upon the blossoming cheek of the flowers bear thee to these cold heights—against thy will?—I said that man presses onwards to the middle of the sky. . . . And he must!” cried the youth, wining in wheel with his hand, “ must!—O tempest, yield me thy butterfly, I will bear it back once more to the region from whence it came, I will carry it.” So saying he caught the butterfly in his hand, chilled, tortured to death, here where cold and hunger had already killed it. The youth sat down on a lone crag, at times his gaze wandered to the desolate, white meadows to the fertile plains of Silesia, to the dark woods which covered the Bohemian landscape.

This youth was about twenty years old ; his dark close-fitting suit set off his tall slender figure ; black hair fluttered in the wind

<sup>1</sup> All rights reserved. On Mácha, see Note on p. 309, Vol. XXV, of this *Review*. Mácha's genius was not confined alone to verse, but all his prose works are really prose-poems, distinguished for their colour, æsthetic choice and grouping of words, and for their mystery and imagination. At times they recall the writings of Edgar Allan Poe. In *Krhonošská Pilgrimage* his horror of what Baudelaire terms "the vast black 'night' of Death" reaches its zenith. As in "May" he regards Nature as a beautiful prison, which mocks Man's transience and mortality. His work is unrivalled for its colourful pictures of the Czech landscape.

about his pale face and fine forehead. His blue eyes revealed unutterable yearning, so that his whole person in the dusk of eve in that rocky wilderness seemed as a pictured echo of that song; "Knowest thou the land where the citron-tree blossoms . . ."

This was his first pilgrimage. From the time when he had taken leave of deserted Vyšehrad the sun had hardly visited the tombs of the Bohemian Kings in Prague Cathedral four times; and though but twenty times had he seen the cold snow pour itself in chill tears upon the freezing earth, he had already realised on this his first pilgrimage, that he would not enter into such a world as his youthful fancy had promised him. With a heart full of yearning he had entered into this world, hoping to find herein the fulfilment of all those dreams—here in reality so changed—which had decked his childhood like a rosy garland; he had wanted to embrace the whole world with his love. But the curtain soon fell and he awoke from the dreams of his youth. He had sought to pluck a flower which had sprung up on the meadows of the moon, but night's dews like ice-cold tears had sprinkled his burning hands; he had bent him o'er a perfect rose enchanted by its perfume, when lo, he saw, it sprang blossoming from an untimely grave; at daybreak he had admired the snow-white glow of the lily but ere nightfall he saw it bow its silver-white crown to the dank earth; he had sought people like those who dwelt in his dreams, only to find hollow shells that stared back with mockery into his eyes full of feeling. In a word, he had wished to find the paradise of his dreams in this world and to fold it fast in his embrace—only to clasp to his breast fervent with love the empty earth. Frightened, he had longed once more to enter the kingdom of his youth; but it was vain to weep for his lost dreams, so he sate him down alone in the wilderness; far beneath him nature bloomed; beloved of none and loving nothing he lingered on the lone crag above the mountains reddening in the light of the setting sun.

The sounds of the vesper bells rising from the Bohemian countryside and from the plains of Silesia, mingling, met in their passage at the summit of the mountain, and even more forcibly reminded him of the dear dead days far-faded whereon his spirit flamed with a thought of thee, maiden full of grace; a host of mountains and the five-fold river now part thee from him. Loving nothing, did I say?—Oh, but he still loves thee, though of late—of late, wert thou lost to him; once more like the star of morn didst thou shine out for him o'er the dark waves of his immediate thoughts; and

into the dead darkness of his unpeopled night fell thy first rays ; the golden dreams of his youth revived once more, but the thoughts that the one star which could pour its rosy gleam on the path of his pilgrimage through the world was not his star and that in the darkness which surrounded him its rays had only smiled to quench again so swiftly, and to awaken even more keenly his longing for the light—this thought plunged him again into the night of bygone thoughts.

He rose to his feet and looked down on the countryside smiling in the golden glow of eve, and his lament sounded loudly in this silent region. "Thou wert my sun, but alas, now thou hast set forever and day shall ne'ermore redden above my life ; once more a lonely pilgrim I shall proceed into everlasting night, and the empty silence about me will only be enlivened by my wailing in the sheer darkness I shall fling wide my arms to the airy wraiths and phantasmagora of my dreams till, clasping the solitary tree, its crown of leaves wrapt in night's ice-cold tears will awaken me again from my burning dreams to the horror of reality, when my own burning tears shall chill into ice and my dreams perish in that eternal sleep which knows no dreams.

"And when my last breath mingles with the crimson of the evening heavens and my last thoughts spread out over my country with the light mist, then will the rain wash out and the wind erase all traces of my footprints as though I had never trod these mountains ; and thou, Nature, in self-delusion will roof my grave with grass greener than any that cloaks the country round—as though my voice had never called to these mountains 'Good night !'" He ceased. All around was silent save for an echo thrown back by the steep sides of the mountains, "Good night"—"Good night !" The sun dropped down behind the dark mountains, their peaks rose up against the horizon of the Bohemian earth like a dark cloud, and beyond the mountains opposite came out the sun of other worlds, in the gulfs between the mountains it was already dark night, but over the plains the dusk still lingered ; in the broad shadows of dusk the villages appeared like white milestones , above them circled a faint column of smoke which, subsiding, stole over the still surface of the lake into which the stars peered ; here and there the glow of small fires burning along the dams stained the darkness.

The evening was bright and pure, such an evening as is only to be found in the mountains The moon was approaching the full, and its glow silvered the snowy brows of the blue mountains

which towered up from out the dark night like the ashen-pale faces of dead kings crowned with their silver circlets. The youth stood long thus, lost in the labyrinth of thought, looking down on the hushed landscape ; night was now made glorious by all her stars, and he still lingered on the lonely crag. It was cold, a chill wind moaned among the mountains, and from below was heard the murmur of the woods and the river hastening from the barren mountains to the fertile countryside : the moon stood full in his path and the youth did not stir from his place. Suddenly, whereas before he had heard nothing, from somewhere close at hand a clock proclaimed the hour of midnight, and the muffled sound of bells, ringing hollow and horrible, was borne over the broad brow of the mountains, and re-echoed by the peaks around. Then more and more faintly the last echo died away and all was again silent. The youth looked swiftly about him—did a deluding moonbeam trick his weary eyes ? or was this indeed the awful truth on which he gazed ? It seemed as though the summit of Sněžka had split in twain and, suspended directly above him, hung a rare building of Gothic architecture : the monastery with its costly cathedral, adorning the summit, were now already half in ruins ; steep steps led to the arched Gothic entrance ; slender pillars, masterpieces of carving, and broken statues stood here and there round the high Gothic arches, through which the moonlight stole, while round the ruined windows flew the rays of the stars, silvering the crumbling stone columns and other Gothic tracery which yet remained there, and throwing into relief the images of different saints, whose figures, where glass still adhered to the arched Gothic windows, were picked out in checkered colour.

On either side of the building stood strong towers, but like the whole structure they were likewise half in ruins ; these were ornamented with slender pillars, little human heads, various beasts, flowers and fruit, and entire human figures, trees and animals—all of which were so minutely chiselled from the stone that, in the light of the rising moon, it was no easy matter to distinguish them. In the fluttering moonbeams all these figures seemed to stir—and to live. In the centre of the cathedral building between the highest towers was a clock ; on the dial, huge as an eclipsed sun, Roman figures glittered like starry writing, and the golden hands shining brightly, like the moon in the last quarter of the wan night, denoted that it was just midnight.

The youth, once more master of himself, wished to hurry upwards to the walls of a graveyard, which were similarly ornamented

with statues, coats of arms, and other embellishments of Gothic style, and through a low entrance to enter the graveyard, and to pass from thence up the steps into the open cathedral, on the high altar of which shone a mysterious light : but the more he hurried, the more a great wind pressed against his garments, just as it happens in a disturbing dream. Try as he might to draw nearer, he ever remained the same distance away.

As morning approached, the wind spent itself, and the youth found himself standing hard by the graveyard walls when the whole cloister flamed in the crimson glow of sunrise. The cathedral doors had closed of their own accord. The youth now entered the cloisters of the monastery and went up to a hurrying monk, who spake to him, as though he had long known him, saying : “ In troth, thou art well come, for to-day we shall awaken the dead brothers of our monastery and thou mayest question them concerning all those things which thou hast long striven to know.” His mind cleared, and it seemed to him that he had heard speak of this monastery in some far-distant past, and all that was yet to happen was not unknown to him.

And thus it was : The Brotherhood of the Order who dwelt in this monastery had in the midst of their walls a vast hall ; any monk who entered therein mortified after certain rites had been performed, and remained as one dead ; but on a certain day in the course of each year he again came to life with all those who had entered before him. At the close of that day he mortified once more and continued to remain thus till that day again came round when he again revived, and he continued to undergo this process till the ending of the whole world.

The youth followed the monk who was leading him and entered the aforesaid ante-hall. Along the walls stood dead monks, young and old, with hands folded on their breasts, their ashen faces, even in death, appeared horribly troubled. And the youth asked the monk whether these too would come to life again ?—Whereon he answered him, saying : “ No, these will never again come to life ! To those in the yonder closed hall it is granted to come to life once in the course of the year, and to pass out from thence and to return again or not—as they list. But those who do not re-enter the hall but remain in the ante-hall will nevermore come to life, and after a year has lapsed they will be buried. To those in the ante-hall living, though it be but for one day in the whole year, has become so horrible that they prefer to dream a dream which they have not yet finished dreaming, and when the sun

stands in the midst of its course they will be buried in the graveyard around the small chapel, on which you gazed. But now enter the great hall''

Hardly had he spoken when the doors of the great hall flew wide. Through the shaded windows a dim light fell into a lofty hall of vast dimensions, ornamented in the Gothic manner. A countless multitude of dead monks stood there in that twilight each in the position in which death had overtaken him. One stood with hand upraised as though in the act of narrating something ; towards him leant a second, who fixed his dead gaze intently on him as though he thoroughly understood his faded speech ; a third dead monk stooped towards the earth and appeared on the point of picking something up, while a fourth knelt with hands seemingly clasped in prayers.

Then the monk who was leading him gave him the following counsels and warning : " Thou must run between this countless multitude, and in the course of so doing thou must ask various questions. But if thou shouldst pause to rest they will die anew, and nevermore come to life until the burial of their forever dead brothers ; nor is it granted to thee to stay more than three hours among them, unless thou art desirous of remaining a whole year alone alive among these dead."

Then the youth ran through the hall, and while running, asked various questions ; and lo, they began to stir like shadows, unbounded by the earth, as though swayed by the passage of some tempestuous wind that streamed from him ; and they answered his questions in so mysterious a whisper that for very horror his heart quaked within his breast. But their answers for the greater part he failed to remember : forgot because they were so horrible that he did not wish to dwell on them, had it been possible for him to remember them all.

Ere the three hours were spent the youth rushed from the open hall, sped in horror through the ante-hall, and found himself on the rocky ledge high above the country far below ; but he could not discern anything around him, for his eyes, unused to the light and wounded by the great lightning of the noonday sun, streamed with incessant tears, and terrible despair wrenched at his heart-strings. After a while noon declined, the youth's eyes dried and once more he felt refreshed.

The hollow muffled sound of the monastery bells—and the mournful dirges of the accompanying monks—were borne to his ear. The youth looked round and saw the burial procession of the forever

dead brothers proceeding through the monastery gates. Immeasurable sorrow and unutterable yearning consumed his heart as he beheld the living monks bearing to burial their forever dead brothers ; then, far off, a crowd of those monks, who had come to life, rushed through the monastery gates. Once again the youth bent his gaze on the countryside lying there so blissfully flowering below him ; the blue-grey mountains notched the distant horizon like the waves of the night sea ; a dark cloud strewed its dense rain on the flowering meadows between the mountains ; above it shone the sun the whole whole earth seemed to smile. The sweet lovely smell of the mown hay in the meadows far below him was carried to the very summit of the mountain ; the joyous carolling of birds of wood and grove below and the murmur of the water falling fast from the mountains into the deep valley mingled with the sad song of the monks. To him it seemed that from afar the grey mountains whispered : " We lift up our bright eternal brows, and shall never pass away," while the dense rain murmured : " We bedew the fading flowers that they may not die but bloom anew, and pour forth their sweet fragrance." " But "—it sounded like chuckling of the dead monks, " you shall sleep an eternal sleep."

A countless multitude of those who had come to life rushed out on every side of the mountain, and the youth walked into the graveyard to watch the burial of the monks who had died forever. As he stepped aside, wishing to avoid the on-rushing crowd, the shadows who had come to life came flying behind him. He leapt to the other side, and again the shadows rushed behind him. Yet again he retraced his steps and the shadows followed him. Then one of them spake unto him, saying : " It is useless for thee to try to avoid us, for the wind streaming from thee draws us to thee : stand still, and the lightest breeze will drive us over the mountain-summit about thee." The youth stood still. The monks rushed to the edge of the mountain, seeking a pathway down ; many flung themselves down from the towering crags above the outspread countryside ; their eyes blazed with inexpressible longing as they gazed out beyond the dark mountains, but the wind sweeping from all sides ever assembled them on the summit. Down dropt the sun, late evening set in ; the lovely smell of the hay arose from the vale below and over the broad landscape a holy silence fell. No words can depict the misery mirrored in the eyes of the monks as they gazed at the setting sun and then at the dying light, all in vain, for the shadows their day of life had ended, and against their will the wind pressed them into the horrible ante-

hall. With hands clasped, hesitating, many stood on the threshold of the hall ; some chuckling threw themselves into its vast dimensions, while others lamenting took up positions against the walls of the ante-hall, their hands folded on their breasts. The hall and the ante-hall closed.

The night was cold. With weary steps the pilgrim trod the narrow path along the mountains. Opposite him in all her grandeur rose Sněžka. On her summit stood now only a lonely cross ; the full moon above it looked directly down on the path, so that it appeared to be divided by the cross into four equal parts. " Good night, good night ! " the weary pilgrim whispered in a weak voice. Before him, like a lost ray of the moon, the pale figure of a woman seemed to soar upwards. Her dead eyes gazed fixedly at the cross, her cheeks were white as chalk, and her ashen lips roused horror in him ; her rigid snow-white hand, one finger of which ever pointed upwards—whether to the cross or at the moon it was impossible to decide—gleamed in the rays of the moon.

The pilgrim now skirted the crag and Sněžka disappeared from his view ; the figure of the woman ever changed more and more, till at length an old man walked before him, about his dead face streamed long grey hair which mingled with the white beard that reached to below his girdle. In his hair was twined a garland of red and white roses. At his feet foamed the river falling from the high rocks above him ; in the white foam was a dark void, and into this the old man pointed with his hand. The pilgrim then beheld his own image, and lo, he was horribly changed : long grey hair streamed about his high, wrinkled forehead and over his sunken cheeks and mingled with the white beard that reached to below his girdle. Sadly he gazed into the dark void ; behind him flamed the dawn ; he wanted to look back once again at the rose-coloured sunrise which gilded the path he had just trod, but the raging wind, wailing loudly and horribly, spake to him at last in secret words and a force unknown drove him onwards. Indescribable longing, quite beyond himself, drew him towards that unknown land along the path unknown—the pilgrim followed the old man into the dark void.

Beautiful morn came out over the deep valley to the south of the mountains of Krkonoše. The dark firs and pines stood clothed in dew along the mountain slopes, and the river falling from the high crags into its water-worn depths, was churned into white foam ; but where it flowed more peacefully its waters were bright and pure, their depths green as the meadows of Spring. In these



depths the pilgrim slumbered, the noise of the falling waters lulled him in his quietest sleep, and the waves of the river, now spreading out above him, sounded like the melodious lament of evening bells over the hushed countryside, but unlike those other bells their ringing did not disturb the pilgrim's peace of mind with memories of days past.

HUGH HAMILTON MCGOVERN.

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## EDVARD BENEŠ

IN one of Karel Čapek's illuminating conversations with Masaryk the "President Liberator," there is a passage where the old man soliloquises, and wonders whether "Perhaps in 50 years our time will appear to people living then in such a haze of splendour that they will almost envy us." Released from cares of state, the octogenarian was entitled to expect that a long and peaceful evolution lay before his people: but it is a sign of his keen political sense that he was anxiously studying the writings and speeches of Hitler and his various myrmidons, and gathering, through his secretaries, all the material at home and abroad which might help the Czechs to keep alive in such dangerous proximity. His instincts have been proved to be true, but a kind Providence made over to Edvard Beneš, his colleague in the first victory, the task of summing up a second world crisis in which nothing less than national extinction threatened the newly-created Czechoslovak state. There was to be no slow, peaceful evolution, but the most murderous struggle which the world's history has to record.

Students of Czech history had come to recognise a certain catastrophic quality in the history of all the Slav states, whose common fate it has been to undergo greater extremes of adversity and recovery than their non-Slav neighbours. This seemed to be pre-eminently true of Czechoslovakia. Mediæval Bohemia, after notable contributions to western culture and political thought, was overthrown in 1620, and after two whole centuries of complete vassalage to the Habsburgs, had reached a state at which national recovery seemed impossible, and final absorption imminent. Yet the miracle of the Czech national renaissance of the 19th century completely turned the tables on all the pessimists. Three generations of hope and endeavour in the cultural, political and economic spheres brought into existence, or rather awakened from its long slumbers, a state which, with all its admitted defects, was a true reflection of democratic development than any other country east of Germany and Switzerland.

We may go even further, and affirm that nowhere else did the inaugurators of the new order set themselves so consciously and unremittingly to drawing together again the broken threads out of which a philosophy of Czech history had been evolved. Above all this conscious leadership which Masaryk and Beneš never missed an opportunity of expounding, was accepted by the overwhelming

majority of the nation, and was welcomed on our side as an element which might come to play a decisive part in lessening the impact of rival ideologies in Europe.

But twenty years are very little in the history of a nation, and those of us who gathered fresh encouragement and powers of endurance from what seemed to us a shining example of constructive political wisdom, have suddenly been confronted by yet another reversal of fate, destined perhaps to be no less catastrophic. Within the space of a few months after the events of "February" (the Communist revolution of 1948), Masaryk was already being represented by the new régime to the youth of the nation—set free from Nazi tyranny—not as an inspired leader and thinker, but as one of mediocre and obsolete ideas which are already shrivelling under the fierce light of Karl Marx the infallible. When the disaster occurred Beneš was already a very sick man, and all that was necessary for the moment was to honour him with a state funeral and then to concentrate all efforts upon replacing the democratic creed (as it is understood in the west) by totalitarianism in its most unyielding form. This is not the place to weigh the prospects of rival ideologies: but as the figures of the two great Czech Presidents recede into the background of history, and are already being subjected to the wavering estimates and verdict of a new generation to whom freedom is no longer a reality, it may fairly be affirmed that the philosophy of history which Masaryk inherited from Palacký and Comenius, and handed on to Beneš, is something that no totalitarian clamour can reduce to silence before the bar of history.

Moreover, as disenchantment grows and past memories revive, less and less is likely to be heard of the superficial theory that Masaryk and Beneš stood for different things, and were pulling different ways both in foreign and domestic policy. In reality there never was a political partnership based upon such close accord and loyal friendship, despite the difference of thirty years in age between the two men. Beneš had his enemies, and there were moments when Masaryk's utmost effort only just sufficed to keep him in office, especially when the Agrarians put forward two very serious candidates in Milan Hodža and Stephen Osuský. In the end Masaryk's wishes prevailed, and it was above all his influence that secured to Beneš's career a political stability altogether unique in the period between the two wars. To point out that no other statesman in Europe held office continually for so long is a complete understatement of the truth. The young man who in 1915 became Secretary-General of the Czechoslovak National Council in exile

was already in 1917 *de facto* Foreign Secretary of the embryo state, and in 1918 was recognised on all sides, at home and abroad, as the obvious director of its foreign policy. For seventeen years, in one cabinet after another, he was the invariable Foreign Minister, and when in 1934 he resigned the post to succeed Masaryk in the Presidency, events were already shaping themselves in Europe in such a way as to force him to retain the real control of foreign policy in his hands—though this in no way detracts from the loyal and able service of Kamil Krofta. With all this to his credit, and despite the fact that his fall from office and from power was the immediate and logical result of the shameful Munich tragedy and the Nazi Protectorate, it was from the first obvious that the leadership of national resistance should not be in the hands of the third President, Hácha, (a man of honour and legally elected, and yet the merest phantom), but should be left once more to Beneš to organise and inspire. And thus it came about that once again, in fact if not in theory, he was the real director of foreign policy for a further period of seven years, and then yet again for three years, as once more President of his liberated country. Devoted helpers, and above all a devoted wife, had assured to him in all this period the necessary health and powers of resistance to an almost intolerable strain: but the fact that his health was at long last failing was of course known to the successful perpetrators of the "February Revolution" of 1948. The disillusionment brought upon him by the broken pledges of those in whose alliance he had trusted was already a fatal blow, and the tragic fate of his friend and colleague Jan Masaryk—under circumstances of which the time has not yet come to speak—left him isolated and helpless. With the death of these two men the whole political framework of the state was radically transformed. The principles of democracy and freedom of thought which gave a special character to the Czech revival of the 19th and 20th centuries, and which seemed to ensure for Czechoslovakia an unique position as interpreter between East and West yielded place to an intolerant and essentially alien regime imposed from without.

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For the moment there is a slight lull in the controversy set on foot by the Munich betrayal and carried a stage further by the February revolution; and we can await with patience the publication of such documentary evidence as has not yet seen the light. But so long as the twenty years that separate the two great wars remain a subject of study in the world, the name of Beneš is bound

to figure prominently in any narrative. For while his first service was offered to his own country, he was second to no statesman in Europe in his devotion to the wider ideals of international government which must assert themselves if universal ruin is to be averted : and between 1918 and 1935 there was scarcely a meeting of statesmen in Geneva or elsewhere at which Beneš was not present, and did not come armed with one of his famous formulas for compromise. There is reason to hope that his private papers are safe from interference ; and his many addresses and speeches on international affairs, with his own theories of political and social government and progress, are in print and easily accessible. Among them not the least notable were those which we had the honour of publishing in this review, and which belong to the chain of ideas which culminated in his comprehensive funeral oration on his predecessor, Thomas Masaryk.

To academic freedom he always attached peculiar importance, and it was his proud hope that the Caroline University of Prague, at last set free from its trammels in 1918, should always remain a stronghold of free opinion and free discussion. On 7 April 1948, when his whole world was crumbling round him, his response was the brief address he gave on the occasion of the sexcentenary celebration. Reminding his audience that, though three years had passed since the most terrible war in history, the peace we all so ardently desired was still not a reality, he went on : " In order that this aspiration natural to all humanity, together with liberty of belief, of science, of thought and of religion, may be realised, we must constantly strive anew to render effective the liberty of the spirit in all its aspects. This is the condition of all true spiritual life. . . . This liberty, based upon respect of man for man, and upon the wide tolerance of which our university has always been the traditional home, will guide it once more and, please God, all of us with it, to another blossoming and a truly happy future." In the last message which reached me shortly before he died, he referred his foreign friends to the passage just quoted as being the essence of his faith, from which he would never depart. That is the Beneš whom we know, and whose memory we shall always cherish.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

## V. G. BELINSKY\*

VISSARION GRIGORIEVICH BELINSKY is a focal figure in the history of 19th-century Russian thought. He is also, and inevitably, one of Russia's greatest literary critics. Inevitably, because in him were forged those links between life, thought and literature, which distinguish the work of Russia's greatest writers, and still continue to dominate Russian critical thought.

Belinsky had few predecessors, and they are pigmies in comparison. He had many followers and they are to be found in all spheres of Russian life, among the best minds of the 19th and 20th century. More than any one of his brilliant contemporaries he mirrors the intellectual ferment that weaned Russia from uneasy imitation of Europe and set her on a road she made her own. In origin, character and talent, Belinsky broke with the past and looked to the future. That is why he made such a tremendous impact on his contemporaries and exercised such a lasting influence on his successors. But neither his understanding of past and present, nor his vision of the future, would have been possible without a fusion of mind and heart, thought and feeling, which enabled him to apprehend profound historical truths in terms of living human beings. It was this all-pervading humanism that gave him a moral superiority over intellects more brilliant, and a persuasive power unmatched by more accomplished writers. It made him the conscience as well as the voice of pre-Emancipation Russia.

Belinsky must be studied not merely as a literary critic nor even as an inspired publicist, but as part of a whole world in motion, a world in which new forces were trying to break through old forms. He himself belonged to a newly emerging class of mixed origin, the *raznochintsy* or "men of various ranks." They came from town and country, were usually the sons of minor officials, merchants or priests, who were either unable or unwilling to follow the calling of their fathers. Access to education, whether in religious seminaries or lay schools, gave them a thirst for knowledge and an intellectual training that found no application in a society that was still largely composed of landowner and serf. But despite the formidable obstacles put in the path of the *raznochintsy*, they became the spokesmen not only for the embryonic middle classes, but also for the vast majority of the Russian people, the enserfed Russian

\* An Inaugural Lecture, delivered at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies on 21 Oct. 1948 —ED. NOTE

peasantry. Belinsky was the greatest of these early intellectual pioneers, though his predecessors, the merchant's son Polevoy, and the priest's son Nadezhdin, both belonged to the *raznochintsy*. All three were enmeshed in the same web spun by the Tsar's expert officials to catch the free mind and either destroy it or subdue it to the Government's purpose. Both Polevoy and Nadezhdin were tamed by the suppression of their journals. Once Belinsky had abandoned his early quietism for an active criticism of contemporary Russian society, he, too, became exposed to the intrigue of his rivals, a target for the malicious denunciations of the despicable Bulgarin, ornament of the St. Petersburg "yellow press," agent and toady of the Third Section. Every means, fair or foul, was used to disparage Belinsky's journal, and, towards the end of his life, the Third Section, despite its characteristic politeness, was taking far more than a friendly interest in him. If the far greater talent of Belinsky and the devotion of his public enabled him to survive comparatively unscathed until the beginning of 1848, it was only death in June 1848 that preserved him from imprisonment in the wave of repression that followed revolution in Europe.

Nicholas I was more consistent than either Catherine or Alexander had been. Tension between government and people inside Russia had reached a pitch where the Tsar could no longer afford to dally with liberal ideas. Ideas had been translated into action in the rising of 14 December 1825, and Nicholas was obliged to look to his defences. This he did with a thoroughness that impressed not only his subjects for good or ill, but also powerfully affected even a potentially sympathetic foreign observer. When the Marquis de Custine visited Russia in 1839, he found that "Le gouvernement russe c'est la discipline du camp substituée a l'ordre de la cité, c'est l'état de siège devenu l'état normal de la société."<sup>1</sup>

This had been achieved in a comparatively short time by the famous Third Section of His Majesty's own Chancellory. Created in July 1826, armed with control of the secret police and command over an auxiliary force of spies and informers, it soon became the real power in the land. Censorship, nominally in the hands of the Ministry of Education, became, in fact, subject to the Third Section. In April 1828, theoretical modification of the "iron" censorship regulations of 1826 paid lip-service to more liberal principles, but a few days afterwards, secret instructions were circulated to censors, asking them to report unreliable authors to the Third Section for observation.

Revolution in Europe and, later, rebellion in Poland, stirred the

Russian people, and produced panic in the Russian Government. On 5 September, the writer and censor Nikitenko writes in his diary: "What do we think of events in Europe? People are afraid to think aloud, but it is obvious they are thinking hard—to themselves." <sup>2</sup> By the end of 1830, 30 December, he is filled with gloom and foreboding: "New Year present for Russian writers. We have received instructions not to pass anything for publication without the full name of the author. This year has brought little comfort to the cause of enlightenment in Russia. Over it has weighed the dismal spirit of repression. Many works in prose and verse have been prohibited for the most trivial reasons, one might even say without any reason at all, simply under the influence of panic which has overwhelmed the censors. The censorship regulations have gone by the board. The bitter truth has been confirmed that in Russia there is not even the shadow of lawful action. Minds are being more and more perverted by this spectacle of laws being destroyed by the very men who make them. . . . In the educated section of society the spirit of opposition is springing up more and more strongly: it is worst where it is most secret, this worm at the root of the tree. Our Jacobins will rejoice at this, but a wise man cannot but deplore these political errors, whose end it is not difficult to foresee. Other spheres too, industry and the administration of justice, have also shown no improvement. May God preserve Russia!" <sup>3</sup>

Little more than a year later, Nicholas himself intervened to set an example to lax censors. In an article entitled "The 19th Century," in the first number of Ivan Kireevsky's journal, *The European*, for January 1832, he found a discussion of dangerous political matters thinly disguised in literary terms. *The European* was promptly suppressed after the issue of its second number, and a sharp reprimand followed from the Third Section to Prince Lieven, Minister of Education, who was warned to keep a close watch on other journals with free-thinking tendencies, notably Polevoy's *Moscow Telegraph* and Nadezhdin's *Telescope*. Both came to an untimely end under the energetic administration of Lieven's successor, Count Uvarov. Able and unscrupulous, Uvarov became Nicholas's chief mainstay on the intellectual front, and the historian Solovyev's unforgettable pen portrait reveals him as the perfect type of those aristocratic sycophants who surrounded Nicholas and made careers for themselves by flattering a master whose intelligence was far inferior to their own. "He put into Nicholas's head the idea that he was the creator of a new system of education based on



new principles, principles that in fact he (Uvarov) had devised. Orthodoxy, Autocracy and National Character; Orthodoxy being himself an atheist, Autocracy being a Liberal, National Character without ever having read a single book in Russian, and writing in either French or German. . . . In conversation with him, very often brilliantly clever conversation, one was struck by the extreme conceit and vanity of the man, so that any minute one was prepared to hear him say that before the creation of the world God had consulted him on the plan " 4

Uvarov had already summed up his attitude towards the more spirited of contemporary journals in the very report in which he had first formulated his famous three principles. In this "Report on the Inspection of Moscow University" presented in December 1832, while assistant Minister, he describes "the poor lonely student without books and contact with society, who greedily falls upon our journals . . . What does he find in them? . . . Ignorance of the laws of logic and language, an aggressive and supercilious tone in judgment." 5 He suggests that the Professors of Moscow University should found and publish their own journal in order "to deflect minds from paths which should not be followed and pacify those violent impulses towards the foreign and unknown, towards the abstract and nebulous sphere of politics and philosophy. . . . In the present state of things and men's minds," he concludes, "it is imperative to increase wherever possible the number of 'intellectual dikes.'" 6 Negative measures however were not enough. It was clear that trained minds were needed to administer Nicholas's vast empire, that technical knowledge must be imported to develop industry, commerce and agriculture. Uvarov's Report shows that he was fully aware of the real problem that confronted him; how to train minds to serve the Tsar without opening them to political ideas that might cause them to question the sacred principle of autocracy. His solution was to develop a carefully controlled system of education based on the three principles, and applied in the spirit of instructions issued by Nicholas in 1828, which lay down that education must be carefully graded according to the class and future occupation of the student, so that without being educated below his class, he would not strive to rise above it. Summing up the results of his first ten years in office, Uvarov was able to report a considerable increase in the number of educational establishments, but, true to the spirit of his master, he had seen his task "as the collection and co-ordination in the hands of the government of all intellectual forces hitherto dispersed." 7 This had, indeed, been

achieved in the decade under review; what was more open to question was his contention that "the principles chosen by your Majesty . . . have stood the test of time and circumstance and shown themselves to be the pledge of security, the bulwark of order, and the true cure for all chance ailments."<sup>8</sup>

It must be admitted that the Government had partly succeeded in its attempt to control and direct men's minds. Many outstanding writers had been silenced either temporarily or altogether, others had been brought over to the official gospel by a mixture of threats and bribes for which the Third Section was notorious. Ivan Kireevsky published virtually nothing for twelve years after the suppression of *The European*. Chaadaev was officially declared mad after the publication in 1836 of a translation of the first of his "Lettres Philosophiques" in Nadezhdin's journal, *Telescope*. *Telescope* was suppressed, Nadezhdin exiled, and driven from journalism to the safer backwaters of historical and ethnographical research. Polevoy had been morally broken and materially ruined by the suppression of the *Moscow Telegraph* in 1834 for the publication of an unfavourable review of a patriotic play of which Nicholas himself had approved. Men like Herzen and Bakunin were driven by the "stick of Damocles,"<sup>9</sup> the threat of arrest at the bidding of the Third Section, to emigrate abroad; others, like Turgenev and Annenkov, found relief from the stifling atmosphere at home in frequent and prolonged foreign travel. But restraints imposed, in the end produced their own antidote. It was left to Belinsky, who could not, would not, escape, to lead an attack against the official gospel from the very heart of the government citadel, St. Petersburg itself.

Belinsky came to Russian literature, history and politics, from the study of German philosophy. It is not difficult to see an element of escapism in the swing from political ideas to philosophical speculation in the unhappy years which followed the Decembrist rising. Political discussion was now impossible, moreover, the political ideas of the "conscience-stricken" gentry had been compromised by failure in action. It is important to remember, however, that an interest in German philosophy had been evident before the Decembrist rising, in both academic and literary circles. The professors, Vellansky and Galich in St. Petersburg, Pavlov in Moscow, introduced the new ideas, the men of letters discussed their application to literature. Galich's *History of Philosophical Systems* (1818-1819) and Odoevsky's literary Almanac *Mnemosine* (1824) both expounded German philosophy to what was, inevitably, a

restricted public. But even when the Chair of Philosophy at Moscow University was abolished in 1826 during the post-Decembrist reaction, the irrepressible Pavlov continued to propagate the ideas of Schelling in his lectures on physics and agriculture. "It would have been difficult to learn physics from his lecture, quite impossible to learn anything about agriculture. . . . Pavlov would stand in the doorway of the department of physics and mathematics and stop the passing student with the question: 'Do you want to understand nature? But what *is* nature?—and what is understanding?' This," concludes Herzen, "is of the greatest importance, because our young men entering the university are quite devoid of philosophical training."<sup>10</sup>

Fanned, first by Pavlov, then by Nađezhdin, despite adolescent extravagances, brilliantly derided by Herzen, who, at first, had little sympathy for the philosophers, the new cult spread and ripened in the late 20's and early 30's. Fundamentally it was an attempt to find in German philosophy what the Decembrists had tried to find in French and English political ideas, not abstract speculation, but a guide to human conduct in the actual circumstances of Russian life. Turgenev summed it up when he said, "We then sought in philosophy everything on earth save a system of pure thought."<sup>11</sup>

Belinsky's philosophical travail amply demonstrates what the Russians sought and why they sought it. In it we find the key not only to Russian preoccupation with the ideas of Hegel in the 30's and 40's, but also an understanding of why Marx came later to exercise such a powerful influence on Russian political thought. Plekhanov claimed that Belinsky's mind was working in the direction of dialectical materialism, and awarded him the title of "sociologist of genius"<sup>12</sup> for an intuitive advance towards ideas that were only beginning to be postulated on the basis of a far wider knowledge and experience in Europe itself. There is, of course, no coherent system of social or political thought in Belinsky's published work. Nor could there be. It is only in his uncensored letters and in the deliberately ambiguous terms of his later critical articles that we find a fragmentary and unco-ordinated expression of his views. Because Belinsky moved through a whole cycle of conflicting ideas he has been reproached with inconsistency. Just as in Belinsky one stage of intellectual development inevitably warred with some part of that which preceded it, so men who have approved only one phase of Belinsky's thought have inevitably condemned its contradiction by Belinsky himself. Any attempt, therefore, to see the direction of Belinsky's thought, must endeavour to see it whole.

Belinsky first came into conflict with the censor while still a student in Moscow University, which he had entered in 1829, for an immature play called *Dmitri Kalinin* in which he had dared to denounce serfdom. This was not the official reason given for his expulsion in 1832, but it was, undoubtedly, the decisive one. In the following year he found work first as a translator, then as a contributor to Nadezhdin's journals *Telescope* and its supplement *Town Talk*. Already well known as a man of letters, Nadezhdin had become professor of Fine Arts at Moscow University at the beginning of 1832, and a persuasive manner of lecturing added to his earlier critical articles, did much to popularise Schelling's ideas on æsthetics among Russian students. This interest was further developed by the students themselves. Stankevich soon became the leader of this philosophical circle, the more politically minded students gravitating towards Herzen. Belinsky threw his lot in with the philosophers; he himself knew no German and he therefore learnt his philosophy through the inspired medium of first Stankevich, later when Stankevich went abroad in 1837, from Bakunin. Roughly the first half of his literary career from 1834 to 1840-1841 was spent under the spell of Schelling, Fichte and Hegel. The significant influence was that of Hegel. This began to manifest itself in 1836 and brought him to that "reconciliation to reality" which paradoxically brought Belinsky not peace but acute torment. If Belinsky interpreted Hegel's thesis "whatever is real is rational, whatever is rational is real" too narrowly, it must be admitted that there was ample precedent for this in the conservative spirit of Hegel's later years and in the work of his right wing followers. Belinsky understood enough of Hegel to remain true to his method even when in 1841 he came to repudiate what he called the "absoluteness of his results."<sup>13</sup> What in the first place brought him to Hegel? In a letter of October 1839 he blames the influence of Schiller for throwing him into his adolescent mood of "bitter enmity towards the social order, waged in the name of an abstract ideal of society, detached from geographical and historical conditions of development, built in the air."<sup>14</sup> Such contradictions between abstract ideals and the existing social order seemed to be solved by Hegel's concept of "rational reality" which had been revealed to him by Bakunin. About a year earlier he had written to Bakunin: "I look upon the reality formerly so greatly despised by me and I am filled with an inner exaltation at the realisation of its rationality; I realise that nothing can be omitted, nothing disparaged, nothing repudiated. . . . All the most contradictory

concepts now have an integrated meaning for me, and no longer war against each other, but together form a complete whole with many different facets, one general picture drawn in different colours, life compounded of endlessly differing elements." <sup>15</sup>

What Herzen called Belinsky's "dialectically passionate" <sup>16</sup> nature could never rest until he had worried an idea to the limit of understanding. Even then his conscience would never let him rest upon understanding. He was an inspired journalist because he was literally compelled to communicate his ideas. In him the personal quest for truth cannot be separated from the proselytising fervour of a man who saw in journalism the only means left of educating and humanising a semi-literate and brutalised public. The panacea of "rational reality" was therefore revealed to the Russian public in a series of articles, conceived in Moscow, but published in *Annals of the Fatherland* for 1839 and 1840, soon after Belinsky's arrival in St. Petersburg. Of them, "The Anniversary of Borodino" is the most extreme example of Belinsky's attempt to equate "rational reality" with Russian life. Yet, even in the "Borodino" article, there is an implicit contradiction between Belinsky's feeling for the dialectical movement of history, and his desperate attempt to represent Russian autocracy as the absolute culmination of "rational reality." In it he says: "The course of our history is the opposite of that in Europe: in Europe the starting point of development has always been the struggle and victory of the lower stages of state organisation over the upper. Feudalism fought against monarchic power, and conquered it, nevertheless limiting it by forming the aristocracy: the democratic class against the middle class. With us it is just the opposite. The government has always been in advance of the people, has always been the guiding star to their great destiny." <sup>17</sup>

It was the impact of St. Petersburg, "Chinese empire of material animal life" <sup>18</sup> that transformed Belinsky's view of Russian society and shattered his "reconciliation to reality." In a violent reaction against his earlier attempt to subordinate people and events to a theoretical harmony, he focuses his attention, not on the whole, but on the individual human being. The fate of the individual becomes an obsession. "I now put the individual human character above history, above society, above humanity in the abstract." <sup>19</sup> "I want no happiness if I am not assured of the well-being of every one of brothers in blood, bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh. They say that disharmony is a condition of harmony; perhaps this is for the delight and the advantage of music lovers, but not for those

who are fated to express the idea of disharmony.”<sup>20</sup> This disharmony was fully revealed to Belinsky by the corruption and inhumanity of life in the capital. Here he found a society at odds with itself, denied free expression of opinion, divorced from action and from the spontaneous development of a character of its own; a society where “everything that is human, in any degree wise, noble or talented, is doomed to repression and suffering.”<sup>21</sup>

In search of a remedy he turns to the France he had formerly criticised for its interest in politics at the expense of philosophy. It is now the French “who without German philosophy have understood that which German philosophy still does not understand.”<sup>22</sup> In the French revolution Belinsky sees the reason and logic of history. From the French utopian socialists, he takes his pattern for an ideal society. By the autumn of 1841 he is “come to a new extreme, the idea of socialism, which has become the idea of ideas . . . the alpha and omega of faith and knowledge.”<sup>23</sup> It is only in this socialist society that all will be able to share equally in human progress. “What is it to me that I understand ideas, that a whole world of ideas in art, religion and history is open to me, when I cannot share them with those who should be my brothers in humanity, in Christ’s teaching, but who are alien to me and my enemies in their ignorance? What does it matter to me that there is happiness for the chosen few when the majority do not even suspect the possibility of its existence? Take away that happiness if I alone of a thousand am to enjoy it.”<sup>24</sup>

In repudiating his earlier views Belinsky did not abandon Hegel’s method: he revised his understanding of it. He put his finger unerringly on the weak spot of his “quietism” when he wrote to Botkin in December 1840: “I should have developed the idea of negation as an historical law no less sacred than the other, and without which the history of mankind would be a stagnant and stinking marsh.”<sup>25</sup>

The violence of Belinsky’s reaction had carried Belinsky into utopian dreams of a brotherhood of man, but these were soon tempered by a desire to find a concrete and objective basis for his understanding of the dialectic of history. Any attempt to influence human progress must be based on an understanding of the world as it exists. The laws of history supply the clue to this understanding. By 1843 he sees in “the movement of historical events, apart from external causation, also an inner necessity which gives them a profound inner meaning. . . . Therefore in the general course of

history, in the sum of historical events there is nothing fortuitous, nothing arbitrary." <sup>26</sup>

It was this conviction that history has its own laws which cannot be flouted that made him the most bitter and uncompromising opponent of the Slavophiles, and, by the end of his life, also brought him to criticise the abstract idealism of contemporary socialism. The Slavophiles wanted to put the clock back by ignoring the development of Russia after Peter I, the Utopians wanted to put the clock forward by ignoring the actual development of the society in which they lived. Both, in Belinsky's view, were unhistorical, and therefore doomed to failure. The cardinal error of the Slavophiles was their utter disregard of the organic nature of historical development. "The chief reason for their strange conclusions is to be found in their arbitrary disregard of time. They take the process of development for its result, want to see the fruit before the flower, and finding the leaves tasteless, they declare the fruit to be rotten, and suggest that an enormous forest . . . be transferred to another place and subjected to an entirely different system of forestry." <sup>27</sup> Nearly fifty years later both Lenin and Plekhanov were castigating the Narodniks for the same error, disregard of the laws of history. In 1894 Lenin wrote. "This philosopher [the Narodnik, Mikhailovsky] sees social relations purely metaphysically, as the simple mechanical aggregate of institutions, the simple mechanical linking of diverse elements. He roots up one, the ownership of land by the cultivator in medieval forms of society and thinks he can transplant it into quite different forms, like moving a brick from one building to another." <sup>28</sup> In *Towards the Development of a Monist View of History*, which appeared a year later, Plekhanov similarly accuses the Narodniks of basing their theories not on historical fact but fantasy.

The impatience with fantasy that allied Belinsky to Plekhanov and Lenin, enabled him to foreshadow some of their views on the development of Russia. In three important letters written during the last year of his life, Belinsky made it clear that he saw progress inside Russia dependent on an economic development that would follow the pattern of the West. In the last of these, written on 15 February 1848, he affirms that "The internal progress of civil development will begin in Russia only when the Russian gentry is transformed into a bourgeoisie." <sup>29</sup>

This has to be read in conjunction with the two earlier letters, in which he discusses the historical role of the bourgeoisie in Europe, and, by implication, defines its future significance for Russia. In

the first, written from Dresden in a journey across Europe in search of treatment for advanced tuberculosis, he criticises the first volumes of Louis Blanc's *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, which had just appeared "In this book," says Belinsky, "even before the creation of the world, the bourgeoisie figures as the enemy of mankind, conspiring against its well-being, whilst the book itself proves that without the bourgeoisie there would never have been a Revolution."<sup>30</sup> In the second letter, written in December of the same year, he takes both Herzen and Bakunin to task for allowing personal antipathy to obscure historical understanding. Belinsky was not tempted, like Herzen, to idealise the Russian agricultural commune and see in it the nucleus of a Socialist Russia that could by-pass the capitalist development of the West. Still less could he sympathise with Bakunin's theories of spontaneous revolution. He reproves them both for a hostility to the middle class which did not distinguish between the different elements within that class, and which made no attempt to see it in historical perspective. Arguing that the middle class has played an important part in the history of France and England, he surmises that it has still an important part to play in the development of Russia. It is clear that he was thinking chiefly of economic development, because he concludes: "I know that industry is a source of great evils, but I also know that it is a source of great benefits for society. Strictly speaking, the only ultimate evil is in the domination of industry by capital, in its tyranny over labour."<sup>31</sup>

Belinsky died a young man, a few days short of his thirty-seventh birthday, and there is no knowing where his unquiet mind would have led him had he lived longer. Certainly, by the end of his life, he seems to have sensed the importance of the economic factor in history, though it is implied rather than explicit. Where he tries consciously to explain the workings of society he seems to regard the nature of individual man as the key to human relations. By 1846, under the influence of Feuerbach who powerfully affected his friend Herzen, and later his disciple, Chernyshevsky, Belinsky is trying to find a material basis for his understanding of man. "Mind is man in the flesh, or man through his flesh, in a word, human individuality. Therefore there are as many minds in the world as people." Belinsky is far from advancing this as a final or satisfactory explanation. Honesty compels him to admit that he is baffled. "What is this human individuality which gives reality to feeling, intelligence, will and genius, without which everything would be either a fantastic dream or a logical abstraction . . . ?



The more vividly I feel its essential character, the less able I am to define it in words. It is as much a secret as life itself." <sup>32</sup>

In the eyes of his contemporaries Belinsky was pre-eminently the champion of this individual humanity, denied to the greater part of the Russian people. The best proof that his love for the Russian people had gained rather than lost in the transition from utopias to reality is to be found in the famous letter to Gogol written in July 1847, rather less than a year before his death. In it there is neither fantasy of what might be, nor exaggeration of what is. Despite Belinsky's intensely personal idiom the letter has the terrible impersonality of a judgment of history. "Russia sees her salvation not in mysticism, nor in asceticism or piety, but in the triumph of civilisation, enlightenment, humanism. She does not need sermons (she has heard enough) nor prayers (she has prayed enough) but the awakening in her people of a feeling of human dignity for so many centuries lost in the mire and on the dunghheap. She needs rights and laws based not on the doctrines of the Church, but on common sense and justice and a strict enforcement of those rights and laws in practice. . . . The most vital and urgent of the national problems of contemporary Russia are the emancipation of the serfs—the abolition of corporal punishment, the strict observance of those laws that already exist." <sup>33</sup> This letter became the bible of all "who were thirsting for fresh air," <sup>34</sup> not only because it said what had been in men's minds for generations, but also because it provided a concrete programme for all men of common sense and goodwill.

It is clear that by inclination Belinsky was a publicist rather than a literary critic. He was limited to literature by a censorship that had driven all discussion of public affairs either underground or into concealment. This had been noted by Ivan Kireevsky in the second number of his short-lived journal *The European* in 1832 when he wrote: "While in other countries, affairs of state absorb all minds and serve as the chief measure of their enlightenment, in our country the tireless solicitude of our far-sighted government frees private persons from the necessity of occupying themselves with politics, and thus the only indication of our intellectual development is to be found in literature" <sup>35</sup>

And, in fact, in the articles that Belinsky wrote ostensibly on literature, one finds a discussion, sometimes veiled in ambiguous terms, of many of the most vital problems of contemporary Russian life. This was not only because Belinsky could not speak his mind elsewhere. His philosophy of history brought him to the conviction

that since all aspects of life were interrelated in the organic development of society, literature could not be artificially isolated from life. Moreover, Belinsky saw literature dialectically, acting as well as acted upon; for him the literature of his time was both the expression of an acute crisis in the development of Russian society and a means of resolving that crisis.

Inevitably, therefore, his æsthetic theories moved hand in hand with his attitude towards life. In his early apprenticeship to German philosophy he sees literature as the absolute expression of the universal and eternal idea. Poetic inspiration is a reflection of the creative power of nature, it can have no other end than itself. Yet *Literary Dreams*, his first published work, begins with a discussion of the absolute and immanent laws of art, continues with a historical survey of Russian literature which Belinsky sees dependent on time and circumstance, and ends with an analysis of contemporary Russian society as an explanation of the state of Russian literature. Belinsky sees the chief reason for the poverty and imitativeness of Russian literature in the "absence of an educated society in which the character of the great Russian people could manifest itself."<sup>36</sup> The remedy for this lies in education "created by our own efforts and cultivated on native soil."<sup>37</sup> With education will come a rich, independent, Russian literature. Belinsky says: "I have made it my aim to give voice to a number of truths, some already stated, others *I myself have observed*."<sup>38</sup> And, in fact, the interesting and significant passages of *Literary Dreams* are not its paraphrases of Schelling but Belinsky's own original and startling observations on the history of Russian literature, the defects of contemporary Russian society, and the relation between the two. In this inherent contradiction between Belinsky's philosophical postulate and his historical observation already lie the seeds of the later split between the absolute, eternal, and universal idea, and its temporal manifestation in Russian reality. However fervently Belinsky enunciated the principle of "Art for Art's sake" in the first half of his career, the evidence of his own researches into Russian literature did not allow him to dissociate the development of art from the development of society. Moreover, his "reconciliation to reality" made him see art as the representation in its own idiom of that same reality. But he everywhere emphasises that the artist must reproduce reality objectively, without either criticism or praise.

As soon, therefore, as Belinsky abandoned the concept of "rational reality" he was obliged to revise his theory of æsthetics.

Once he admitted a criticism of irrational elements in life, he was forced to admit a reflection of this criticism in art. This at once brought the artist into contact with the social and political ideas Belinsky had earlier rigorously excluded from the sphere of æsthetics. Art, without abandoning its special language of "ideas in images," or the laws governing that language, becomes the expression of the ideas and aspirations of a people in its historical development. Since art, like everything else, is subject to the laws of history, both artist and critic have the same problem. They must effect a conjunction between historical understanding and æsthetic principles which will give their work significance for their fellow-men. For the critic this implied a comprehensive system of objective analysis, instead of arbitrary judgment or personal caprice.

"Every work of art," says Belinsky, "must be examined in relation to its own time and in the relation of the artist to society. . . . On the other hand it is impossible to ignore the æsthetic claims of art. We would go further; the definition of the degree of æsthetic merit in a work of art must be the first concern of the critic. If a work of art does not survive æsthetic analysis it is not worth historical criticism. . . . There is no point in dividing criticism into different categories, far better to admit only one criticism and include in it all the elements and aspects that go to make up the reality expressed in art." <sup>39</sup>

The same applied to art. A spirited defence of the new realism (or natural school, as it was called) leads Belinsky to a final summing up of his views: "Even while wholeheartedly admitting that art must first of all be art, we nevertheless consider that the concept of pure art, renouncing the world and living in its own sphere, having nothing in common with other aspects of life is abstract and unreal. Such art has never existed. Without doubt life divides and subdivides into many different spheres having their own measure of independence, but these different spheres fuse with one another organically, and there are no distinct boundaries between them. . . . The individuality of the poet is not something unconditional, apart, immune from every outside influence. The poet is first of all a human being, then a citizen of his country, then a son of his time. The spirit of his people and his time cannot affect him less than others. . . . It has been said that the spirit of parties and sects will injure the poet's talent and spoil his works. That is true. And therefore he must be the expression not of a single party or sect, doomed perhaps to an ephemeral existence

. . . but of the most sacred thoughts of society as a whole, those strivings which may not yet be clear to it." <sup>40</sup>

It was this conception of the writer that made Belinsky such a discerning critic of a young and developing literature. Belinsky welcomed Lermontov because in his poetry he saw a reflection of what was new in the spirit of his time, "a time primarily historical . . . Mankind has already outlived the fullness of his beliefs. . . . Our age is the age of conscious knowledge, of the philosophising spirit of reflection." <sup>41</sup> But if Lermontov reflected the mood of an age, it was Gogol who went to the root of the matter—"the secret heart of the life of the people." <sup>42</sup> Gogol who "ruthlessly pulled veils from reality" <sup>43</sup> and showed Russia its own image. It was because Gogol first showed the contradiction between the outward forms of Russian life and the profound potentialities of the Russian people that Belinsky saw in him the beginning of a realism that would help to re-fashion Russian life as well as reflect it. It was this same critical understanding of Russian life that Belinsky found in the new generation of the 40's, Turgenev, Goncharov, the early Dostoevsky, Grigorovich, Nekrasov: they were revealing new facets, adding depth and subtlety to the picture of Russian life that had first been drawn by Gogol.

Intense interest in contemporary problems and concern for the future made Belinsky more sympathetic towards the new than the old. Yet his survey of the past history of Russian literature, constantly revised and recast, gave perspective, life, and colour, to what before him had been a solemn array of undifferentiated shades. As one might expect, it is in the study of relations, that of one writer to another, of each writer to the development of literature as a whole, that Belinsky shows most acute judgment. Yet his historical sense did not blind him to æsthetic quality: it was æsthetic feeling that first drew him towards a writer, and enabled him to appreciate Goncharov despite the fact that he saw in him "the only contemporary writer who approaches the ideal of 'pure art.'" <sup>44</sup> It must be admitted that Belinsky was not always successful in maintaining a balance between the historical and æsthetic elements in his own criticism. Just as earlier preoccupation with æsthetic principle had made him an over-severe critic of Griboyedov's comedy of Russian society *Woe from Wit*, so later his preoccupation with social problems made him see limitations in Pushkin. The eleven articles on the poet that form the central part of Belinsky's literary criticism were written between 1843 and 1846, and in them one can trace a gradual shift of emphasis from the

æsthetic to the historical Belinsky everywhere pays tribute to Pushkin's artistry, he sees in him a great and model master of poetry, a teacher of the art, but in the realm of ideas he finds him limited by his subject-matter. In *Eugene Onegin* in particular he sees him as the expression of what was best in the educated gentry of the twenties, men whose problems and ideals were already remote to the new men of the 40's Belinsky does not impose his view of Pushkin as a final and absolute judgment. His historical sense was too strong for that. Literary opinions, "like everything living, must develop out of the life of society; every new day, every new fact in life and literature, must also have changed our view of Pushkin." <sup>45</sup> Belinsky himself was at once too near and too remote to gauge the full significance of Pushkin. He knew that the future would bring new judgments, and that his own was incomplete. Nevertheless everything that has been said on Pushkin since Belinsky owes something to his first comprehensive analysis

Belinsky's larger influence on literary criticism in Russia is to be seen in a development of his ideas that leads from Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyabov, his disciples in the 60's, to the early Marxist æsthetics of Plekhanov, thence to Gorky's theory of "Socialist realism" which forms the basis of Soviet literary theory. This is by no means a straight line. If the "civic" critics of the 60's added an emphatic moral exhortation to what Belinsky had presented as a historical law—Chernyshevsky, for example, says: "Public opinion should guide literature, insisting that it be its expression" <sup>46</sup>—Plekhanov on the other hand chiefly occupied himself with explaining historical law as it affected æsthetics on the basis of dialectical materialism. These two aspects, explanation and exhortation, come together in Soviet literary criticism. Soviet critics argue that history has given them the duty of affirming the existence of a new form of society, not merely as an ideal but as a reality. Gorky is speaking for the whole of Soviet literature when he says: "Socialist realism affirms being as doing, as creation." <sup>47</sup> "The old realism had no future and it was aware of this. Our realism has a guaranteed future and our men of letters must feel this." <sup>48</sup> Soviet literature has posed the problem if it has not solved it. Basically it is the same problem that Belinsky posed a hundred years ago, but in a new and entirely different historical context: a problem which concerns writers and critics everywhere, namely the relation of the writer to the society in which he lives.

Belinsky posed many more problems than he could solve because neither the conditions nor the knowledge existed in Russia for their

solution. Some of the problems he discussed were not new to Europe, some of them were even peculiar to Russia. His style is also an impediment to the Western reader. At times he writes with immense force and pungency, at others thought and word diffuse into repetition and ambiguity. His shortcomings are so obvious that they have attracted far more attention than they deserve. His limitations are largely those of his time, his achievement far transcends it. At a hundred years' remove we can see how far he was able to project himself into the future and how successfully he surmounted the barriers that hemmed him in. In retrospect he appears as one of the most remarkable thinkers of 19th-century Russia, a forebear of Plekhanov and Lenin, as well as of a long line of literary critics. Certainly no study of Russian life, thought, or literature in the past hundred years can afford to neglect him.

On the centenary anniversary of his death we need to pay tribute to the man as well as the thinker and writer. Belinsky himself made no distinction between thinking and living. In him absolute intellectual honesty was matched by a rare moral integrity. He was a man who tried to see life whole and see it honestly. Even his enemies admitted that he lived it honestly.

BERTHA MALNICK.

<sup>1</sup> Marquis de Custine, *La Russie en 1839*, Paris, 1834, Vol I, p. 278

<sup>2, 3</sup> А. В. Никитенко, "Моя повесть о самом себе. Записки и Дневник," 1804-1877гг., СПб., 1904, стр. 202, 205

<sup>4</sup> С. М. Соловьев, "Записки," СПб., 1914, стр. 58

<sup>5, 6</sup> М. Лемке, "Николаевские жандармы и литература," 1826-1855гг., СПб., 1908, стр. 83, 84

<sup>7, 8</sup> С. С. Уваров, "Десятилетие Министерства Народного Просвещения," 1833-1834, СПб., 1864, стр. 107, 108

<sup>9, 10</sup> Герцен, "Былое и Думы," Лен., 1946, стр. 271, 215

<sup>11</sup> И. С. Тургенев, Полное собрание сочинений, СПб., 1884, т. X, стр. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Г. В. Плеханов, В. Г. Белинский, История русской литературы XIX в., под ред. Овелянко-Кудиковского, М., 1911, т. II, стр. 227-67.

<sup>13</sup> Letter to Botkin, 1 March 1841. Белинский, Письма, под ред. Е. А. Ляцкого, СПб., 1914, т. II, стр. 212

<sup>14</sup> Letter to Stankevich, 29 Sept-8 Oct 1839. Письма, т. I, стр. 347

<sup>15</sup> Letter to Bakunin, 10 Sept 1838. *Ibid.*, стр. 228

<sup>16</sup> А. Герцен, "Былое и Думы," стр. 218

<sup>17</sup> Белинский, Полное собрание сочинений, т. IV, СПб., 1901, стр. 345, "Бородинская Годовщина."

<sup>18</sup> Letter to Botkin, 11 Dec 1840. Письма, т. II, стр. 186

<sup>19</sup> Letter to Botkin, 14 Oct 1840. *Ibid.*, стр. 163

<sup>20</sup> Letter to Botkin, 1 March 1841. *Ibid.*, стр. 213

<sup>21</sup> Letter to Botkin, 11 Dec 1840. *Ibid.*, т. II, стр. 186

<sup>22</sup> Letter to Botkin, 28 June 1841. *Ibid.*, стр. 247

<sup>23, 24</sup> Letter to Botkin, 8 Sept 1841. *Ibid.*, стр. 262, 266

<sup>25</sup> Letter to Botkin, 11 Dec 1840. *Ibid.*, стр. 186

<sup>26</sup> Полн. собр. соч., т. XII, М.-П., 1926, стр. 401, "История Малороссии, Николая Маркевича."

- <sup>27</sup> Полн. собр. соч., т. X, СПб., 1914, стр. 400, "Взгляд на русскую литературу 1846 года."
- <sup>28</sup> В. И. Ленин, Избранные произведения, М.-Л., 1946, т. I, стр. 107-08
- <sup>29</sup> Letter to Annenkov, 15 Feb 1848 Письма, т. III, стр. 339
- <sup>30</sup> Letter to Botkin, 7 July 1847 *Ibid*, стр. 245-46
- <sup>31</sup> Letter to Botkin, Dec 1847 *Ibid*, стр. 331
- <sup>32</sup> Полное собрание сочинений, т. X, стр. 407, 408, "Взгляд на русскую литературу 1846 года."
- <sup>33</sup> Белинский, Избранные сочинения, М., 1947, стр. 615-16 Письмо к Гоголю.
- <sup>34</sup> Letter from Ivan Aksakov to his parents, 9 Oct 1856. И С. Аксаков в его письмах, М., 1888-1892, т. III, стр. 290
- <sup>35</sup> Сочинения И. В. Киреевского, М., 1861, т. I, стр. 87, "Обозрение русской словесности за 1831 год"
- <sup>36, 37, 38</sup> Полное собрание сочинений, т. I, СПб., 1900, стр. 394, 396, "Литературные Мечтания."
- <sup>39</sup> Полн. собр. соч., т. VIII, СПб., 1904, стр. 310, "Никитенко, Речь о Критике."
- <sup>40</sup> Избранные соч., М., 1947, стр. 582-83, "Взгляд на русскую литературу 1847 года."
- <sup>41</sup> Полн. собр. соч., т. IX, СПб., 1903, стр. 37, "Стихотворения М. Лермонтова."
- <sup>42, 43</sup> Полн. собр. соч., т. XII, СПб., 1904, стр. 253, "Похождения Чичикова или Мертвые души"
- <sup>44</sup> Избранные сочинения, М., 1947, стр. 595, "Взгляд на русскую литературу 1847 года"
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, стр. 287, "Сочинения Александра Пушкина."
- <sup>46</sup> Н. Г. Чернышевский, Полн. собр. соч., М., 1947, т. III, стр. 321.
- <sup>47</sup> М. Горький, О литературе, Статьи и речи 1928-1936, М., 1937, стр. 472.
- <sup>48</sup> Проблемы социалистического реализма, Сборник статей, Лен., 1947, стр. 185.

# SLOVAK POLITICS IN 1848

## PART II

### VII

AT the time when the Slovak representatives headed by Štúr and Hurban arrived in Zagreb, towards the end of June, the rift between the Croats and the Hungarians had already been made by the Vice-Regent's (Bán's) dismissal, which had been secured by the Magyars on 10 June. The Croats were inclined to break with Hungary and join Austria on a tripartite basis. The relationship of the Croats, or more strictly of the tripartite Kingdom—because they demanded also the annexation of Dalmatia and a closer connection not only with the Hungarian Serbs but also with the Austrian Slovenes—to Austria was to be established on much the same lines as the Austro-Hungarian *nexus*; except that the Croatian Sabor (Diet) admitted the necessity of a central Imperial Parliament and certain common ministries, such as those of War, Finance, Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, and the participation of the whole country in the debt of the Empire. As a result of the Slavonic Congress, and mainly as a result of Hurban's appeal for help in the Croatian Sabor on 2 July, the Sabor felt inclined to drop its preliminary decision to break with Hungary, and was agreeable to admitting certain affairs in common also between Hungary and Croatia on the basis of a mutual agreement. This agreement was made conditional on the Magyars' acknowledging the unity of the Empire in the sense of the Sabor's resolution, and the acceptance of the principle of an equality of national rights. A full elaboration of this project was not arrived at but it seems to be beyond all doubt that the Croatian resolution was in its main lines in accordance with the requirements of other national groups in Hungary with the Mikuláš petition as formulated at the Congress in Prague—so far as the Slovaks were concerned; with the Programme of Karlovice—so far as the Serbs were concerned; and with the Programme of Blaj, issued by the Roumanians, which coincided in its main lines with the Slovak aims.

This project was definitely refused by the Magyars, who kept insisting on the indivisibility of the Hungarian Crown, admitting only minor improvements on the existing state of affairs, in the way of elected deputies from the Croatian Sabor to the Hungarian Parliament. The Vienna Government and the Dynasty, which



became more and more the deciding factor in these quarrels, took up a standpoint according to its own interests which were . to quell the insurrections that were gaining ground in Italy, to secure the integrity of the Empire against the encroachments of the *Grossdeutsche* party at Frankfort, and to preserve the minimum unity of the Empire. In the beginning the Government and the Court favoured the Magyar standpoint, but as the Magyar Parliament and Ministry took a negative attitude to all these problems and made their support conditional on unacceptable commitments, the Government gradually adopted the Croatian standpoint which on the whole was in their interest, and which was made even more acceptable by the offer to give further military aid in Italy. After the victory of Radetzky and the armistice in Italy the Vienna Government openly declared its support for the Croats; it had become clear by then that an agreement in the Croat-Magyar quarrel could not be reached. On 4 September the Emperor restored the Croatian Vice-Regent to his office, and a week later Jelačić marched with his army against Buda to settle his quarrel with the Magyars by force of arms.

The Magyars were driven to make concessions to the Croats at the last moment, about the end of August, and were even ready to acknowledge their absolute independence. However, the fact that this proposal was conditional on the Croats becoming allies of the Magyars and on the sanction of the Sovereign made it evident that all this was merely an attempt to isolate the Croats and their Slav allies from the Court. This Magyar enterprise was bound to fail. On the other hand the tenacity of the Magyar Parliament and Ministry in the question of the Empire as a whole, and in particular the endeavours of their Parliament and Government to fortify their position against the Empire financially, economically, militarily and diplomatically, brought the existing tension between the Dynasty and that Parliament to an open conflict which broke out about the end of September. It was precipitated by the assassination of the King's conciliatory envoy, by the Parliament's refusal to acknowledge the new Government headed by Reczey, which they declared to be illegal, and, finally, by Parliament's refusal to obey the rescript of its adjournment at the beginning of October.

The development of the Slovak problem is dependent in all particulars on the Croatian problem. The former hopes of the Slovaks, to undertake an armed rising in Slovakia with Croatian support, which the Croats were willing to give if, following the Serb example, the Slovaks made a start, never materialised. The

main reason for the failure of the Croatian enterprise, apart from financial and military prematurity, was the unsettled diplomatic relationship between Austria and the Magyars. The imminent danger was that in case of a Croatian invasion of Hungary the Emperor and the Vienna Government, mainly by virtue of political and constitutional considerations, might openly side with the Magyars. The whole upheaval was dependent on Vienna, inasmuch as the Vice-Regent had no financial or other sources for the support of a military force fighting on Magyar territory.

For these reasons the Slovak patriotic leaders were compelled to drop their planned resistance. They profited from the delay by making preparations, both military and economic, for the planned rising. In both directions Hurban's meeting with the Serbian Patriarch in Karlovice and with the Serb Duke in Belgrade, and Štúr's negotiations with the former Serb Duke, Michal Obrenović, were successful. In the meantime, with the aid of the Czech deputies in the Imperial Parliament, the Slovaks carried out a levy of volunteers in Vienna and the organised corps of volunteers at the deciding moment, by the middle of September, amounted to 600 men. The aims of this brigade were, next to making possible a general insurrection in the country by their invasion of Slovakia, to be a kind of bodyguard to the Slovak National Council, the highest Slovak revolutionary executive, which the patriots instituted before leaving Vienna on the eve of the Rising. The expeditionary force left Vienna on 17 September and invaded Slovakia through the railway station, Bzenec-Písek, proceeding to Myjava the next day.

The north-western part of Nitra county, dominated by the Javorina mountain, was for several reasons chosen for the first area of this military operation. First of all it was Hurban's home-area. Hurban had been vicar at Hlboké after having been formerly stationed as chaplain at Brezová. Through his indefatigable efforts the region was nationally well developed. Socially, on account of its prevailing economic structure (the surrounding country consisted of isolated fringes and solitudes not exempted from *Urbarium* duties, to which also a language and cultural oppression was added), it was greatly dissatisfied. Military considerations and communications also favoured the choice, for the country was covered with almost impenetrable mountains and was at the same time in the vicinity of the North Vienna Railway Line.

The legion's incursion into this territory was successful and the whole district of Myjava and Brezová joined in this rising; but

a further development of this manœuvre was made impossible by initial hesitation, which allowed the Magyar forces, seconded by Imperial military troops—the latter were under the command of the Magyar Ministry of War—to undertake a joint attack against the legion, forcing it to retreat to Moravia where it was disbanded.

All preparatory arrangements for a rising, undertaken in various parts of the country—especially in Central Slovakia—were consequently doomed to failure, and only resulted in the application of Martial Law and the persecution of the instigators and organisers of the rising when they were discovered. Some executions were carried out, particularly in various places of Nitra county, where many patriots also suffered imprisonment. Pillage and ravage in various insurrectionary areas by the Magyar national guards were a natural consequence of this unsuccessful move.

There are various reasons, both military and political, for the failure of this first military operation. A nucleus of a few hundred volunteers was not sufficient to carry out an insurrection spreading over a large area, in spite of their being joined at the very start by some seven or eight thousand recruits from the home forces. Only about a thousand could be properly equipped—they had only about a thousand rifles; the remainder were armed with primitive arms and such emergency weapons as hayforks and axes. The original plan reckoned with the corps of volunteers amounting to about 4,000 men, fully equipped. This project could not be carried out for shortage of arms and inadequate financial resources. The outfitting of the majority of these volunteers was highly inadequate. Long marches owing to the lack of suitable boots were utterly out of the question, and all military operations involving these had to be abandoned. The initial hesitation of the leaders to pursue the course they had begun proved fatal for this enterprise because it allowed the Magyars to collect sufficient forces to encircle the expedition and quell the rising. The plans were based on the assumption that the Imperial troops would either support the rising or observe strict neutrality, but this supposition proved wrong. The military forces, although they were in a state of disorganisation at the beginning, later obeyed the commands of the local Magyar authorities. The reasons for this are chiefly to be sought in the ambiguity of the Austro-Magyar relationship. Attempts at its solution were just at a decisive stage at the time of the Slovak September rising. The Royal Manifesto of 25 September discarded the Slovak insurgents, mainly in a last attempt at an amicable reconciliation of the conflicting Austro-Magyar interests, in spite

of the rising having been undertaken not only with the knowledge of the Government but also with its secret support.

The main purpose was originally the same as that of the Croatian invasion under Jelačić: to detach substantial enemy forces from the main battle line and set free Jelačić's left wing. Both of these were intended to exercise pressure on the Magyars. As soon as a hope of an amicable reconciliation occurred, the Slovak rising was finished. The people were encouraged to believe that the rising was to help the Monarch and would be supported by troops. Now, being unable to follow the secret political machinations of the Court, they were disappointed of most of these promises and sank into a state of complete disintegration. The Slovak effort, lacking the resources of Jelačić, was doomed. It was suppressed on the same day that the Royal Commissioner Lamberg, the last Royal conciliatory envoy to the Magyars, was murdered in Buda, i.e. a few days before the tension between the Magyars and the Austrians resulted in an open conflict which would have naturally brought the full military support of the Vienna Government to the rising. Hence if the termination of the revolt had been delayed a little, the Austrian brigade, which had been drawn up on the right bank of the river Morava, instead of assisting in the insurgents' annihilation, could have been sent out to reinforce them. Lastly the failure was caused also by the increasing religious discrepancies among the insurgents themselves, which to a large extent were stimulated by their enemies and their local supporters.

Politically the Slovak rising pursued the line of the Mikuláš petition as formulated by the Slavonic Congress. It proclaimed a break with the Magyars but not with Hungary, revolting against the authority of the Magyar Ministry, and suggesting instead the recognition of the authority of the Slovak National Council. Though the programme remained unchanged, a considerable alteration must be nevertheless taken into account when comparing the situation which had arisen during the Congress with that which developed during the rising. Congress plans, aiming at a Slavonic federation in Austria and at an independent Slovak rising (which had also the promise of Bakunin's support), were foiled by the events following the Prague disturbances. From that time the Austrian element in the Austro-Slav programme came to be stressed, more and more to the detriment of the Slavonic element. These plans found their most resolute supporters among the Czechs who, after being disappointed of their hopes of the Czech Parliament promised them in the Cabinet letter of 8 April, tried to secure an advantageous

position for themselves as well as for other Slavonic groups in the Empire, by co-operating in the Imperial Parliament with the Government in its effort to preserve the integrity of the Empire.

The political development of the Croats was very similar. The Slovaks could not develop an individual political line, as they were too weak to pursue it—they therefore adapted their programme to the political conceptions of their protectors. They gradually abandoned not only the idea of a Slav federation, but followed also the already-mentioned line of development in the Austro-Slav direction. They were unaware of accepting step by step, instead of the formerly prevailing Hungarian conception, the Austrian determination in the Imperial, Austro-Hungarian sense, which was thus to be their political line in the subsequent epoch.

### VIII

The main features of the Hungarian revolution of 1848-1849 with all its undercurrents are far from clear, nor can it be considered yet to have been satisfactorily or finally interpreted. There is a great discrepancy particularly in the Marxistic interpretation of the events, which is not clear about the course of events, suggesting either that it was a feudal or semi-feudal rising, a kind of insurrection of the landed nobility, or a bourgeois revolution on the western model. The right interpretation of the course of events would naturally affect the Magyar Marxist views to a great extent, particularly as it could serve them as a background for the interpretation of the timeliness of the communist *comp* of 1919, to which they linked the 1848-1849 events as its forerunner. This problem interests us from the historical point of view only if we bear in mind Marx's well-known distinction of a Magyar revolution and a Slavonic counter-revolution. From a purely scientific point of view the best definition of the Hungarian rising is that adopted by the Hungarians in their history books, where the rising is called The Fight for Liberty, i.e. a fight for absolute political independence which was to result in an independent State and not, as frequently explained by the Magyars and their foreign supporters, a fight for the freedom of the world and of humanity as a whole.

The numerous retrospective evaluations of the Hungarian revolution, both foreign and Magyar, which all tend to show it in the light of a struggle for human liberties, or even as a heroic effort for world-liberty, are all to be considered largely overdone. These liberties were never threatened in the Hungary of the time, because, considering the extensive administrative independence the Hun-

garians had acquired by that time, such a menace would have been pointless and could have never been carried into effect. Such a menace could have come only from the Magyars against the non-Magyar national groups and the groups of lower social standing. Human liberties were not subject to any menaces then or in the future, and therefore there was no point in taking precautions. The Imperial Parliament was much more thorough-going in dealing with the relationships of the serfs to their landlords (even contractual relations were not exempted from these reforms and were cancelled) ; and the new constitution being planned by the Imperial Parliament was far more liberal than the Magyar April Constitution. From this point of view a closer co-operation of all nations in the Empire would have sufficed to ensure the maintenance of both. Such co-operation was foiled, even made impossible by the peremptory national politics of the Germans, and, above all, of the Magyars. If the Austrian Slavs are rebuked by the Germans and Magyars for their attitude during the revolution, a counter-rebuke would be even more justified

We do not mean that the fight for independence, political or social, as conducted by the Magyars is to be condemned or considered unjustified—just the reverse : but we are, nevertheless, of the opinion that such a fight ought not to be an end in itself, and ought to be followed up by an examination of the stimulus that set such a conflict going, and of the ends it tried to achieve. By investigating the reasons underlying the Magyar efforts we find that they fought not only for their own national independence but also for a privileged position and for the power to subjugate the non-Magyar nations. They fought not only for their own political independence, but also for such an arrangement of economic and social conditions as best suited them or at least their ruling classes. Such an arrangement, we venture to say, was far behind the liberal conceptions even of the contemporary bourgeoisie. If similar investigations are carried out into the basic characteristics of the 1848-1849 events in Hungary, we cannot but see the semi-feudal character of this upheaval. The aims of the whole rising of the spring of 1848 and the subsequent events of 1848-1849, were to establish, although in different shape, the commanding position of the landed nobility in the Hungarian Commonwealth. The nobility put itself at the head of the insurrection, following Kossuth's example, in order to save what could still be saved. The intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie were much too weak to undertake an insurrection on the French or even the Vienna model,

and the part they took in the course of the insurrection was of minor importance, being one of collaboration rather than leadership. Their participation did not have any deciding effect on the nature of the rising.

What happened was not the replacement of the former ruling classes by classes of a lower social standing ; on the contrary, the ruling feudal class retained its position and underwent only an apparent modification, or rather, metamorphosis, continuing to exert its influence on the country's social and political development. In comparison with the April reforms, we can say that in the summer and autumn, parallel with the growth of political radicalism, a social and economic conservatism developed. This is evident from the reluctance to carry out further reforms and other bills defining the relationship of the tenants by contract to their landlords. The Parliamentary draft which proposed the cancellation of such tenancies was taken up by Kossuth only on the condition that the landlords should be indemnified for the loss of socage rights ; furthermore, the question of contractual tenancies having been delayed, only the question of compensation was discussed. The interest in these more or less personal questions was so great that still in December, when the capital was threatened by the approach of Windischgrätz, the House had to be admonished by Deák to desist from discussing private interests and consider the defence of the country. On further inquiry the question of political revolution also appears in an odd light. This revolution, almost up to the dethronement of April 1849, was not directed against the King, but against the Court clique (Camarilla) and the Vienna Government, which were supposed to be imposing their will on the weak Sovereign. In this way the Magyar leaders tried to make it appear that they had undertaken a legal revolt against non-constitutional elements which were encroaching on their rights. This fiction was regarded as being capable of solving certain problems in the army. It appeased the army units, fighting in Hungary under the command of the Magyar Ministry of War against other units of the same army, which were under their opponent's command on the Austrian side. It happened quite frequently that units of the same corps took different sides in the struggle, and fought one another. This fiction also had a notable effect on the peasantry, who openly averred that they had risen in defence of their Sovereign, whom they venerated as their sole protector against the encroachments of their landlords ; without such a fiction it would have been almost impossible to incite the peasants to open revolt against

the King. With the aid of this fiction—serving also the interests of the nobility—consequently the royal person had an important part even in the Magyar revolt, although much inferior to what it had in the anti-Magyar fight of the non-Magyar groups in Hungary. The impact of the latter in the insurrection, apart from the barbarity and compulsion exercised in conscripting them, was to a large extent motivated by those sentiments of loyalty to the Emperor which were common to all nationalities. Petöfi, in his poem “Hang all the Kings,” was definitely an exception (he was not elected to the new Parliament), and so was the social radical Táncsics, whose plans however did not in any way go beyond the Slovak official programme. A similar exception was the Slovak poet, Janko Kráľ.

This discrepancy between the foreign and local politics of the country escaped, at the beginning, the observation of the keen-eyed Marx, although he correctly emphasised the anachronism of the events, declaring that the Magyar rising was launched after the flood of revolutionary movements which had spread all over Europe had abated. The fact that this irregularity of the Magyar revolution did not make Marx inquire deeper into its reasons, can be partly accounted for by his revolutionary enthusiasm or, to use a more definite term, his revolutionary excitement. He welcomed the Magyar revolt as an adequate means of doing away with Austria which, apart from Russia, he considered the stronghold of the old order, and one of the main bastions to be overthrown. A realistic analysis of the actual facts would have revealed that the illusory plan of a breakdown of the old social order was far ahead of the times, and that the violence which sought to impel events in that direction paved the way for reaction, by alienating the less radical classes from the real and achievable progress.

In this connection we ought to examine Marx's attitude to the actions of the Slavs, particularly the Slavonic groups in the Austrian Empire, which he judged purely from his own theoretical point of view in a general exaltation of revolutionary and socialistic ideals, irrespective of whether to use his own phrase, “The sweep of revolution would trample under a few tender national blossoms.” Mainly under the influence of his forerunner Hegel, Marx disregarded the historical mission of the Slavs and their enthusiasm for social revolution and, in spite of his claim to be universal, he was impeded by his Germanic standpoint with its chauvinistic or even imperialistic associations. The Slavs were understandably not inclined to be represented as button-hole ornaments of the German



or Magyar petty revolutionaries, or even to allow themselves to be levelled down by the world-levelling machine constructed by German revolutionary philosophy, which was never averse to serving its own nationalist interests. From the purely historic point of view—this is merely a theoretical contemplation of events—it would have been well worth while for the Magyars, instead of undertaking a purely national rising against Austrian authority, to join the Slavonic groups in the Empire in their effort to reorganise the Empire into a federation of self-supporting and independent nations, involving a wide range of constitutional liberties on an absolutely realist and, in fact, the only possible, basis. It became, early enough, obvious even to Marx, that the Magyars, when rising against the Austrians, had not fought for a universal or central European revolution or for the liberation of the lower social classes. This nevertheless did not prevent his rebuking the policy of the Austrian Slavs during the revolutionary years, although the latter also tried only to maintain national independence and self-assertion. The Slavs cannot be blamed if they did not find such a possibility on the side of the Germans and still less on the side of the Magyars; and if they hoped—not without reason—to arrive at their ends by supporting the Dynasty. National liberty, I maintain, is also a kind of liberty; moreover it is a natural foundation of universal human freedom, as well as of social and economic liberty. The ruling Magyar classes of those days committed the usual error, under the spell of the prevailing popular liberalism, of assuming that the non-Magyar national groups would gladly abandon their national character in return for social and economic concessions. Doing so they would, nevertheless, have abandoned their national standing and would have become national nonentities. National liberty cannot be regarded as a privilege of self-appointed national groups or nations, but must be understood as a privilege common to the whole of humanity. The Magyars loosened the economic and social bonds of the subjected classes, thus trying to gain their support in their own political struggle against the Court; but instead of freeing them completely, they sought to win them over by saying that, if Vienna triumphed, they would lose even these gains. At the same time, they denied them national liberty—a violation of one of the basic rights of all nations. This greatly lessened the chances of success.

The dilemma between national and social-political liberties was tackled by the Slovaks and by all Austrian and Hungarian Slavs at the beginning of October 1848, after the Vienna revolts. These

moves, though ostensibly a fight for social liberties and their preservation, against the Government's reactionary attitude (the purport of their slogans was to that effect), are found on further inquiry to have been a skilful diplomatic counteraction of the allied Frankfort-Magyar coalition against the Vienna Government, which at that stage had developed a very energetic attitude both to the Frankfort policy and also to the Magyars. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the prevention of one part of the Vienna garrison marching against the Magyars, who through Pulszky, their representative at the Austrian Court after Count Eszterházy's resignation, gave financial support to the Vienna radical press and the radical agents.

Such an estimate of the October revolts was also made by the Austrian Slavs, whose delegates were in part obliged to flee from Vienna—especially by the Czechs, although the Czech radicals, afraid of the loss of their political liberties, and fearing a military dictatorship, proposed to intervene on behalf of Vienna. Later on, nevertheless, Rieger's view prevailed, that the suppression of the Vienna revolt would not necessarily involve a military dictatorship; and even if such event had occurred, Rieger preferred national to political liberty. Political liberty, even if lost for a time, can be regained: lost nationality can never be regained. Analogous discrepancies existed among the Slovaks after the September upheaval, when the treason of Vienna became evident; among them the question was raised whether an agreement with the Magyars could be a conclusive solution of the problem. But in the end an agreement was reached on the lines formulated by Hurban, whereby national reaction was deemed more dangerous than political reaction. Hurban's views were sufficiently justified by the actions of the Magyars and Germans on the question of nationality. Not only was armed force directed against the Slovak patriots, who were persecuted, and, if they did not escape, were arrested and imprisoned, but also the Parliament did not abandon the old illusion of a homogeneous Hungarian nation, refusing even the most natural rights to the other nationalities. It is interesting to know that in the Parliamentary debate preceding the passing of the new Education Bill, the more liberal proposal of Baron Eotvos, Minister of Cults and National Education, was rejected, and non-Magyar languages in elementary education were permitted only in regions or districts where the population knew no Magyar at all. This meant a modification of the original Eötvös draft which envisaged a Bill, whereby the decision as to which language should be used in non-Magyar districts should be made on a population-majority

basis. Education was to be managed by, and after consultation with, the national majorities in the districts. Nevertheless the formula "on a language majority basis" would have been more suitable. The resettlement of the southern Serb areas by a Magyar population, suggested by Kossuth, in order to safeguard these areas against possible disturbances, worked in the same direction.

Isolated attempts at a more liberal solution of the national question—notably the negotiations undertaken by the Roumanian delegate Dragos, and by a member of the Upper House, Baron Wesselényi, on behalf of the Roumanians—found no response in the Parliament, in spite of the moderation of the proposals. In such circumstances it is understandable that the negotiations of the Polish revolutionary groups, and in particular the attempts of the Prince Czartoryski to form an alliance of Croats, Serbs and Magyars, were doomed to fail. The Transylvanian Roumanians too—in whose rights the Magyars were compelled to take an interest on account of the concern which Paris seemed to show for them and probably also on account of Czartoryski's attempts at a reconciliation—gradually found themselves in arms against the Magyars. All these facts accounted for and justified the Slovak decision to join the rising by supporting the Government.

## IX

On the other hand the Vienna Government and the Court proclaimed equality for all national units in all their Bills and Acts, which were issued from the beginning of the 1848 period, and also in the enforced constitutions, although their content and range were not strictly formulated. Even the new Premier, the Prince of Schwarzenberg, did not omit to include this aspect in his programme. Hence, in contrast to the radical unwillingness of the Magyars to make concessions, the Court and the Government showed a willingness to co-operate, at least on major questions. This accounts for the fact that both moderates and radicals in the Slovak camp voted for co-operation, even in military matters, with the Government. Political and personal differences, to which was added a strong divergence of views with regard to the September events, largely turned on the appointment of Commander-in-Chief Bloudek, and at the end of October 1848 they finally caused a rift among the Slovak émigrés in Prague. In these controversies Hodža and Janeček formed one group, and Štúr, Hurban, Bloudek and Zach the other. Both parties sought the help of the Court and in particular of the newly appointed imperial Commander-in-Chief,

Windischgrätz. At the beginning it was very difficult for either of them to win his favour, mainly on account of the participation of their leaders in the Prague disturbances. The initial difficulties were overcome by Jelačić's intervention, and both parties were authorised to organise independent voluntary corps. In the light of previous experience it was decided to make a change in the organisation of this second rising, namely to induce these voluntary corps to co-operate with regular troops. In accordance with this project Janěček's volunteers were put under the command of Šimunić's army corps, and Bloudek's volunteers also were given the support of an inferior corps under the command of Lt.-Colonel Frischeisen, and later on of a reinforced brigade under General Götz. The Government was induced to accept this solution both on account of the insufficient military power of the poorly equipped voluntary corps, and, not least, of the lack of confidence, which turned out to be mutual. The Slovaks too probably sought a safeguard against a possible change in Austrian policy. They wanted to avoid the possibility of a conflict with imperial troops, while on the other hand the Court and the Government wanted to exercise certain controls in social, disciplinary, and political matters because of their continuous suspicion of panslavism and communism. Communism was the name given, and fostered by the Magyar aristocracy both in Windischgrätz's Headquarters and in government circles, to the Slovak movement for dealing with those economic and social wrongs which even the new Land Reform Bill had not abolished.

The duties of the Slovak volunteers, in the view of the Court, were to be primarily political and not military. Their main tasks lay in organising the Slovak back areas and gaining them for the Austrian interest, and in securing the delegation of deputies of the people to the Assembly of Kroměříž. Windischgrätz, on the other hand, thought they could be of military importance by organising popular risings all over the country.

The Slovak political programme at that stage was restricted to the following points: liberty, Slovak national sovereignty, the unity of the Empire—conceived as the only safeguard against Magyar tyranny—equality of all national units, the interest of the Monarch and the reigning Dynasty, and the establishment of order and peace in the whole country. The main items of this programme, namely, the unity of the Empire and national equality, conformed with the Government's policy and were also embodied in Schwarzenberg's declaration, although it was obvious from the

very beginning that the Government would lay stress on the first item, while the second need not get very far beyond the draft and plan stage.

At the last moment it was decided to abandon the idea of the unity of Empire and this for a number of good reasons. First of all because dynastic difficulties (the rights of the Hungarian Crown), then because of political and finally of tactical difficulties (if Austria were united with Hungary the radicals on both sides would fortify their position). The unity of the Empire was to be secured by introducing some common offices, mainly in accordance with the Croatian programme, and by a Central Parliament. In tackling the question of nationality, which was linked with the question of the unity of the Empire by the effort made to convert it into a federation (national Parliaments were to be established side by side with the imperial Central Parliament), the Government decided to curtail the original project by a plan of the national federation of Hungary. In the carrying out of this a number of possible solutions were taken into account at the end of 1848-1849. In all these drafts Slovakia figured as an independent national and territorial unit, which after the completion of the military activities then in progress, was to be converted into a province with provincial Administration under a regional Parliament, on much the same basis as the Czech Austrian provinces. The only dispute was about the territorial limits of Slovakia, which might be made to comprise anything between nine and seventeen counties. A similar scheme was adopted with other national units. The number of the newly constituted provinces varied from seven to ten. The latter were to be subordinated to a Central Ministry and represented by their deputies in the Parliament in Vienna. This scheme was particularly favoured by the Minister of the Interior, Stadion, and at the beginning it also had the support of the Prime Minister, Prince Schwarzenberg. Similar drafts were proposed at the Parliamentary Session in Kroměříž, where Palacký's suggestion of dividing up the whole Empire into eight national areas was very much favoured by the Slovaks. According to this suggestion Slovakia was to be united with the Czechs and Moravians into a common province, which was to have its own regional Parliament and its own Government. This and similar plans were the embodiment of the Slovak hopes in these revolutionary moments, for the realisation of which the Slovak volunteers sided in battle with the Imperial army against the Magyars.

Bloudek's voluntary corps was the most outstanding from the

military point of view. It proved its valour, proper only to a revolutionary people's army, in a double assault against Budatín and by taking Žilina by storm, as well as in occupying Slovakia. The army corps, after guarding the rear of the main forces, was entrusted with special military operations in the eastern areas (Levoča, Prešov, Košice). It was responsible for the protection of the Hinterland and for keeping order in Eastern Slovakia for the whole of the two months' military activities of the main army in the Tisa districts. The corps was gradually increased to nineteen companies. The Slovak political leaders, in co-operation with the military authorities, applied themselves to the reorganisation of the country administration on the basis of "service to King and Nation," replacing the provisional revolutionary administration, set up by the Magyar insurgents, by temporary Royal Councils composed of persons devoted to the King and Nation. This became an accompaniment of the armies' advance.

The other voluntary corps, under Janeček's and Hodža's leadership, although less brilliant than Bloudek's, also rendered valuable services to the Imperial cause. It took part in the siege of the fortress of Leopoldov, and after its fall was recalled together with the troop of Šimunič, to reinforce the troops laying siege to Komárno. The corps was not in a very favourable position under Šimunič, and after the fall of Leopoldov only Hodža's energetic action saved it from disbandment. The cause of these troubles, which ended in the retreat of Janeček, was mainly political disagreements. They gradually made their appearance among Bloudek's troops too and finally caused their disbandment in April.

When Stadion forwarded the plans for the federalisation of Hungary to Windischgratz, towards the end of December 1848, the general gave at first a tactical and evasive answer, but later on it became obvious that the idea of federalisation for Hungary was repugnant to him from the very beginning. Under the influence of the Magyar Conservatives—he himself owned lands in Western Slovakia, in Moravské Lieskové—he held that the unity of Hungary was a necessity. Nevertheless, he admitted that some alterations, in keeping with the time and the political situation, would have to be made in the Hungarian Constitution. He had no difficulty in gaining the support of his brother-in-law, the Premier, Prince Schwarzenberg, for this project. Under the influence of the Magyar Conservatives, following his own experiences, he pointed out that the Slovak patriotic movement was allegedly panslavistic and

communist, that its leaders were involved in the Prague disturbances, and were in relations with the Slavonic Linden Tree (Slovanská Lipa) organisation, furthermore that the federalisation of Hungary would only foster Magyar recalcitrance. He held that by uniting the Slovaks to the Magyars in a common land the balance would be made to counteract Slovak political aspirations. Windischgrätz approved of the separation of Croato-Slavonia and the establishment of a separate Duchy for the Serbs. Otherwise he thought of dividing up Hungary into ethnographical districts with provincial administrations using the language of the regional majority.

The Ministerial Council, which met on 6 January 1849, took a similar view. The Hungarian Constitution was to be adapted to fit the Empire and its interests. In the new Empire Hungary was to be granted the same status as Croatia. As regards the most important question, whether or not Hungary was to be divided up according to nationalities, the Council did not see fit to take any decision, and put it off for further consideration; the matter was to be decided, according to the wishes of its peoples, only after the humiliation of the Magyars. At the same time all projects for a national federation were rejected by the Constitutional Committee of the Imperial Parliament, and recourse was had to the age-old scheme of division into provinces. All Slovak hopes were foiled at the very moment when the Slovaks took up arms for their realisation. The Slovak leaders, fighting on battlefields far from Vienna, were ill informed about the new course the Government's policy was taking, but they soon became aware of its effects in the public administration of Slovakia.

From the very beginning of his campaign against the Magyar insurgents Windischgrätz sought the co-operation of the Conservatives in the administration of the recovered areas. They, on their part, required his services in return. Szógyény, the newly appointed head of the civil administration in Hungary, was willing to accept office on condition that the unity of Hungary would be guaranteed, and with it the superiority of the Magyar element in the realm. The acknowledgement of Magyar as an official language should be maintained. Windischgrätz was agreeable to these conditions but pointed out that special regard must be taken of other languages in official intercourse with the people and especially with the community. As a result of this agreement the provisional Royal Slovak County controls in Slovakia were replaced by newly appointed Regional Commissioners who, like the majority of the clerical and administrative staff, were mainly recruited from the Magyar or

magyarised gentry and similar classes and their devotees. The reason given officially for this was that they were better versed in County administration. The new administration introduced Magyar into all offices and was opposed to all Slovak nationalist activities. It even repudiated the activities of the voluntary corps and obstructed recruitment, in spite of the fact that it was allied to and fighting for the Monarch to whom it had previously sworn allegiance.

This policy naturally created dissatisfaction all over Slovakia. This feeling was brought to the notice of the Government in an appeal of 6 February 1849, drafted by members of the Janeček voluntary brigade and the patriots of his camp, and forwarded to the Ministry by the Czech deputies in the Imperial Parliament, Brauner and Rieger. Complaint was raised against this Magyar violation of national equality. It was pointed out that the Magyars would regain in this manner everything they had lost. A more authoritative and efficient protest was made by the patriots allied with Bloudek's brigade. On their instigation, and after consultation with other patriot leaders from different districts and also from Janeček's corps, a deputation was sent to the Monarch in Olomouc, where on 20 March it presented a petition containing the Slovak national demands. This petition already made references to the recently imposed Constitution of 4 March 1849. The new Constitution, the greatest fault of which was that it was imposed, acknowledged the Hungarian April Constitution of 1848 in so far as it was compatible with it, and guaranteed equality for all nations and languages in the country by suitable institutions.

In accordance with this Constitution the Slovak Petition of Rights, presented on the 20 March 1849, demanded the recognition of Slovakia as an independent national unit on the same footing with other national groups—a proposal which was meant to strengthen the unity of the Empire and at the same time to serve as a protection for Slovak national independence. As a consequence of the petition a Provincial Parliament which could hold yearly sessions and a separate regional administration responsible directly to Vienna was to be introduced. Magyars and supporters of the Magyar rebellion were to be eliminated from the civil service. Slovak was to become an official language. These were the requirements forwarded by a special mission to the Government in Vienna. (It is worth remarking that Štúr, Hurban and Hodža at their meeting on 31 March thought of making Slovakia an independent Crown-province and making it part of a larger unity in conjunction with Moravia and Bohemia.)



The Monarch's answer touched only in general terms on the guarantee of national equality, without indulging in any details. The attempts of the Slovak patriots at a further definition of these rights in the sense of the Slovak Petition were foiled. The Government was of the opinion that the time was not propitious for making any definite arrangements or taking any final decisions in the question of nationality. The Government preferred to commit itself to nothing save a promise to cancel the supremacy of Magyar in the administration and schools, and had already made arrangements to the effect by inviting trustees of various national groups to Vienna—among them Kollár—to act as advisers to the Government in the carrying out of their scheme. This decision was not affected in the least by the petitions of the Slovaks presented on 13 April or by the common petition of Slovaks, Roumanians and Croatians pleading for the establishment of Crown provinces. The Government repudiated even the idea of sending a Slav Government Commissioner to Slovakia. The more radical proposals of the Slovaks met with the disapproval even of the Slovak Government trustees in Vienna. The position was also weakened by the disbandment of Bloudek's voluntary corps, already noted. The rift was widened also by personal quarrels among the staff officers. The leak thus made was filled up by Vogel's division in reserve, which was transferred to the battlefield from Galicia. The Government's decisions were mainly influenced by the failures of the Imperial troops in the Hungarian battlefields

## X

Schwarzenberg's Ministry believed itself justified in enforcing a Constitution by means of a coup in view of the initial victories of the Imperial troops over the Magyars at the end of February, the futility of which, nevertheless, became very soon evident. In the course of two months the imperial troops were pushed back almost to the Austrian border and the Magyar Parliament passed a declaration on 14 April by which the Habsburgs were declared to have forfeited their rights to rule the country. At the same time the second Slovak corps was forced to retreat from Komárno to Bratislava.

The coup of 7 March 1849, and the evident superiority of the Magyar revolutionary forces in the 1848-1849 campaign, brought the Slovak patriots into the most acute crisis faced in the course of their political activities. The insincerity of the Government in all its dealings with nationalities became perfectly obvious. A

complete upheaval of the political equilibrium in Bohemia occurred as a consequence of these events : the radicals gained the upper hand and turned against the Government. Strong sympathies were felt with the Magyar insurgents and especially with their leader Kossuth, mainly under the influence of certain foreign trends, all of which resulted in an attempt at conspiracy in May 1849.

Already at their meeting at Olomouc the Czech politicians had warned the Slovaks against any further co-operation with the Austrians, and suggested reconciliation with the Magyars. A similar view was announced by Janeček. These negotiations with the Czechs roused the suspicion of Vienna and undoubtedly influenced the Government's reluctant attitude to the Slovak demands. Janeček, charged with various transgressions during his term of leadership, and imprisoned, was even suspected of a share in the May conspiracies in Prague. The other leaders, including Hurban, decided to pursue the same course as before, i.e. alliance with Vienna. Their reason was, first of all, that no agreement could be reached with the Magyars in the question of nationalities. It was not to be hoped that the Magyars would be more conciliatory after their victory over the Austrian troops, than at the time of their military defeats. There seemed to be good reason for believing this after the failure of Czartoryski's attempt in Paris in May 1849 to negotiate reconciliation between the Magyars and the other nationalities, in which the Polish prince proposed a federalisation of Hungary on a national basis. He suggested a unified opposition of all national groups in Hungary against Austrian rule, by which a new confederation of nations was to be created under Magyar leadership. The Germans in Austria were to be annexed to Germany and the Italians to Italy.

The agreement was accepted by Teleki and Pulszky on behalf of the Magyars, while Rieger and Czartoryski were the Slav representatives. In these negotiations both the Slovaks and the German national groups in Hungary were refused a separate federal unit. Their national needs were to be guaranteed by an administrative and an educational system run by their own people and in their own language. Teleki had drawn the attention of the Magyar Government to this problem even before negotiations started. The Parliament and Government agreed, though very reluctantly, at the last moment before imminent catastrophe to attempt a legal statement of the principles of nationality—towards the end of July 1849. The Law of Nationalities, however, did not come up even to the concessions promised to the Slovaks in the Paris

negotiations, which, as we know from the numerous petitions previously recorded, only partially satisfied their demands. The Act fell short in respect of the acknowledgement of the Slovaks as a separate nation and of the right of forming a separate province with an administration and a provincial parliament of their own.

In this respect the prospects of an agreement seemed to be higher with the Austrians, where the Slovak appeal was not refused in principle; and after the Austrian troops' disastrous defeat by the Magyar insurgents, the Government seemed to be prepared to make concessions. This progress was to a very large extent due to the obduracy of the Slovak political leaders, who refused to undertake recruitment for another rising unless satisfactory guarantees were given for the realisation of their national demands. They declared that if the Government agreed to support the Slovak claims they would contribute a brigade of 20,000 volunteers.

The negotiations started in a very promising atmosphere. Hurban reveals at the beginning of May, in one of his letters to his wife, that the Emperor and Government were willing to declare Slovakia wholly independent of Hungary. The Slovak leaders were also supported in their efforts by the declaration of the proposed new Commander-in-Chief of the Slovak Forces, Lewartowski, who said that the new rising could not be organised without the help of Hurban and Štúr. The final agreement was, however, limited to purely military matters, such as an agreement about a new recruitment of volunteers under Lewartowski, amid incomparably more favourable conditions than the previous legions had enjoyed. As for political matters, the Slovaks were granted permission to run their own paper, and were promised that the various administrative prohibitions injurious to the Slovaks would be carefully examined and in appropriate cases annulled. The Government pretended to guarantee this by appointing Geringer as High Commissioner for Hungary, a man who was partly of Slovak extraction and had sympathetic feelings for the Slavs. All other questions were to be settled after the termination of the Civil War.

It is obvious that the Slovaks were appeased by mere promises. The reasons why they surrendered were these: first of all it was clear that the Government could not be compelled to declare a division of the country where her troops had suffered the most disastrous defeats, and where the government had been put in a very awkward position by the expulsion of her troops from Hungary. It resisted the Slovak demands with the greater obstinacy as the hopes for Russian help seemed likely to materialise. The Slovaks

had some hopes of Russian help too, because the possibility of Russia's intervention in support of the Slovak demands was to be expected. We have no evidence about how the leaders viewed Russian help, but it may very well be assumed that they had hoped to draw some profit from it. We only know that they had also attempted to form voluntary corps which would fight on the side of the Russians. These attempts were cancelled by the Government in a great hurry in spite of their having been mediated by the Russian Army Headquarters. In this respect the presence of the Russians was rather unfavourable to the Slovak cause, because it raised the suspicions of the Government and to a large extent influenced the Government in making concessions. This became obvious from an incident which happened during the Slovak brigade's march through Central Slovakia under Lewartowski's command. On their march to Banská Bystrica, in spite of previous instructions, these men were unnecessarily retained in Kremnica to await the removal of the Russian armies from Banská Bystrica. The failures of the Slovak negotiations were also particularly due to the highly unpolitical procedure of the staff officers, who probably because they were badly informed, undertook negotiations with the Ministry of War directly for the formation of a new brigade, thus wrecking the Slovak political manœuvres. The main reason for this irresponsible action was a sense of military honour which did not permit them to abandon the cause of the Dynasty at the time when its fortunes were low. Similar motives influenced the actions of certain political leaders too.

The core of the new Slovak voluntary brigade was composed of Janeček's late troops, which were later on supplemented by the débris of Bloudek's brigade. The completion of the force was the charge of Štúr and Hurban, who did not accompany the army this time, but acted as confidential advisers to the Government among the people in Slovakia, convincing the population of the honesty of the Dynasty and trying to raise their confidence in the Empire again—something very much shaken by the injurious management of the Imperial, though at heart Magyar, officials. The voluntary brigade in these conditions rose to only about 2,000 men. For lack of military training it could not be called to action until after the surrender of the Magyar insurgents, when it was employed mainly to keep the mining districts of Central Slovakia free from guerrilla activity. The brigade accomplished this task to the general satisfaction of its superiors in spite of the reluctant attitude of the Magyar or pro-Magyar administration, which did

not hesitate to blackmail the brigade or make false allegations. It was finally disbanded in Bratislava in November, when the new Hungarian administration was already on the up-grade.

The new administration did not take any notice of national autonomies. The new plan preserved the unity of Hungary, according to the original plans of Windschgratz, with the exception only of the Vojvodina. Hungary was divided into five areas, with special regard to nationalist rather than economic, geographical and administrative factors, although even this was not absolutely satisfactory. In keeping with this plan the Slovaks were divided into two districts, i.e. those of Košice and Pressburg.

After the defeat of the revolution the Slovaks tried to claim from the Government their right to an autonomous Crown-province. Their leaders, on their journeys in Slovakia, organised popular assemblies, to which they were appointed as the Government's trustees. Letters were circulated, petitions and deputations were sent to Vienna reminding the Government of their promises, but in vain. Even the Government's confidential advisers in Vienna, who had all agreed with the Slovak demands in September 1849, were not particularly successful. They too suggested that a province should be formed from the Slovak counties, separated from Hungary on the Serbian model, and that this new province should be called Slovakia. It is interesting to note that according to the new drafts all non-Slovak enclaves were to be granted national and language rights. A similar guarantee was asked for the isolated Slovak national groups in Hungary. The reasons quoted in favour of such a scheme were partly nationalist—otherwise a free development of the Slovaks could not be guaranteed—and partly Dynastic and Imperial. One of the weightiest arguments in favour of this separatist view was that the independence of the Slovaks and the separation of other national groups from Magyar supremacy was the only possible safeguard against possible renewal of Magyar unrest, and of a peaceful development of the Empire and its nations.

All Slovak arguments against the rather centralist conceptions of the Government's policy of this time had no more effect than their appeal to the merits of the Slovak voluntary brigades which had sided with the Government, or appeals to the Monarch's promises at the dawn of the Revolution. The promise, repeatedly declared during the course of the struggles with the Magyar insurgents, to observe the principle of national sovereignty to all national groups in general, and to the Slovaks in particular, was fulfilled by the Government in a decree prohibiting magyarisation

in the Slovak districts and granting certain concessions to the Slovak language in administration and schools.

After a short interval of comparatively liberal administration—the County administration and the Courts of Law were directed in Slovak, and Slovak was introduced into schools—a new trend emerged in the administration, namely, germanisation. Under the influence of the Government's centralist and absolutist tendencies, this gradually gained ground, although it never reached the stage of pre-revolutionary magyarisation. We may, therefore, state that in spite of the political muddles and unreasonable challenge of absolutism, the newly acquired order meant a step up from the point of view of the nation.

It is clear from what has been said that Slovak policy in the revolutionary years was a failure. The fickle behaviour of the Dynasty, both with respect to the Slovaks and other non-Magyar groups in the Commonwealth, was particularly striking. The various drafts suggesting a reshaping of the Empire into national States with a federal government, although far ahead of the times, proved to be the right and, in fact, the only possible solution to guarantee the unity not only of the Empire, but also of the Hungarian Crown. In this respect we must admit that the Slovak leaders and the leaders of other Slav groups showed unparalleled political foresight, which was lacking not only to the German Dynastic element, but also to their Magyar partners.

It is perfectly clear that the division of power in the Empire did not allow the Slovaks and other Slav groups to attempt to overthrow the Austro-Magyar hegemony in the Empire. Their activities, nevertheless, might have given a sufficient support to the Government in acting in this direction, especially if we consider that a similar proceeding might have met with sympathetic understanding and even support from Russia. The main reasons why the Government did not accept the proposed reforms were, first, lack of confidence in the Russians and in the Slavs of the Empire, secondly, their devotion to the traditional system of politics. There were of course other motives, the chief of them the attempt to preserve Habsburg hegemony in Germany, which would have been made impossible if the Austrian empire had been transformed into a federation with a Slav majority. Thus Austria lost her only and, as we now know from what followed, her last chance of being reorganised and preserved on her natural foundations.

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# THE POLES AND THEIR FELLOW SLAVS

1848-1849

## I

IN general a lot has been written by Polish historians about the year 1848, but relatively little attention has been paid to the events of the "Spring of the Peoples" in the Slav area. Various other problems have obscured the Slav question on the background of 1848 for our scholars, a sample being the Hungarian question. As I have already said elsewhere<sup>1</sup> in the only volume dealing with the Polish Question in 1848, that of the much-lamented Józef Feldman, the chapter bearing the title "Supported by Hungary" has a section called "Polish Policy and the Slavs,"<sup>2</sup> but the theme is not developed beyond generalities. Russjan's serious work on *The Poles and the Polish Cause in Hungary in 1849*<sup>3</sup> does take account in Chapter X of the Slav question in Hungary, but the author betrays a grave lack of orientation in fundamental issues.<sup>4</sup> All the works of Handelsman on the Slav (and eastern) policy of Czartoryski after 1830 deal least of all with 1848.<sup>5</sup> The special treatise devoted to the events of that year, *1848 in Italy and Czartoryski's Policy*,<sup>6</sup> has the Slavonic world in mind, but rather as a side issue and with the same inadequate orientation in regard to the whole area as characterises all the writing of that distinguished scholar, who had no proper grounding in Slavonic affairs at all. A clear lack of appreciation as to where the centre of gravity of the year 1848 is to be sought marks also Handelsman's survey, *The Slav Policy of Poland in the 18th and 19th Centuries*,<sup>7</sup> Widerszal's *Liberation Movements in the Balkans*,<sup>8</sup> a popular rather than scientific work, was also far too little concerned with the events of the "Spring of the Nations"; and the post-war book by Tyrowicz on *The Polish Political Congress in Wrocław (Breslau) 1848*<sup>9</sup> affords little information on the Slav question in general.

The greatest interest attached itself to the Slav Congress in Prague, but the above-named authors—with the exception of Feldman—have also given less attention to this important event than it deserves. On the other hand we have a monograph on this subject from the pen of Wład. Wisłocki, *The Slav Congress in Prague 1848 and the Polish Question*,<sup>10</sup> but it is unfortunately rather the work of an amateur and the new materials here given

deserve further and expert attention. We see then that the picture of Polish activities during 1848-1849 in the Slav world, as given by our historians up to now, is very incomplete: and just as we Poles have written less than we should have about them, so too others have not written any more.

In the historical writings of other Slav nations about 1848 we find far more than we ourselves can show; <sup>11</sup> but in the main they deal first and foremost, each with his own affairs. Only two works depart from this line, and they are (1) the book by the South Slav Prelog about the Slav renaissance in the first half of the 19th century, <sup>12</sup> of which a good half is devoted to the year 1848; and (2) the Czech book by Tobolka about the Prague Congress. <sup>13</sup> But when dealing with Polish issues these works, even if they are better informed than the Polish authors, have not furnished sensational details, and (apart from Wisłocki) the latter have mostly paid no attention to them. Polish affairs are also dealt with, in places rather extensively, in the works of various writers on national history in 1848-1849, e.g. those of the Czechs Kazbunda, Roubik and Čejchan, <sup>14</sup> of the Slovak Rapant, <sup>15</sup> of the South Slavs Horvat and Stranjaković, <sup>16</sup> and of the Ukrainian Bryk. <sup>17</sup> The Russians are missing from the list, since they have shown the least interest of all in the year 1848: <sup>18</sup> but in the past year a couple of interesting articles on this theme have appeared, <sup>19</sup> and a good introduction had been made in 1947 by a paper on events in Bohemia from the pen of I. Udalcov. <sup>20</sup> Special mention should also be made of the newest Czech work of Žaček on Polish-Czech relations in 1848, <sup>21</sup> of which the first volume discusses at length the preparation for the cooperation that followed. It deals with the Polish share in the Slav revolution more extensively than any previous work.

## II

Polish activities among the Slav peoples in 1848-1849 developed on parallel lines, though not always simultaneously and not always co-ordinated, on three sectors. The honour of leading the ball must be given to Mickiewicz, when he set about creating in Italy a Slav Legion to help in liberating the peoples suffering from Austrian absolutism. Almost at the same time talks began between Polish agents in Austria and their fellow-Slavs, to which should be added contacts made between the Czechs and the Poznanian Poles. These relations proceed in two stages—up to the Congress, and after it was over: and they sort themselves out into several minor episodes, of which one deserves special attention, namely the attempts at



cooperation in 1849 at the time of the démocratic conspiracy in Bohemia. The third sector is the work done by the émigrés, which was linked up with the other two, (1) in the efforts made to co-ordinate Italian and Polish interests, and (2) in the similar efforts with regard to the Slavs and the Hungarians.

At the outset one should bear in mind that the social and political movement among the Slavs in 1848, and of course in Poland, was not set in motion after and because of what happened in Paris or Vienna. In particular, and likewise, the contacts between the Polish liberation movement and the Slav patriots did not date from that year; they existed long since,<sup>22</sup> and the events of the "Spring of the Peoples" only gave them fresh means of growth.

Ties existed in Austria between Polish and Czech leaders.<sup>23</sup> In the same way both wings of the Polish *émigration*, that of the Right under Czartoryski and Zamoyski and the Democratic Society under Lelewel, were giving the closest attention to Slav questions.<sup>24</sup> Above all, the Serb government crisis of 1842 increased Polish interest, and the activities of Michał Czajkowski in Istanbul and of his agents in the Balkans—reaching as far as the Slavs of Austria—provided the Polish Headquarters in Paris (chiefly Prince Czartoryski, for whom Czajkowski was working) with materials and suggestions.<sup>25</sup> At home Galicia had to play the chief part—though in lesser degree Wrocław, where Poles and Czechs met—since the Austrian part afforded more possibilities of direct contacts with the Czechs, Slovaks and South Slavs. Unfortunately there were no contacts, or only bad ones, with the nearest neighbours—the Ukrainians, who in part lived in the same area.<sup>26</sup>

Already the 1846 rising in Galicia counted on the possible cooperation of the other Slavs, though the steps taken were not serious and could not attain their goal.<sup>27</sup> In any case, however, there did exist a substantial basis for collaboration with the other Slavs when the revolution of 1848 broke out.

Only in one direction were they lacking—that of the largest Slav nation, the Russians, who were strangled by the ever-growing police régime of Nicholas I and Benckendorff. Isolated from Europe, Russia could not bring herself to any action and had to remain a spectator.<sup>28</sup> Bakunin, who was wandering about Europe, could not count on any active help for his plans from his own countrymen, and this was perceived by Herzen, who was also living abroad, better than he saw it himself.<sup>29</sup> The Polish démocratic camp maintained lively contacts with both these representatives of the Russian revolutionary spirit, but Polish-Russian cooperation at this

time had to be content with that. One should not take too seriously the platonic declarations of sympathy expressed to Mickiewicz by various Russian aristocrats

Emphasis must here be laid on the fact that all these contacts of Polish workers with the patriots of other Slav nations had nothing in them of any sort of Panslavism, i.e. of a movement aiming at uniting the Slavs on a racial footing, with a front directed against other nations.<sup>30</sup> Quite the reverse. The strict cultural union of the Poles with European civilisation as a whole, their close contacts with the general revolutionary movement of that time known as "Young Europe," in particular with the Italians, the Magyars and also with the Roumanians and the Germans, excluded from the outset their joining any enterprise whose aim could be the splitting of our continent into blocks, isolated from one another.<sup>31</sup>

The fact that in 1848, with the participation and at times under the leadership of the Poles, many demonstrations of an all-Slav character took place, did not in the least reflect a desire to define any exclusively Slav framework, closed to other nations, least of all hostile to them. The all-Slav demonstrations of 1848 were strictly bound up with the general revolutionary movement, and one may say that they represent its Slav regional front. If in certain cases there were attempts at moves under a pure Slav banner, to the exclusion of others, they were definitely suspected of having in reality nothing to do with the Slav world.<sup>32</sup>

All that has been said above cannot alter the fact that on the background of 1848 Slav affairs do not (as we view them) look on balance very happy. The practical significance of the Slav share in the revolution was not large, and the damage done by the efforts of certain Slav elements was unfortunately very considerable.<sup>33</sup> One can however aver that these efforts were not made under the all-Slav banner, and we can declare further that they had nothing in common with the Polish nation. What is more, on this matter of the emphasis laid by the Slav movement on a world-wide philosophy of life—democratic and progressive, Polish political thinking of this time has a record worthy of attention. A hundred years ago Polish democracy represented the best-ordered meeting-place in the Slav world; while at the same it remained, as we know, in constant contact with the democratic elements of other nations. The progressive currents in other Slav societies did not possess the international contacts which the Poles enjoyed; and for that reason they were not able in their own countries to deal with the need—limiting themselves to a struggle for the liberation of their

own people, in a narrow sense, but forgetting the principle that "freedom is one and indivisible."

### III

The public appearance of Mickiewicz in Italy and the further activities of the Polish poet during this time <sup>34</sup> represent in the development of Slav democratic thinking one of the mightiest factors ; they are also an important Polish-Slav contribution to the general upheaval. True, it was only an intellectual, and not also a material contribution, as the poet had planned ; but that in no way lessens the meaning of the idea. Mickiewicz here created a political concept that was meant to unite all the Slavs, as well as other peace-loving nations, under watchwords very advanced for those times (and formulated for the first time for Slavs) such as : true equality and brotherhood, above all equal rights for men and women of all countries (Christian and Jews), strictly parliamentary government, the abolition of property and birth distinctions, and the election of all officials. In the international sphere, his programme aimed at dismembering Austria, thus removing one of the strongholds of reaction in Europe, by way of a united effort of the Slav peoples, the Magyars and the Italians ; thus making possible the creation of a federation between the Baltic and the Adriatic of free societies, which would live according to true democratic rules, and when realised would be an important step toward the triumph of democracy in the whole world. Unfortunately, under existing conditions this programme was quite unreal, since the actual state of affairs in the Slav world looked quite other than Mickiewicz imagined it.

To make matters worse, what the poet was after was the object of determined attacks by the Poles of the Right, led by Władysław Zamoyski. Hostile to general revolution, these people did not want Mickiewicz to succeed. What is more, even stronger forces would have blocked the latter's path, if his plans had come nearer to realisation, in particular the animosity of British policy, at that time in league with the Tsar, yet not desiring the collapse of Austria since this power might be needed in the future again as a check to Russia. <sup>35</sup>

Mickiewicz did his best to create the concrete conditions necessary for his undertaking. He got in touch with the Yugoslav patriot-poet Pučić, he worked with the Italian leader of Dalmatian origin, Tommaseo, he sought out Czech collaborators, e.g. Menzinger. He drew up concrete lines of action as to how Slav lands of Austria

were to be set in motion and Slav troops in the Austrian army to be brought over to the Italian side. He proposed to France the occupying of Dalmatia, which would have provoked a rising in the neighbouring Slav provinces. True, he also neglected many things. He did not issue a special proclamation to the soldiers, and the translation of his *Set of Principles* into Croat could not, with its mystical content, speak convincingly to the masses. He did not see to the sending of convoys to Zagreb, where a democratic group was at work, counteracting the blind Austrophilism of Jellačić. He did not try to draw into his ranks the Montinegran prince Peter I, who as an adorer of Russia would certainly have lent his aid to plans for the liberating of the South Slavs. . . .<sup>36</sup> These were undoubtedly mistakes made by a man who, it is true, had not even a trace of the diplomatic experience of Czartoryski, who was later to attempt these same things, and equally without success.

#### IV

The organisers of the Congress in Prague, the Czech Right, sought to give the meeting a generally Conservative tone, emphasising the necessity of preserving Austria though reshaping it in the spirit of liberal-bourgeois principles. This would have ensured the political collaboration of some of the Slav nations—the Poles, Serbs and Ukrainians. But these reactionary people, the creators of Austro-Slavism, with Palacký at their head, feared like fire every thought of revolution,\* and in consequence they viewed with dislike the presence of Polish democrats at the Congress.<sup>37</sup> The Polish delegation, guided by Libelt, Chojecki, Lubomirski and others, were soon able to gain a notable, almost leading position, owing to their political maturity: by the boldness of their moves, their decidedly revolutionary stand, they won recognition among the progressives of other delegations and among wider circles of Czech society, notably the youth. Thanks to Libelt the discussions took on a more progressive spirit. The Polish thinker prepared a draft of a European Manifesto, which he laid before the Congress—a document of wholly revolutionary content, judged by previous European standards of action; suggestive in the first place of the principles of self-determination, equal rights for all nations irrespective of origin or speech, and far-reaching social reforms—certainly not as radical as those desired by the Polish émigrés, e.g. those

\* ED NOTE —The author means, of course, violent revolution with bloodshed.

grouped about Worcell, but all the same really advanced for the prevailing conditions in Slavonic lands.

“Brotherhood and mutual love between nations of whatsoever race,”

“That no nation should dominate another or take any lead to its disadvantage,”

“The supreme authority of the people, expressing itself in an elected legislative chamber, under whatever form of administration the nation may decide on,”

“Alongside religious and national liberty of the majority the recognition of the rights and liberties of other confessions and nationalities,”

“Social reforms, notably those leading to an improvement of the working classes”

—these were the most important items of Libelt’s programme ; and their realisation, had it been possible, would have given the Slavs the most advanced social order in the world of those times.<sup>38</sup>

To Polish influence must be assigned in a large measure the creation in Bohemia of a revolutionary centre, formed chiefly from the youth of democratic persuasions, which sought to draw the masses into direct action. These circles made their presence felt already during the June rising of 1848 in Prague, and again in the spring of 1849 : they prepared the conspiracy that was designed to hinder the Russian invasion of Hungary in that year.<sup>39</sup>

## V

The political, and later armed, conflict between Hungary and the Croats and Serbs (the Magyar-Slovak fighting had a much lesser significance) was provoked by the short-sightedness of the Magyar chauvinists, mostly feudal lords, and by the political immaturity of the majority of the South Slavs and the Slovaks ; but it was egged on by Austrian intrigues and it met with active Polish efforts designed to remove the causes behind it.<sup>40</sup> The Poles made many overtures in the Magyar camp, urging the leaders there to concede the just demands of the Slavs, while on the other hand they sought to influence the latter to postpone the straightening out of their differences (in the name of the common danger that threatened all the nations from the side of reaction) until victory could be assured over the common enemy. Their slogan was : “It is a false principle to hold that nationality comes before liberty, since nationality is only a small part of liberty.”<sup>41</sup>

Here mention should be made of the proclamation of the Polish Democratic Society in Paris to the Slavs of Hungary, dated 29 December 1848. In it the Polish workers prophesied the very thing that happened when reaction triumphed :

“ Czech, Illyrian, Croat and Serb liberties will fall under the scythe, which triumphant absolutism is using to cut down the harvest of universal freedom.” <sup>42</sup>

In this same spirit Mickiewicz in *Tribune des Peuples* called on the Slavs to effect reconciliation with the Magyars.

One of the most far-reaching events in the history of international conciliation is the masterpiece of diplomacy of the Polish émigrés, known as the agreement reached under Polish auspices in the name of the Austrian Slavs by the Czech leader, Rieger, with representatives of the Magyar revolutionaries in Paris on 18 May 1849, which assured the Slavs and Roumanians under Magyar rule of extensive cultural and political rights.<sup>43</sup> Special Polish delegates also saw to it that a truce was concluded between the Magyar army and the Serb detachments in the Voivodina. Unfortunately the collapse of the Magyar revolution put an end to all the possibilities thus unfolded.

In one sector, however, Polish political thinking in 1848-1849 did not rise to the heights needful for success. It did not assess rightly the importance of the Ukrainian question. Polish nationalists in Galicia at the outset denied their Ukrainian neighbours the right to regard themselves as a separate nationality, and they demanded from the government recognition for the Polish language only in the country. . . . Under the influence of wiser Polish workers from other parts of the homeland and, it may be, thanks to Czech intervention, there was reached at the Prague congress (after unpleasant explosions of mutual intolerance) a Polish-Ukrainian compromise, but even this unfortunately was not implemented—both sides sharing the blame.<sup>44</sup>

## VI

This concise outline includes a certain number of facts, but it cannot be complete. It lacks details as to Polish-Russian relations, which are not exhausted by the relations of the émigrés with Bakunin and Herzen. Undoubtedly there existed relations of sorts in the provinces ruled by the Tsar and in Russia proper : unfortunately the data we possess in this field are very meagre. We must wait for the promised Soviet publications, as well as for the possibility of independent research in the archives of the Soviet Union.

It is also essential that there should be a more thorough ventilation of the social and economic factor in the unfolding of events.<sup>45</sup> The overemphasis on politics, especially external politics, i.e. diplomacy, which marks the work done by Poles in regard to 1848–1849 is obvious, and it cannot fail to contribute to a one-sided appraisal of the whole. The respective issues should be once more studied, in particular the Prague Congress and the Polish mediation in Hungary: the existing works of Wisłocki and Russjan do not satisfy.

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<sup>1</sup> H Batowski, "Zagadnienia r 1848 w Słowiańszczyźnie," *Przegląd Historyczny* 1948

<sup>2</sup> J. Feldman, *Sprawa polska w roku 1848*, Krakow, 1933 (PAU), 243, 599.

<sup>3</sup> Warszawa, 1934 (*Rozprawy Historyczne Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego*, XIII-2), pp. 137, 599

<sup>4</sup> I have mentioned this in my paper "Polacy, Chorwaci i Węgrzy 1848–9," in *Polityka Narodów*, 1937, str 648 sq

<sup>5</sup> These works appeared together in the collection entitled *Czartoryski, Nicholas Ier et la Question du Proche Orient*, Paris, 1934.

<sup>6</sup> Kraków, 1936, *Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego, Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, XLV-1

<sup>7</sup> *Pamiętnik VI Zjazdu Powszechnego Historyków Polskich*, II, pp. 368 sqq

<sup>8</sup> Lwów, 1939, II wyd Warszawa, 1947

<sup>9</sup> Kraków, 1946–

<sup>10</sup> Lwów, 1927, *Rocznik Zakładu Nar im Ossol*, I, and in offprints.

<sup>11</sup> It goes without saying that this does not include the Slav peoples which took no part in the unrest of 1848, e.g. the Bulgarians, White Russians, etc.

<sup>12</sup> M. Prelog, *Slavenska renesansa 1790–1848*, Zagreb, 1924

<sup>13</sup> Z Tobolka, *Slovansky Sjezd v Praze roku 1848*, Zagreb, 1924; see also the new composite work of Čejchan et al, *Slovansky Sjezd v Praze, 1848*, Praha, 1948.

<sup>14</sup> K. Kazbunda, *České hnutí roku 1848*, Praha, 1929, F. Roubík, *Český rok 1848*, Pr., 1931, II vyd 1948, V Čejchan, *Bakunin v Čechách*, Praha, 1928.

<sup>15</sup> D. Rapant, *Slovenské povstanie roku 1848–49*, tt I–II, Turč. sv Martin 1937.

<sup>16</sup> (R. Horvat) *Hrvatski pokret 1848*, Zagreb, 1898, J. Horvat, *Politička povijest Hrvatske*, Zagreb, 1936, pp 148 sqq., D. Stranjaković, *Vlada ustavobranitelja 1842–1853*, Beograd, 1932, Chap III, and articles in newer numbers of periodicals.

<sup>17</sup> J. Bryk, *Słowiański zjazd u Praze i ukraińska sprawa*, *Zapysky Naukovocho Towarystwa imeny Szewczenka*, t 129, 1920.

<sup>18</sup> The work of A. I. Nifontov, *1848 god v Rossii*, Moscow, 1931, is fundamental, also Averbukh, *Tsarskaya interventsuiya v bor'be s vengerskoy revolyutsiei 1848–49 g.* The documents found here have appeared (in French) in *Revue d'histoire comparée*, 1948, No 1. The materials published in the same year in Vol 47–48 of the journal *Krasnyi Arkhiv*, entitled *Nikolay I i evropeyskaya reaktsia 1848–1849 g* (edited by R. Averbukh), do not add anything new

<sup>19</sup> On this vide *Zhycie Słowiańskie*, 1947, No 11, pp. 405–06

<sup>20</sup> I. Udalcov, "K voprosu o revoliutsionnom dvizhenii v Chechii v 1848 godu," *Woprosy istorii*, 1947, nr. 5.

<sup>21</sup> V. Žáček, *Čechové a Poláci roku 1848*, I, Praha, 1947.

<sup>22</sup> On this I am preparing a special study called *Rozvoj idej słowiańskiej w Polsce*. Interesting materials have been published on it by E. Kołodziejczyk in several numbers of *Świat Słowiański*, 1911–1913

<sup>23</sup> On this much is given by Žáček, *op cit.*, I, *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> The interest taken by Polish democratic circles in the Slav world is linked up with the relations existing with the Decabrists and the Society of United Slavs. Vide Chap 5 of my book *Mickiewicz i Słowianie do roku 1836* (1936).

<sup>25</sup> See the works of Handelsman, and also my own *Podstawy Sojuszu bałkańskiego 1912 r* (1939), pp. 15, for bibliography.

<sup>26</sup> There is a burning need for a study of Polish-Ukrainian relations in the 19th century, free from nationalist prejudices. The valuable treatise of Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka Czartoryjskiego przed wojną Krymską*, Warszawa, 1935, is not free from *ex parte* views.

<sup>27</sup> On this recently *Żaček, op. cit.*, p. 215

<sup>28</sup> The discussions of the Utopian socialists from the circle of Butashevich and Pietrashevsky were the most that could be attempted by the terrorised Russian society. The same applies to the protests of Chernishevsky.

<sup>29</sup> The newest work on Herzen by N. S. Derzhavin, *A. I. Gercen (literaturno-chudozhestvennoye nasledie)*, 1947, has very little about 1848.

<sup>30</sup> The thing was well put at that time. "Panslavism means a return to the times of barbarism, when humanity was divided into races, and when not thinking but blood was the only link between people"—*Demokrat polski*, 13 Jan. 1849.

<sup>31</sup> Precisely the Polish effort to reconcile the Hungarians and the Slavs could be the best proof of this assertion.

<sup>32</sup> Thus, for example, Jelačić tried to acquire for his action against the Magyar revolution a "Slav" scutcheon.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. my paper, mentioned in Note 1, in *Przegląd Hist.*, 1948.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. my monograph *Legion Mickiewicza a Słowiańszczyzna w roku 1848*, Kraków, 1948.

<sup>35</sup> As is known, an opportunity for this came during the Crimean war. On the attitude of British diplomacy, see Handelsman, *Rok 1848 we Włoszech*, and *Krasnyy Arkhiv*, 1931, 1 c.

<sup>36</sup> For the newest data on this, *vide* the Montenegrin historical journal *Istoriski Zapsi* for 1948, No. 1, *Crna Gora u revolucionarnoj 1848 godini*, by J. Jovanović.

<sup>37</sup> For the newest materials, which however deserve a fresh and expert study, *vide* Wiśłocki, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>38</sup> Wiśłocki, *op. cit.*, 188 sqq.

<sup>39</sup> The Polish influence on Czech youth is attested by a delegate to the Congress, J. Moraczewski, in *Opis pierwszego Zjazdu słowiańskiego*, Poznań, 1848, and by a Czech witness, J. V. Frič, leader of the 1848 rising and the 1849 conspiracy in his *Paměti*, Praha, 1887, *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. my essay mentioned in Note 4 for other source materials, otherwise Russjan, *op. cit.*, p. 153, n.

<sup>41</sup> Cited from Moraczewski, p. 63.

<sup>42</sup> *Svat Słowianin*, VII, 2 (1911), 159.

<sup>43</sup> For the text of the agreement, see my paper in *Polityka Narodów*, 1937, pp. 658-59. Cf. also *Żaček, op. cit.*, II, 376.

<sup>44</sup> Wiśłocki, *op. cit.*, 191-93. Por. Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka* . . ., 151 sqq.

<sup>45</sup> Of pioneer significance in this respect is the work of Udalcov, who however has too little to say about the Czech peasants, whose active interest is revealed by Frič and Moraczewski. The social aspect is best dealt with for the Croats by A. Jelačić in *Seljački pokret u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji 1848-9 g.*, Zagreb, 1925.



# POLAND, THE UKRAINE AND RUSSIA IN THE 17th CENTURY

## PART II

BORN about 1596, Peter was a son of Simeon Mohila, Hospodar of Wallachia. Whether, as some historians maintain, he attended the Lvov confraternity school is uncertain. More probably he was educated at home by a teacher or teachers sent for the purpose by the confraternity which had received frequent and generous financial aid from the boy's parents and grandparents. No evidence has so far been produced in support of the generally accepted belief that he continued his education at the Sorbonne. Indeed, the earliest trustworthy piece of information about his career is the reference to his participation, on the victorious Polish side, in the battle of Chocim against the Turk in 1621. At the events of the preceding five years in Mohila's life we can only guess. He probably settled in Poland about 1617, thus following the example of his two brothers who had done so when the older was finally deprived of the succession to his father's throne. The Mohilas were not strangers in Poland. In 1593, in return for their services to the Republic, Sigismund III had conferred upon the whole family the privilege of *inddygenat* which equalised the status of its members with that of any Polish noble house. There are indications that the first three years after his arrival in Poland Peter Mohila spent at the court of the renowned warrior and statesman, Stanislas Zolkiewski (1547-1620), as his ward. After Chocim he paid frequent visits to Kiev and bought land in the district. His strong religious feeling and his friendship with the Metropolitan Job Boretsky appear to have led to his taking monastic vows. In 1627 he was elected Archimandrite at the Kiev Monastery of the Caves. When, in 1637 he succeeded Boretsky, he was the first Orthodox Metropolitan to be recognised by a Polish King—Ladislas IV—since 1596. In granting such recognition the King must have been largely actuated by his knowledge of Mohila's unswerving loyalty to Poland and his person. This he expressed for the last time in his testament which he ends with the words: "[I have been] do ostatniego kresu życia swego

bogomoddcą wiernym JKr.m-ci i tymże z tego świata schodzę.”<sup>61</sup>  
He died in 1647.<sup>62</sup>

Mohila believed in the political mission of the Polish State, acknowledged the intellectual superiority of the West and had faith in the spiritual values of Orthodoxy. This triple belief made him particularly susceptible to the truth in the jibes of Meletios Smotritsky (now a Uniate) at the allegedly completely vain efforts of the Orthodox to raise the standard of their co-religionists' education. “Все ваши попытки поднять просвещение не удаются. Плохи были ваши школы прежде, а теперь стали еще хуже. . . . В них ваши дети только получают тот прибыток, что из телят становятся водами . . .” he wrote in 1629.<sup>63</sup> To Mohila's mind there was but one way of redressing what had indeed become a serious situation: the wholesale adoption of Western educational methods. He did not have to look far for a model. even in the immediate vicinity of Kiev a Jesuit College had been established, an island of Roman Catholicism in a sea of Orthodoxy.<sup>64</sup> The youthful Archimandrite wasted no time and only five years after his election, with the blessing of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and, in 1633, with the sanction of Ladislas IV, he succeeded, in spite of considerable opposition from the Orthodox townsmen, in merging the existing confraternity school and the Latin-Polish school founded by himself in a College, assuming the exclusive title of its “elder brother, tutor, guardian and defender.”<sup>65</sup> There can be no doubt that Mohila regarded this only as the first stage in the realisation of an ambitious educational plan much wider in scope and designed to include Moldavia, Greece and even Muscovy in the sphere of Kievan intellectual influence. With this end in view, in 1640, he approached the Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich requesting him to endow in Moscow a special monastery where Kievan monks could live and teach Greek and Slavonic to the children of the boyars and the common people. This suggestion met with no response until 1648, when F. M. Rtishchev founded the Andreevsky Monastery.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Jablonowski, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>62</sup> S. Golubev: *Piotr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki*, vol. I, Kiev, 1883, pp. 8-55.  
P. P. Panariescu: *L'influence de l'œuvre de P. Mohila . . . dans les principautés roumaines*. Mélanges de l'école roumaine en France, Ire partie, pp. 6, 7. *La Confession Orthodoxe de P. Mohila* . . . texte latin inédit, publié p. A. Malvy et M. Viller, S. J., Paris-Rome, 1927. *Orientalia Christiana*, vol. X, no. 39, Oct-Dec 1927.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted in translation from *Paraenesis albo napomnienie do narodu ruskiego*. Kraków, 1629, p. 32, by Golubev, *Istoria* . . . p. 224.

<sup>64</sup> Martel, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 279.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 280. For Mohila's letter to Alexis Mikhailovich, see *Akty Yuzhnoy i Zapadnoy Rossii*, vol. III, no. 33. Kharlampovich, *op. cit.*, p. 133, points out the lack of any evidence proving that it was Rtishchev who founded this monastery.

Like any similar but rival Jesuit establishment, the Kiev College was governed by a Rector with the assistance of a Prefect whose functions resembled those of an Oxford or Cambridge Bursar. The Instruction provided by the College fully justified its epithet of "Latin-Polish." Three years of Latin grammar, taught in accordance with the precepts of the Jesuit Alvarus, were followed by two years in the classes of poetry and rhetoric. Here the few enlightened teachers, like Feofan Prokopovich,<sup>67</sup> trained their pupils to appreciate Cicero and the *Æneid* as well as the works of the Polish epic poet, Piotr Kochanowski, and to despise panegyricism; the majority, lacking in discernment, held up as models the Latin poets and orators of the Silver Age and their baroque Jesuit imitators. Particular stress was laid on a young man's ability to make laudatory speeches and write sycophantic occasional verse in Latin or Polish. This course in Literæ Humaniores was crowned with a year of Aristotelian philosophy—logic, physics and metaphysics—and, after 1694, when the subject was first introduced, and the College in virtue of this addition became an Academy, with a year of theology taught, as a rule, after the pattern of the Summa Theologica (here again Prokopovich was an outstanding exception). The pupils of the classes of poetry and rhetoric cultivated the spoken word by acting in dramas and dialogues; the philosophers and theologians sharpened their wits in weekly disputes and showed off the brilliance of their dialectical skill in carefully rehearsed public debates, held at the end of every two-year course. All instruction was in Latin, only the catechism was taught in Slavonic; Ukrainian, as *lingua vulgaris*, was debarred from the curriculum; Polish gradually lost its importance and was finally replaced by Russian (exactly the same change occurred in the homes of the Ukrainian nobility), although it was still taught by a special lecturer in 1798, when the College was transformed into an Ecclesiastical Academy and continued to be taught there as a subsidiary subject till 1844.<sup>68</sup> All social classes were represented in the College and although the pupils were for the most part drawn from among the children of the local townsmen, clergy and the common people, they mixed freely with

<sup>67</sup> See R. Stupperich *Feofan Prokopovich und seine Akademische Wirksamkeit in Kiev*, Zeitschr. f. Slavische Philologie, XVII, pp. 70–101.

<sup>68</sup> For the curriculum and organisation of the Kiev Academy, see: N. I. Petrov, *Ocherki iz istorii ukrainskoy literatury XVII i XVIII vekov*, Kiev, 1880, p. 14, *O slovesnykh naukakh i literaturnykh zanyatiyakh v Kievskoy Akademii ot nachala ee do preobrazovaniya v 1819 g.* *Trudy Kievskoy Dухovnoy Akademii* 1866, July, November, December—1867, January; Jablonowski, *op cit.*, pp. 97, 168, 169, 214–16, 235, 236, 240, 246–49, Martel, *op cit.*, pp. 281, 283–85, Demkov, *op cit.*, p. 166.

the sons of princes, Cossack officers and occasional distinguished strangers such as the Scots general in Russian service, Patrick Gordon. In the 18th century Orthodox foreigners, mostly Serbs, were also admitted.<sup>69</sup> For the poorer alumni Peter Mohila had founded a hostel, but this was not sufficiently endowed to accommodate them all and the less fortunate ones were obliged to provide for their maintenance in the school year by begging, or earning some money as choristers or sextons in parish churches during the long summer vacation. Begging took the shape of singing outside the wealthier houses in expectation of alms. As the favourite hymn of the mendicant students began with the words "Мир Христов," this practice became known as "миркование" <sup>70</sup>

The Ruthenian cultural revival was rapid, extensive and, thanks to efforts of the founder of the Kiev Academy, at least partially lasting. It would be a mistake to think, however, that the protests of lay and ecclesiastical enemies of learning did not mar the initial stage of Mohila's activities: "от неученых попов и козаков велие было негодование: на что латинское и польское училище заводите, чего у нас дотуду не бывало и спасались . . ." testifies one of the first pupils of the College <sup>71</sup> And at one time, the future Metropolitan Silvester Kossov was seriously afraid that he and his fellow-teachers might become the prey of the Dnieper sturgeons.<sup>72</sup> As if in support of this hostile attitude, at the end of the 16th century, Ivan Vishensky, a Ruthenian monk from Mount Athos, wrote in a tenor identical with that of the Moscow obscurantists. "Егда есте на латинскую и мирскую мудрость ся полакомили, тогда и благочестие стратили, в вере онеможили, и поболели; и ереси породили и в Него же крестихомся прогневали. Чи не лучше тебе изучити часословец, псалтыри, охтоих, апостол и Евангелие, и иншими церкви свойственными, и быти простым богоугодником и жизнь вечную получитьи, нежели посягнути Аристотеля и Платона и философом мудрым ся в жизни сей звати, и в геену от'ити? Разсуди!" <sup>73</sup> But on the whole this kind

<sup>69</sup> M. Petrov, *op. cit.*, p. 8, *Tagebuch des generals Patrick Gordon*, ed. by M. E. Posselt, St. Pet., 1849-1853, vol. 2, Pt. III, chap. I, p. 28. On 28 June 1684, Gordon's son Gregory "ging in die Schule in dem bratzkisken Kloster"

<sup>70</sup> Jablonowski, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>71</sup> Gabriel Dometsky in a letter written at the end of the 18th century to the Metropolitan of Novgorod, Job, quoted by Martel, *op. cit.*, p. 283

<sup>72</sup> Golubev, *Istoria Kievskoy Akademii*, p. 229

<sup>73</sup> *Chetyre sochineniya afinskogo monakha Ioanna iz Vishni po povodu Unii. I—Poslaniye ko Kniazuyu Vasylu Ostrozshskomu. Akty Yuzhnoy i Zapadnoy Rossii*, vol. 2, p. 210. But even Vishensky is indebted to Polish authors for a great many of his arguments. See V. N. Peretts *Issledovaniya i materialy po istorii starinnoy ukrainskoy literatury XV-XVII vekov. Sbornik Otdeleniya Russkogo Yazyka i Slovesnosti A. N.*, Vol. CI, no. 2, Leningrad, 1926, chap. II. *Ivan Vishensky i polskaya literatura XVI v.*

of opposition was considerably weaker and less effective than in Muscovy and in 1655 the archdeacon Paul of Aleppo was able to note: "We observed in this people an excellent custom, which exists all over these regions of the Russians or Cossacks, and we are inclined to admire any good practice that we discovered among them. All, except a very few of them, know the prayers by heart, and the order of the service, and the chanting, even to the greatest part of the women and girls. Beside this, the Priests give instruction even to orphan children and do not suffer them to go about without knowledge."<sup>74</sup>

### III

The war of 1654-1667 once more brought the Muscovites in touch with Polish civilisation, this time on Polish territory, and awakened among the boyars an almost universal desire for the fruits of Western material civilisation. Through the incorporation of the territories of Smolensk, Chërnigov and the Left-Bank Ukraine, Russia gained the services of scores of skilled craftsmen, willing to exchange the provincial obscurity of these parts for the splendours of Moscow. Their success and the ever-growing demand for Western novelty in turn attracted artisans plying their trade just over the Polish border, as well as merchants from the heart of Poland. The registers of the Moscow "мещанская слобода" of 1676 and of the "Польский ряд" of 1684 between them show the presence of about one hundred artisans from Smolensk, Shklov, Vilna, Polotsk, etc., engaged in the fabrication of luxury goods in the Polish style, such as "мыло польское, чулки польские," etc. Beekeepers, gardeners, distillers, cabinet-makers, wood-sculptors and engravers, were flocking to Moscow.<sup>75</sup> In the baggage-trains of the Polish envoys and under their protection, enjoying the diplomatic immunity from examination at the customs, Polish merchants more than once succeeded in smuggling their wares into Muscovy. Of these, silk, jewellery and clocks were the most coveted. In 1659 the Tsar Alexis himself placed an order for a throne, to be made after a Polish model and surmounted with a Latin inscription. In 1684, a Pole, Szymon Lisicki, adorned the walls of the Tsar's summer residence at Kolomenskoe with a mural painting representing the Last Judgment.<sup>76</sup> Among the boyars it became the height of

<sup>74</sup> *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, written by his attendant archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, in Arabic.* Trans. by F. C. Belfour, London, 1829, Pt. II, Book IV, Section I, pp. 164, 165

<sup>75</sup> Platonov, *op. cit.*, p. 139

<sup>76</sup> Ulyanov, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

fashion to have one's likeness taken by a Polish painter. Perhaps the most significant sign of the new anthropocentric times was the change in the style of the Russian iconographers who, under Western influence transmitted by the Ukraine, no longer aimed at rendering a symbolic divine likeness but sought the effect of realistic human resemblance.<sup>77</sup>

After the abolition, soon after 1654, of the import duty on South-Russian printed matter,<sup>78</sup> the influx of books from the Ukraine, which had been rather slight in the first half of the century, became a veritable spate. They were widely popular with the reading public but expensive<sup>79</sup> and, as most of the Ukrainians wrote in their own brand of Church Slavonic, corrupted by Polish and Ruthenian elements, and some of them in Polish, not always comprehensible in the original. Consequently, reprints and translations multiplied.—Mohila's *Catechism*, published originally in Polish as well as "dialektom ruskim" (Kiev, 1645), was translated in Moscow in 1649, Pamva Berynda's *Slavonic Lexicon* (first published Kiev, 1627) appeared in Russia in 1653, Meletios Smotritsky's *Slavonic Grammar* (Vilna, 1619) was reprinted anonymously in Moscow in 1648, the first complete Bible to be printed among the Slavs (Ostrog Academy, 1581) was given a new edition in Moscow in 1663. All these works, as well as Lazarus Baranovich's "Мечь духовный," Mohila's "Требник," the Kiev Paterikon (first printed in Polish, Kiev, 1635) and many others were among the most popular and most widely used books in the Muscovy of Alexis Mikhailovich and his successor.<sup>80</sup>

The number of translations, mostly from Polish, too, increased from 7 in the first half of the 16th century, when they first made their appearance, to 114 in the last quarter of the next century. To this period belong the Russian versions of *Hystorie Rzymskie* (*Gesta Romanorum*), of Strykowski's *Chronicle* (1582) and of the *Domostrojenie* (the *Æconomics* ascribed to Aristotle)—three typical products of Western European mediæval fiction, early Polish

<sup>77</sup> Avvakum "Об иконном писании," N K Gudzyi: *Khrestomatra po drevne russkoy literature XI-XVII vv*, M., 1938, 3rd ed., pp. 363, 364. "Ох, ох" exclaims Avvakum in this connection, "бедная Русь, чего то тебе захотелось немецких поступков и обычаев" For Polish fashions see Shlyapkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 57, 60, 61, 63-66.

<sup>78</sup> Ogienko, *op. cit.*, p. 72

<sup>79</sup> Thus Galyatovsky's "Ключ Разумения," first publ. Kiev, 1659, was sold at 7 roubles and the Kiev edition of the New Testament at 2 roubles. The rouble of the period immediately preceding 1914 was worth thirteen times less than the rouble of the later 17th century Ulyanov, *op. cit.*, p. 91

<sup>80</sup> Ogienko, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 72-75, Martel, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 83, 109, 113, 114; Shlyapkin, *op. cit.*, p. 122 For the list see *infra*, p. 425

historiography and scholastic learning.<sup>81</sup> The translations from Latin, German and Czech were far less numerous; translations from Polish continued to appear well into the 18th century and in 1728 Polish books could still be bought in Moscow.<sup>82</sup>

Monks from the Ukraine continued to pour into the monasteries of Muscovy in ever-growing numbers. So heavy and regular did this traffic become in the 18th century that a standard allowance was fixed for the emigrants' fare from Kiev: at 20 roubles (28 in the summer) for the journey to Moscow and at 36 roubles 50 kopecks (44.50 in the summer) for the journey to St. Petersburg.<sup>83</sup> One of these monks was Simeon Polotsky (1629-1680), who, paradoxically enough, became Russia's first secular poet and dramatist, arrived in Moscow in 1664 and before long rose to the dignity of court preacher and tutor to the Tsar's children.<sup>84</sup> This admirer and imitator of the first great Slavonic poet, Jan Kochanowski,<sup>85</sup> and the other South Russian pedagogues, engaged to educate the boyar children of later 17th-century Moscow, were the precursors of the 18th- and 19th-century foreign *gouverneur* . . . From his tutor, the Tsar Feodor Mikhailovich (1676-1682) acquired a taste for Polish letters—Lazarus Baranovich refers to it in his dedication to him of *Noticy Pięć . . . Ran Chrystusowych Pięć*<sup>86</sup>—and a liking for things Polish in general, as witness his prescription of Polish

<sup>81</sup> A table of these will be found in Shlyapkin, *op cit*, pp 78-80. With these data Ulyanov (*op cit*, p. 88) has drawn up the following statistical tables

*Number of translations .*

1501-1550 .	7
1550-1600 .	19
1600-1650 .	13
1650-1699 .	114

*Subject matter .*

Religion and ethics . . . . .	37
History . . . . .	18
Literature . . . . .	15
Cosmography and geography . . . . .	15
Encyclopædias, dictionaries and reference books . . . . .	12
Astronomy . . . . .	9
Medicine . . . . .	8
Law and politics . . . . .	6
Military . . . . .	5
Natural sciences . . . . .	4
Others . . . . .	20 [24 ?]

<sup>82</sup> Shlyapkin, *ibid.*, Jabłonowski, *op cit*, p 275

<sup>83</sup> Ogienko, *op cit.*, p 108

<sup>84</sup> L. N. Maikov: *Ocherki iz istorii russkoy literatury XVII i XVIII stoletii*, St Pet, 1889, pp. 1-163; Simeon Polotsky, pp 14, 40-42

<sup>85</sup> See N. Glokke: *Rymotvornaya Psaltyr' Simeona Polotskogo i ego otnoshenie k Pol'skoy Psaltyri Jana Kochanovskogo*. *Universitetskie Izvestia*, no 9, Kiev, 1896.

<sup>86</sup> Chernigov, 1680, pp. 332-34 Martel, *op cit*, pp. 234, 235

dress for the Russian court and his marriage, in 1680, to Agaphia Gruszecka, the daughter of a Polish nobleman from Smolensk. . . <sup>87</sup>

In the same period Russia's relations with the West became closer, her points of contact with the rest of Europe grew more numerous. May, 1661, saw the arrival of an embassy from the Emperor, between December of that year and June, 1663, two envoys of the Tsar visited London, one of them also calling at Venice and Florence. In February, 1664, arrived in Moscow the Earl of Carlisle with his family, a French secretary and a staff of twenty-four persons <sup>88</sup> In the 'sixties the "Посольский приказ," on the orders of its head, Ordin-Nashchokin, began the regular publication of "куранты" or digests of Western newspapers, which the postal service, also organised by him, brought to Muscovy.<sup>89</sup> The process of her incorporation in the European commonalty was well under way, but another fifty years had to elapse before Western influence was to penetrate directly from Western Europe.

A contemporary of Ordin's and another *zapadnik* collaborator of the Tsar was A. S. Mateveev (1625-1682). He and his wife, née Hamilton, were one of the first boyar couples in Moscow, if not the first, to live in the style of a Western noble family.<sup>90</sup> In 1671, Alexis Mikhailovich married Mateveev's ward, Natalia Kirillovna Naryshkina, and it may well be that the desire to watch the performance of a company of comedians, dating from 1660 and which he expressed anew in 1672, had revived under her influence. Two years passed before it could be satisfied and only in 1674 did the court attend the performance of a "comedy" composed round the biblical story of Esther.<sup>91</sup> So began the history of the Russian theatre. Nothing could have been more significant of the revolutionary changes that had occurred in the Russian outlook since the childhood of Alexis when even shaving was looked at askance.

<sup>87</sup> Shlyapkin, *op cit*, p 58; R.B.S., vol Yablonovsky-Fomin, St Pet., 1913, article on Fyodor Alekseevich by V Korsakova, p 263 Alexis Mikhailovich had forbidden the wearing of foreign clothes in 1675 V N Berkh, *Tsarstvovaniye Tsarya Alexeya Mikhailovicha*, St Pet., 1813, pt. I, p 288

<sup>88</sup> Pascal, *op cit*, p 345 See also G Miège *A Relation of Three Embassies from his Sacred Majesty Charles II to the Great Duke of Muscovie* etc performed by the Earl of Carlisle in . 1663 and 1664, London, 1669 A new edition of the French version (also 1669) was published, with an introduction and notes by Prince A Golitsyn in Paris in 1857 For the reference to the performance of an unspecified comedy at the German *Sloboda*, attended by the Ambassador, see pp 76, 77

<sup>89</sup> R B S., vol *Obezryaninov-Ochkim*, St Pet., 1905, article on him by E Likhach, p 293

<sup>90</sup> *Entsiklopedichesky Slovar'* published by Brockhaus and Efron, vol XVIII, St. Pet., 1896, article on him by A Gornfeld A Berkh, *op cit*, pt II, pp 27, 28. On Matveev see Shchepot'ev *Blzhnyy boyarin A S Matveev kak kul'turnyy i politichesky deyatel'* XVII v., St Pet., 1906

<sup>91</sup> Varneke, *op cit*, pp 21-23



Only twenty years earlier such an innovation would have shocked the people and outraged the Church. Now, as far as is known, no voice was raised in protest. But it is equally significant that, before ordering the performance, the Tsar, begging the question, should have sought the guidance of his father confessor. The reply was satisfactory: the Byzantine Emperors had allowed theatricals, the Christian monarchs of Western Europe had their court theatres—why should Alexis Mikhailovich not have his? There was no objection.<sup>92</sup> It is also worth noting that this confessor, Andrey Savinov or Savinovich, hailed from the Ukraine and that immediately after the death of Alexis in 1676 the Patriarch Joachim accused him of insubordination and disgraceful conduct. He was tried, found guilty and exiled to a monastery in the same year.<sup>93</sup>

Nevertheless, the Western phenomenon of the progress of ideas, which underlies our continual revaluation of criteria, had already spread to Muscovy. The complete westernisation of her material culture within less than a century was now a foregone conclusion. But the question of the type of learning—since learning there must be—to be adopted by the new Russia now in the making, remained unresolved. Would she, with everything else the West had to offer, accept the “латинское учение” of Kiev or would she, regardless of the West, create a Græco-Slavonic system of education and thus lay the foundations of a secular civilisation that would harmonise with the religious culture of Orthodoxy?

Although it seems that both Simeon Polotsky and Epiphany Slavnetsky († 1676) did engage in a certain amount of sporadic instruction, there were still no regular schools in Moscow<sup>94</sup> but

<sup>92</sup> Varneke, *op. cit.*, p. 23

<sup>93</sup> V Solovyev, *Ist Ross*, 1911 ed., Bk III, vol 13, pp 746, 817, 818, 821. Solovyev translated Bielski's *Kosmografia* (1550) into Russian (Jabłonowski, *op. cit.*, p. 263). One of the charges preferred against him was “Пьянствовал с заторными лицами, блудническими песнями услаждаясь, с приложением различных игр и бряцаний.” (Solovyev, p 817)

<sup>94</sup> This is a highly controversial issue Demkov, *op. cit.*, in chap XIX—*Stremleniye k prosveshcheniyu v severo-vostochnoy Rossii XVII v.*, *Greko-Latvnskiye shkoly v Moskve XVII veka*, summarises the arguments put forward by scholars for and against this thesis Kapterev *O greko-latvnskiykh shkolakh v Moskve do otkrytiya Slavyano-Greko-Latvnskoy Akademii, Prilavleniya k Tvorennyam Svyyatikh Otsev*, 1889, Bk VI (this series as far as I know, is not to be found in the U.K.), maintains that the Ukrainian monks at the Andreevsky Monastery were engaged in translation work and did not teach Nor, says Kapterev, is there any evidence to show that E. Slavnetsky founded a school at the Chudov Monastery Kharlampovich, *op. cit.*, pp 133-34, also doubts the existence of a school at the Andreevsky Monastery. Maikov, on the other hand, *op. cit.*, p 19, assumes the existence of Simeon Polotsky's school at the Zaikonospassky Monastery and of Slavnetsky's Greek school at Chudovo. Pypin, *op. cit.*, vol 169, p. 775 ff. S. Smirnov. *Istoria Moskovskoy Slavyano-Greko-Latvnskoy Akademii*, M., 1855, pp 5-7. Morozov, *op. cit.*, pt 207, pp 442, 449, express similar views See also S Belokurov *Adam*

rather rival schools of thought: the advocates of "латинское учение," headed by the former and the adherents of "греческая часть," grouped round the latter.

But this did little to promote the cause of learning and the need for education remained as great as ever. Yet it is doubtful whether many of the boyars and the upper clergy still clung to the old belief that learning leads to heresy. On the contrary, many probably agreed with Paisios Ligarides († 1678) who, although a grasping impostor,<sup>95</sup> was a man of great learning and much respected in Moscow. On his arrival there in 1662, he gave this diagnosis of the disease afflicting the Russian body politic: "Искал я корня сего духовного недуга, поразившего ныне Христоименитое Царство Русское и старался открыть, откуда бы могло произойти такое навождение ересей на общую нашу пагубу—и наконец придумал и нашел, что все зло произошло от двух причин: от того, что нет народных училищ и библиотек. Если бы меня спросили: какие столпы церкви и государства? Я бы отвечал: во-первых училища, во вторых училища и в третьих училища."<sup>96</sup> He then went on to point out the great need for instruction in Greek, Latin and Slavonic. Four years later the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch repeated this advice.<sup>97</sup> Anyone who has counted the number of times various Eastern Patriarchs had offered it before, could justifiably suspect them all of mockery. But they were in earnest and had the interest of Russian education at heart: they hoped to use Moscow as the intellectual centre of Orthodoxy instead of being constantly obliged to submit their scholars to the indignity of studying in the West as Uniates.<sup>98</sup> And yet, they had not been able to offer the Russians a suitable teacher. For the last time the Muscovites tried their luck and applied to the authorities in the East for permission to establish a school where Greek, Latin and Slavonic would be taught. The permission was granted but, as no teacher was sent, could only be used when the "перомонах" Timothy returned home from

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*Olearn, o greko-lat shkole Arseniya Greka v Moskve v XVII v*, M., 1888. The author concludes (p. 43) that Moscow did not have a Latin school under Philaret, but that such a school did exist under Nikon, probably between 1653 and 1655.

<sup>95</sup> He posed as the Metropolitan of Gaza, after he had been deprived of this office and (temporarily) anathematised and unfrocked. In Moscow he made constant appeals to the Tsar's generosity. Pierling points out that Alexis Mikhailovich used him as a tool for deposing Nikon. He left in 1672, but returned in 1676 and finally in 1678. See Kapterev: *Kharakter otnosheni*, pp. 182-208; Pierling: *Paisiyy Ligarid: Novoye svedeniye iz rimskikh arkhivov Istoricheskoye statii i zametki*, St. Pet., 1913, pp. 104-24; R.B.S., vol. Pavel-Petr, St. Pet., 1902, article on him, signed G. Vorob'ev.

<sup>96</sup> Quoted by Smirnov, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>97</sup> A. Morozov, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

<sup>98</sup> Kapterev: . . . *Nikon i Alexey Mikhailovich* . . . , vol. II, pp. 543, 544.

Mount Athos and Palestine. The Patriarch Joachim (1674-1690) entrusted him with the school for thirty pupils, founded by himself (c. 1682), at the Moscow printing house. In contradiction, however, with the privilege of 1668, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus, expressly forbade the teaching of Latin in the new school<sup>99</sup> which Feodor Mikhailovich proposed to expand into an Academy.<sup>100</sup> The draft of an appropriate ordinance which he approved shortly before his death was probably<sup>101</sup> the work of Simeon Polotsky's pupil and successor, Silvester Medvedev. Although Tsarevna Regent, Sophia (1682-1685), did not confirm these draft statutes, the Greek teachers for whom the late Tsar and the Patriarch Joachim had requested the Patriarch of Constantinople were on their way to Moscow, and upon their arrival in 1685 the Helleno-Greek Academy was called into being.<sup>102</sup> But regardless of this style and the Patriarch's prohibition, the two brothers Likhudy, who were educated at Padua and Venice, taught not only Latin but in Latin.<sup>103</sup>

The problem of learning had at last acquired a practical aspect and the inevitable clash between the two hostile orientations followed at once. The Zaikonospassky Monastery which housed the Academy for the time being, became the headquarters of a campaign against Western learning led, with the full approval of the Patriarch, by the spiritual heir of Epiphanyi Slavynetsky—the monk Evtymyi—ably seconded by the Likhudy. The Controversy of the Trans-substantiation<sup>104</sup> provided the Greek party with a first-rate opportunity for taking up the offensive. The issue was: did the Trans-substantiation occur when the priest pronounces the words “Приймите,

<sup>99</sup> Morozov, *op cit*, p 466

<sup>100</sup> Smirnov, *op cit*, pp 7-10

<sup>101</sup> A Prozorovsky *S. Medvedev*, M., 1896, p 197 But Smirnov, *op cit*, p 15, takes S Polotsky's authorship for granted, Maikov, on the other hand, believed that the charter was not wholly Polotsky's work Demkov, *op cit*, chap XXV—*Moskovskaya Ellino-Grecheskaya Akademiya* (1685-1700) refers to Kapterev *O greko lat shkolakh* (see note 87) in whose opinion the charter was either not drafted by S Polotsky or considerably altered to further the plans of the Greek party. For text of project see Novikov's *Drevnyaya Russkaya Vvhoteka*, vol VI, pp 390-419

<sup>102</sup> Smirnov, *op cit*, p 17 Between 1685 and 1700 it was called Helleno-Greek, between 1700 and 1775, it was known as Slavo-Greek, and after 1775 as Slavo-Græco-Latin

<sup>103</sup> But between the Likhudy's dismissal and the appointment of Rogovsky Latin was not taught *Ibid.*, pp 504, 505 See also Kapterev *Kharakter otnosheniy* p 498 and R B S, vol Labzina-Lyashenko, St Pet, 1914, article on the Likhudy by M Smentsovsky.

<sup>104</sup> According to a contemporary, quoted by A Borozdin article by him on Medvedev in R B S, vol Saban'ev-Smyslov, St. Pet, 1912, p 440 “разглаголствовали (about this question) не томя мужи, но и жены и дети, веде друг с другом—в схождении, на пириествах, на ржицах, и где любо случиться кто друг с другом, в яковом—любо месте, временно и безвременно” For details, see *ibid*

ядите" or during the priest's prayer "сътвори убо хлеб сей," etc. which follows <sup>105</sup> The Greeks supported the latter view and branded the former, held by the Westerners, as popish and heretical. Silvester Medvedev, who was imprudent enough to enter the lists against the Likhudy on the side of a would-be teacher at the Academy, the Pole Jan Belobodsky (Białobocki ?), a former Calvinist preacher at Slutsk, <sup>106</sup> was charged with having allowed himself to be seduced by the heretical, new-fangled ("новотворные") Kiev books, accused, on what was probably false evidence, of high treason for participation in the so-called Shaklovity conspiracy (1689), <sup>107</sup> imprisoned, tried and beheaded (1691) <sup>108</sup>

The Patriarch's triumph was complete. Joachim now demanded (1690) from the Kiev metropolitan, Gideon Chetvertynski, who had recently been subordinated to the Patriarch of Moscow, and his clergy, a declaration of full agreement with the teachings of the Russian Church. When Chetvertynski demurred, Joachim extorted the declaration under threats of judgment by the Eastern Patriarchs. In addition, he qualified most of the works of Kievan scholars as heretical and pronounced over them "проклятельство и анатема не точию сугубо и трегубо, но и многугубо." <sup>109</sup>

Here is a list of the forbidden books: <sup>110</sup>

1. Большой Требник [Р. Mohila, Kiev, 1646].
2. Мир человека с Богом. Иннокентий Гизель, К. 1669.
3. Ключ Разумения. Иоанникий Галятковский, Львов 1665.
4. Мессия Правдивый. Иоанникий Галятковский, К. 1669.
5. Меч Духовный. Л. Баранович, К. 1666.
6. Трубы сдвоес проповедных. Л. Баранович, К. 1674
7. Огородок Марии Богородицы. А. Радвилковский, К. 1676.
8. Вечеря Духовная. С. Полоцкий, М. 1683.
9. Обед Душевный. " " М. 1680.
10. Венец Веры. " " М. 1671

<sup>105</sup> Morozov, *op cit*, p 469, note

<sup>106</sup> A. Prozorovsky, *op cit*, p 198

<sup>107</sup> Shaklovity (or Sheheglovity) was an upstart and like Prince V V Golitsyn (another confirmed *zapadnik* of the time) an adherent of Medvedev and a friend of the Jesuits (Solovyev, *Ist Ross*, 1911 ed, Bk III, vol XIV, pp. 1050-52, 1057), and a favourite of the Tsarevna Sophia. A contemporary, Prince B I Kurakin, reports that while Golitsyn was away with the army in Crimea "федор Щегловитый весьма в амуре при Царевне Софии профитовал, и уже в тех плезирах почных был в большей конфиденции при ней, нежели Кн Голицын, хотя не так явно" A. Prozorovsky, *op cit*, p 326, states that there was no actual conspiracy on the part of Shcheglovityi, but rather provocation on the part of his enemies. Quoted by N Michatek, R B S, vol Chaadaev-Shvitkov, St Pet, 1905, p 487

<sup>108</sup> Borozdin, *op cit*, p 441 Jablonowski, *op cit*, p 252

<sup>109</sup> Morozov, *op cit*, p 474 Jablonowski, *op cit*, p 251

<sup>110</sup> As given by Morozov, *op cit*, p 474, note. The list also comprises two minor works by little known authors No 11 and Zizanyi's *Catechism* (1595, 1626) had been condemned in 1572 Cf note 33

11. Учительное Евангелие. Кирилл Транквилион. 1619 [?].
12. Катихизис. С. Коссов [Дидактика альбо наука о седми сакраментях, 1637, 1653 г. (?)].
13. Экзегезис—same author [Transl. from Polish 1st publ. Kiev, 1635].
14. } Two small catechisms by P. Mohila, Kiev, 1645.
15. }

It seemed as if Western learning had been banished from Muscovy for ever. In reality, it had only suffered a temporary setback. The Patriarch died in the same year. In his testament he begged the future rulers of Russia, the two Tsarevichi, not to admit strangers or introduce any new customs, Latin or generally foreign, or any changes in the traditional attire. He did not know that in one of them he was addressing the future Peter the Great.<sup>111</sup>

The new Patriarch, Adrian (1690–1700), also a conservative and a Græcophile, dismissed the Likhudy from the Academy (1694) on the request of the Patriarch of Jerusalem for high-handedness and indiscipline. Adrian's appeal for new teachers could not be answered, owing to the war which had newly broken out between Turkey and Austria. But in 1699 came back from abroad the "иеромонах" Palladius Rogovsky, a former pupil of the Likhudy, who had completed his education in Rome where he took the degrees of doctor of philosophy and theology. On his return to Moscow he made, as was customary in such cases, a written confession of faith in accordance with the teachings of the Orthodox Church.<sup>112</sup> In the same year, he was appointed Rector of the Moscow Academy and two years later Peter the Great, by a special ukaze, ordered "завести в академии учение латинское."<sup>113</sup> By 1704, most of the Academy's teachers were Kievans.<sup>114</sup> The saying "кто латыни научился, тот с правого пути совратился" had lost its meaning.

Had the Greek orientation won a final victory, education of the Kiev kind—the academic drama included—would never have been transplanted to the ecclesiastical schools of Russia, Dmitri Rostovsky would not have nursed the see of Rostov or Feofan Prokopovich preached in St. Petersburg. The Church in general, deprived of its South-Russian dignitaries, so numerous in the 18th century,<sup>115</sup> would have hindered and retarded, not actively promoted or at

<sup>111</sup> Morozov, *op. cit.*, p. 475

<sup>112</sup> See *Drev. Russ. Vvol.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 148–97

<sup>113</sup> Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–39, 79, 70. Cf. *Drevnyaya Russkaya Vvhoteka*, vol. XVI, pp. 295–306: *Istoricheskie Izvestie o Moskovskoy Akademii*, p. 306

<sup>114</sup> Smirnov, *op. cit.*, p. 80

<sup>115</sup> For details see Kharlampovich, *op. cit.*, chaps. V, VII, VIII.

least passively tolerated the work of wholesale—not selective—westernisation, begun by Peter the Great.

Men are more easily misled by poetry than convinced by truth. When Pushkin wrote these much-quoted lines.

И думал ОН :  
Отсель грозить мы будем Шведу  
Здесь будет город заложен,  
На зло надменному соседу ;  
Природой здесь нам суждено  
В Европу прорубить окно.

he consecrated a popular misconception. Even the discoveries of historical research <sup>116</sup> do not seem to have changed this view of Peter the Great as the very first westerniser to emerge in a country hitherto completely isolated from the West, and it survives to this day in the popular mind both in Russia and outside.<sup>117</sup> Yet nothing could be further from the truth. The influence of Western culture, material and intellectual, on Russia, began long before Peter the Great was born. It became a major force in Russian life in the later 17th century, when influence or infiltration—these terms suggest outside pressure and are therefore applicable only in a limited sense—were followed by conscious absorption of Western ways and ideas. Dissatisfied with the Greeks and convinced of their own superiority, the Muscovites had scorned the authority of the East but failed to thrive on spiritual autarky. Nikon and his successors returned to the source which had nourished them for so long, only to discover that it had dried up. Mediæval Russia had come to the end of her resources ; the *raskol* brought with it a brief, belated Renaissance. When, in Prof. Pascal's words, it divided the sacred in Russian life from the profane,<sup>118</sup> it did so in the widest sense. It introduced this new kind of dualism into the existence of the State and of the State and of society as well as of the ordinary man. With the *raskol* began the secularisation of Russian national life and culture.

It is no exaggeration to say that even the Church was affected. Once it had sacrificed the spirit to the letter and lost its unity, it

<sup>116</sup> Volumes X to XIV of Solovyev's *Istoriya Rossii*, revealing considerable Western influence in the reigns of Alexis Mikhailovich, Feodor Alekseevich and Sophia Alekseevna, appeared between 1861 and 1865.

<sup>117</sup> And sometimes in the learned mind. Cf. E. H. Carr, *The Soviet Impact on the Western World*, London, 1946, p. 106. "But the effective penetration of Russia by the West began with Peter the Great, who conquered the Baltic provinces and founded Petersburg, thereby in the famous phrase 'opening a window on Europe'."

<sup>118</sup> Pascal, *op cit*, p. xv.

also forfeited its independence. Barely fifty years later it became an ancillary organisation of the State. And once the ritual had been reformed in the name of order, reason and authority, Peter the Great found it infinitely easier than he would have done otherwise, to apply these principles to policing his State.

The focus of the Russian Renaissance was Kiev. The importance of Kievan art, literature and learning, curious mixtures of classicism and baroque, of humanism and scholasticism, of Catholicism and Orthodoxy though they were, for Petrine, post-Petrine and, in the last analysis, the whole of pre-revolutionary Russian secular culture, was immense. To consider only the drama and literature (since we are not concerned here with music, architecture and painting): the Moscow Arts Theatre may count among its distant ancestors the academic plays of Poland and the Ukraine and the tonic verse of Pushkin derives from the clumsy "вырши" of Simeon Polotsky.

It was no coincidence that Alexis Mikhailovich, in 1667, should have entrusted precisely Simeon Polotsky with the mission of persuading the arch-priest Avvakum to recognise the error of his ways. Simeon was learned, plausible and conciliatory, Avvakum ignorant, hide-bound and obstinate, Simeon spoke softly, Avvakum bellowed and interrupted. The one represented the interests of the State, the other spoke only for his conscience. Twice they met, they might as well not have met at all, for they had nothing in common and no argument was possible.<sup>119</sup> Shortly afterwards Avvakum was deported and years later died the death of a martyr; Simeon stayed behind and won fame as a court poet. It was as if the "последняя Русь" whose advent the eschatologically minded Avvakum had announced in one of his "послания" had come, spent itself and made way for a new Russia.

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On the subject of *skomorokhi* see also A. N. Veselovsky: *Razyskaniya v oblasti russkogo dukhovnogo stikha*, sections VI-X, in *Prilozheniya k XLV t. Zapisk Imp. Ak. Nauk*, 1883, pp. 183-222. Data about Russian court artists in the 17th century will be found in A. I. Uspensky's dictionary—*Tsarskie Ikonopistsy i zhivopistsy XVII v = Zapiski Mosk. Arkheolog. Instituta*, vol. 2. An article by P. Pekarsky: *Izvestie o molodykh liudiakh, poslannykh Borisom Godunovym . . . v Angliu v 1602 g.* (*Zap. I.A.N.*, vol. XI, 1867, pp. 91-96), and another by N. V. Golitsyn:

<sup>119</sup> Maikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26

*Nauchno-obrazovatel'nye snosheniya Rossii s Zapadom v nachale XVII v., Chteniya v Imp. Obshch. Ist. i Drevn. Ross.*, 1898, IV, cover this early phase of cultural relations between Russia and the West. A wealth of information about Western influence on Muscovite literature is contained in A. I. Sobolevsky's *Perevodnaya literatura moskovskoy Rusi XIV-XVII vv.* = *Sbornik Otdel. Russ. Yaz. i Slovesn. I.A.N.*, vol. LXXIV, 1903. In vol. 3 of M. V. Dovnar-Zapolsky's *Russkaya Istoriya v ocherkakh i statyakh*, pp. 487-546, A. I. Yatimirski surveys *Obrazovannost' v moskovskoy Rusi*. A. Florovskij discusses *Le conflit de deux traditions—la latine et la byzantine—dans la vie intellectuelle de l'Europe Orientale aux XVI-XVII siècles* in *Bulletin de l'association russe pour les recherches scientifiques*, vol. V (X), Prague, 1937. *Malorusskoe vliyaniye v Moskve XVII-XVIII vv.*, by V. N. Peretts (*Istoriko-lit. issled. i mat.*, I, St. Pet., 1900, pp. 195-211), refers mainly to Nikon. *Moskovsky Pechatnyi Dvor pri patr. Nikone* by N. F. Nikolaevsky, *Khristsianskoe Chtenie*, 1890, I, pp. 114-41, II, pp. 434-67; 1891, I, pp. 147-86, II, pp. 151-86, deals with the correction of the liturgical books. The documents relating to the inquiry into the Shaklovity conspiracy were published as *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, vols. I-IV, St. Pet., 1884-1893, by the *Arkheograficheskaya Kommissiya*. The standard monograph on Medvedev is by S. Prozorovsky (M., 1896). M. Smentsovsky in the introduction to his *Bratya Likhudy*, St. Pet., 1899, having carefully and impartially examined all the evidence, reaches the conclusion that no Russian school in the proper sense of the word existed in Moscow before 1687. In 1946 appeared *A History of Unitarianism, Socinianism and its Antecedents*, by E. M. Wilbur (Cambridge, Mass.). Chapters XIX-XXXVI of this admirable book are devoted to Unitarianism, etc., in Poland.

Most of the books and periodicals mentioned above are not to be found in the United Kingdom. The author regrets he was unable to consult them before writing the foregoing article.



## THE PARTITION OF THE UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE<sup>1</sup>

BOTH Czechs and Germans have found a source of pride and inspiration in the ancient university in Prague, the earliest of its kind in Central and Eastern Europe, with almost six centuries of uninterrupted existence. It is not surprising, however, that in the spiritual climate of Bohemia in the past century, violent controversies should have broken out as to the respective rights of the two nations in the Prague university as long as it remained undivided, and concerning the relationship of the two universities, after the partition of 1882, with the original.

The university, like almost every other institution of the Habsburg realm, became a major object of national strife between Czech and German, mirroring the national conflict as a whole. As long as there was a single university in Prague, the German desire to preserve it as a predominantly German institution came into sharpest conflict with the Czech desire to have the principle of equality applied to all phases of its life. Moreover the triumph of the Czech claim to equality would, in the German view, have simply foreshadowed the ultimate pre-eminence of the Czechs at the university, and this could only be averted by the division of the institution and the separation of Czech and German higher education. Here, in a microcosm, could be observed the twin essentials of the Czech-German national conflict as a whole: (i) the clash between the German desire for continued hegemony and the Czech striving for national equality, throughout the Austrian realm and in particular within the Bohemian lands, and (ii) the parallel clash, within Bohemia and Moravia, between the Czech desire for pre-eminence throughout the whole of these lands, and the German resort to "partition" (*Zweiteilung*) of Bohemian institutions as a defence against this "danger." If they, the Germans, could not preserve all of Bohemia and Moravia as a German realm, then at least *Zweiteilung*—the fullest possible administrative separation of the two nations—would preserve certain areas and institutions for Germanism and thereby prevent Czech priority in the whole of Bohemian life. The Czechs, on the other hand, opposed partition, or accepted it with great reluctance, for the very reason that it did mean the abandonment of certain spheres of Bohemian

life to Germandom, and the division of what they regarded, in its entirety, as a sphere of Czech precedence

## I

Until 1882 there were in the Austrian lands of the Habsburg Monarchy four universities using the German language almost exclusively—Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck and Czernowitz—one predominantly German university in Prague, two universities using Polish, in Lemberg and Cracow, but *no Czech university*.<sup>2</sup> The sole institute of higher education in Bohemia and Moravia was the ancient "Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague," an heir to the *studium generale* established by Charles IV in 1348 and merged with the Jesuit Clementinum in 1654 under the title of Carol-Ferdinand university. The traditional language of instruction, Latin, had been replaced in 1784 by German, which from that date onward was paramount. A chair in Czech language and literature was established in 1792 but was not continuously occupied. The predominance of the German language was challenged in the revolutionary year 1848 by the demand for equality of rights of the two languages. Official recognition of the right of professors to use either Czech or German in their lectures was one of the minor achievements of that year. From then on there was a slow and somewhat intermittent increase in the number of courses given in Czech, and after 1861 some professors were even appointed with the express obligation to use Czech as the language of instruction. The subsequent two decades witnessed some progress in the appointment of Czech professors and docents.<sup>3</sup> At the opening of the eighties, however, the great majority of professors were German-speaking, an even greater proportion of the lectures were given in German, and the examinations were conducted in German, although two-thirds of the student body professed Czech as their mother-tongue.<sup>4</sup>

At this time, and later, Czechs and Germans held views diametrically opposed as to the historical mission of the university and as to its present function. The Czechs looked upon the university as an institution devoted primarily to the intellectual needs of the Kingdom of Bohemia and its inhabitants, for whose purposes it had, they argued, been originally founded by Charles IV. The primary position of German was a product of special circumstances: the decline of Latin as the language of science and literature and the submergence of Czech as a language of the peasantry in the 18th century. Even then, however, the use of Czech was assured

in the case of the chair of Czech language and literature, and was permissible in other instances after 1848. As a result of the linguistic and cultural revival of the Czech nation during the early 19th century, sufficient Czech scientific literature had been accumulated, and enough scholars trained, to make possible a further development of teaching and research through the medium of the Czech language. National equality was not incompatible with the development of science and scholarship; on the contrary, every nation could and should be able to make its contribution in these fields. The university in Prague must adapt itself so as to be able to fulfil its original function as a Bohemian seat of learning. It must become a completely *utraqvist*<sup>5</sup> institution, where both the languages of the Kingdom would enjoy absolute equality of rights, and where both the nations of Bohemia could secure the advantages of higher education in the mother-tongue. Such a development would reflect the new situation created by the gradual transformation of Bohemia from a Germanised province into a homeland of two nations. It would also serve to right the balance of educational facilities in Austria, by giving the Czechs at least one higher institution in which their language had full rights. Moreover, it was argued, the university was no longer exclusively German, as the Germans liked to think. It was a community of professors and lecturers, of whom a considerable minority were Czechs; and of students, of whom the great majority were Czech in nationality, and Bohemian in residence.<sup>6</sup> The university was therefore rightly to be considered "einen reich gedeckten Tisch der Wissenschaft für alle Söhne Böhmens, sonach ebenso für die Slaven wie für die Deutschen."<sup>7</sup>

The Germans, on the other hand, considered the university in Prague as an institution designed to meet the requirements of the whole Austrian half of the Monarchy and to serve the intellectual and academic needs of all Europe. Charles IV, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire as well as King of Bohemia, had, in their belief, founded the college as an intellectual centre for scholars of all nationalities, in order to serve the same purposes in central and north-eastern Europe as did Paris and Bologna in the west and south. Although this original purpose had for some time been lost, Maria Theresa and Joseph II had, they argued, restored to Prague its original "imperial" mission, making it a seat of science and learning for all the Habsburg domains, accessible, through the use of the world language, German, and, in part, of Latin to students of all Europe. Contradicting the Czech thesis, the Germans con-

tended that Prague was "nicht bloss eine Bildungsstätte für die Söhne dieses Landes, sondern für alle Söhne Oesterreichs."<sup>8</sup> In origin, structure and function, the Prague university was German; the use of Czech was an optional and secondary feature. German, the international language of the peoples of Austria, and a world language, must remain its language of instruction and of examination. Czech scholarship was insufficient, Czech resources inadequate, to justify an equivalent development of higher education.

By excluding themselves from the world of German scholarship and science, Czech students would themselves suffer in their intellectual development and would be hindered in their own contributions to these fields. Moreover, if the Czech demands for equal rights at the existing Prague university were met, scholarly efforts would collide with nationalistic strivings. Appointments, the admission of docents to lectureships, examinations, indeed every question would be judged, not from a scientific, but from a narrowly nationalist standpoint and according to national criteria. National friction among professors and students would steadily increase. This and linguistic difficulties would discourage scholars and students from Germany and other parts of Austria from coming to Prague. The scientific level of the institution would steadily sink and its German character would be rapidly effaced. The German element would ultimately become a helpless, maltreated minority in a predominantly Czech institution. Since it was impossible to preserve the German character of Prague university and satisfy the Czech aspiration for equality at the same institution, Czech claims in the sphere of higher education would have to be met at a separate Czech university, however weak it might be due to the poverty of Czech academic resources.<sup>9</sup> The original university would thus remain German, and would have unbroken continuity with the historic seat of learning in Prague.

The Czech initial objective was, however, not a separate university, but equality of rights at the historic university. An independent Czech university was not within the realm of possibility during the first half of the 19th century. Such an idea, as Jaroslav Goll, one of the first Czechs appointed professor in Prague, later admitted, was fantastic until the ground had been prepared by "long and persistent care taken by the government for the increase of Czech lectures and for the seeking out and training of qualified resources."<sup>10</sup> The immediate aim of the Czechs therefore was to secure the appointment of Czech professors for all the main subjects of the curriculum and the recognition of the right

of students to take examinations in either of the two languages. Such was the proposal made by František Rieger in the Bohemian Diet in 1866 and adopted in somewhat modified form. By the seventies, however, the Czechs, feeling that their demands had been treated in a niggardly fashion by successive Austrian governments and that Czech cultural strength had developed significantly, began to look upon the idea of a separate Czech university, not as the primary goal, but at least as a second alternative, if equality at the existing university continued to be denied.<sup>11</sup> In the Diet of 1876, for instance, the minority (Czech) proposal sought equality at the university, but left it to the government to decide whether this was to be secured at one university (which the minority preferred), or by the founding of a new one. Some Czechs had by that time begun to take as their main immediate target the creation of a separate Czech university<sup>12</sup> and others to consider the granting of equality of rights as a transitional stage leading to a final solution in the form of an independent Czech university.<sup>13</sup>

When the Czechs abandoned their policy of abstinence and returned to the Vienna parliament in 1879, equality of rights at the university continued to be one of their immediate and primary aims under the new policy of activism. In the memorandum of their minimum demands, no claim was made for the division of the university. Invoking Article XIX of the constitution, the memorandum declared that this article undoubtedly referred to *all* the stages of the educational system, including the highest. Every nation had therefore the right to the institutions of higher learning necessary for "education in its own language." Concretely, the memorandum urged that the *Habilitierung* of *Privatdozenten*, i.e. their recognition by the university as eligible to teach at the university, should be possible on the basis of a treatise in the Czech language, and that students should be entirely free, if they desired, to take the state and the doctorate examination solely in the Czech language. "The application of these points," the memorandum went on, "is conditional, at the Faculties of Philosophy and Law, on the filling out of the number of professors using the Czech language of instruction in some few subjects, and at the Faculty of Medicine, on the appointment of a larger number of Czech representatives in the case of those subjects forming the subject of the individual *rigorosum* (doctorate) examination." Josef Jireček, former Minister of Education in the short-lived Hohenwart ministry, as the principal Czech spokesman in the university question in 1880, defended the Czech case in parliament, describing the

substantial intellectual development of the nation in preceding decades and giving examples of the infrequency of Czech professorial appointments. He urged additional appointments and a special budget appropriation to meet the needs of the Czechs at the university. Jireček discussed several alternative administrative measures which might be taken to decrease friction at the university, including the establishing of a separate Czech university, but left no doubt that this alternative, in his opinion, would have postponed the fulfilment of the principle of equality for too long a time.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Professor Kvičala, a member of the university faculty from 1859, who became in 1881 the chief Czech spokesman in these matters, persisted in the demand for equality within a united university, suggesting two possible administrative solutions: either a continuance of a single Academic Senate and undivided Faculties, with the Rector and deans alternating annually according to nationality, or, if this were impossible, the establishment of parallel Czech and German Faculties, with a common Rector and common Senate. Such measures would, he thought, reduce national friction and avert the possibility of the domination of the institution by the Czech element.<sup>15</sup>

The Czech parliamentary representatives found little sympathy for their aims within the Taaffe government or in the Ministry of Education. The Minister of Education, Stremayr, in February 1880, gave parliamentary expression to the view of the government that it was in the interest of the state and of culture "to preserve the German character of the Prague university, without taking from diligent elements of another nationality the possibility of satisfying their needs"; he expressed doubts as to the availability of sufficient Czech scientific and scholarly capacities for further expansion, and termed a separate Czech university impossible for financial reasons. When the proposals of the Czechs, endorsed by a parliamentary majority, were neglected month after month by the new minister, Conrad-Eybesfeld, the discontent and impatience of the Czechs, radical and moderate alike, grew by leaps and bounds. The Young Czech radicals wanted an instant partition of the university if their demands were not fulfilled at once at the existing university.<sup>16</sup> More conservative Old Czechs began to consider a campaign against the Minister of Education and parliamentary opposition to the Taaffe government.<sup>17</sup> On the whole, moderate opinion seemed to remain favourable to the preservation of an undivided university, but the possibility of a separate Czech university was not excluded, and not opposed.<sup>18</sup>

In the face of persistent efforts of the Czechs to secure equality of rights in Prague, the Germans were afraid, as we have noted, that the fulfilment of these demands would make the university a utraquist or bilingual institution and would lead ultimately to its Czechisation. As early as the sixties, in response to the Czech movement in the Diet in favour of equality of rights, some Germans had advanced the idea of a separate Czech university. At first the German professors at the university seemed disposed towards a compromise which would have satisfied Czech claims at an undivided university.<sup>19</sup> In the early seventies, however, as a result of the dangers arising from the appointment of a Czech Minister of Education, Jireček, in the Hohenwart cabinet, and due to the initiative of a German professor, Philip Knoll, the idea of a separate Czech university gained ground among Austrian Germans. A deputation to the Ministry of Education in 1872, headed by Eduard Herbst, presented a memorandum drawn up by Professor Knoll in this vein.<sup>20</sup> The appointment of Taaffe as prime minister and the emergence of a parliamentary majority favourable to Czech claims made the danger of utraquistation or Czechisation seem more than ever imminent. The German professors in the Faculty of Philosophy, in the memorandum of 1879 already mentioned, had concluded that the only solution of the problem lay in a separate Czech university, so that both nations "could freely develop, could make their moral and intellectual values effective and could freely compete, without mutually hindering each other." As one of their number, Professor Knoll, put it, if they wanted to preserve this "ancient plantation of German culture from the vicissitudes of political life," they must accept the idea of a new Czech university.<sup>21</sup>

## 2

The Imperial Decree of 10 April 1881, effecting the partition of the university, represented a turning-point in the university question. It had been preceded by discussions at the Lord Lieutenancy in Prague, in which Czech and German professors participated. The Czechs had at first reiterated their preference for a single university serving equally the two nations. The Germans had persisted in arguing the desirability of a separate Czech university, sharing the name, Charles-Ferdinand, with the German university, but with the latter alone enjoying legal continuity with the old institution and receiving its property and possessions. The Czechs then gave way to the idea of partition, but only on condition that the two universities shared the name and property of the

old.<sup>22</sup> The Decree of 1881 seemed to effect a compromise. It declared that the Charles-Ferdinand University was to be "so adapted (*eingrichtet*) that two universities, one with the German, one with the Czech language of instruction, should exist (*bestehen*), both of which were to carry on the name Charles-Ferdinand." From this wording, it could hardly be concluded that the old university had ceased to exist, or that either the Czech or the German universities were newly founded. The new institutions were, on the face of it, equally the spiritual and material heirs, or daughters, of the original mother-university. The worst fears of both Czechs and Germans were averted: the fear of the Germans that the Charles-Ferdinand might become a utraquist or a pre-eminently Czech institution, and the fear of the Czechs that they would be assigned to an entirely new institution. On the other hand the Czechs did not hide their regret that they had not secured their primary objective of equality at a united university and that the ancient Prague college should suffer a partition hateful to them for historic and other reasons.<sup>23</sup> Although this severance had become unavoidable, only the Young Czechs could welcome it without a pang of regret. Nor did the Germans conceal their discontent with the fact that the German university would not be the sole successor of the Charles-Ferdinand and would have to share the name, tradition and, still worse, the property with the Czech. An independent Czech university, with legal claims to a part of the possessions of the old university, was hardly less an evil than the utraquistisation of the single university, as it would involve, in their opinion, irreparable damage to the German institution.<sup>24</sup>

This property question was to cause the greatest difficulty in working out legislative measures necessitated by the partition decree. The German position had been made patently clear in the memorandum of the German professors, which had asserted that the existing university, continuing as the German university, must not suffer from the establishment of the new Czech university and must retain buildings, collections, instruments, endowments and other property. Neither the common use of the existing institutes and equipment, nor their division, was in their opinion permissible; new institutes and equipment must be provided for the new university. Only in so far as the diminution of the number of students made some equipment superfluous, could this be ceded to the Czech university.

The bill introduced by the government rejected the German



viewpoint in principle and declared that the property of the old university or its individual faculties was thereafter to be "the common property of the two universities or the faculties concerned." The two universities would also have equal rights with regard to endowments whose administration, granting or presentation was within the province of the Senate, the Rector or individual Professorial Councils, unless the endowment deed contained limiting provisions. In defence of the bill it was argued in the preamble that the result of the Decree had not been "the establishment of a new institution without connection with the previous Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague, in which case the former would have a claim neither to the name, nor to the property of the old university, a result which would correspond neither to the historic development of the Prague University nor to the principle of the continuity of the future independent universities with the previous institution." <sup>25</sup>

In principle, then, the Czech viewpoint in the property question had been endorsed by the government. Parliamentary discussions at once revealed that the bill was not acceptable in this form to the German representatives. In the House of Deputies, their spokesmen in the Committee on Education sought to have scientific institutes, collections and other institutions left with those chairs with which they were then connected, with the exception of the Botanical Garden and those clinics not necessary for the German medical faculty but needed for the activation of the Czech Medical Faculty. This proposal was accepted in committee by the Czechs, constituting in the opinion of their spokesman, Kvičala, one of their greatest sacrifices in this question.<sup>26</sup> The principle of common property was thereby weakened, and the continuity of the Czech university with the old became "more ideal than real" <sup>27</sup> The bill as amended was finally passed, in spite of the opposition of some German deputies, who had vainly tried to amend it in certain other respects.

This settlement in the Lower House was challenged by Germans in the university and in the House of Lords. The offensive was taken by the Academic Senate of the University, with its overwhelming German majority, in a petition to parliament, protesting against certain provisions of both the government's bill and the bill as amended by the Lower House. In a legal argument the Senate complained that the existing university, a corporate personality, was to be deprived of its existence and of its property, and that its name and property were to be transferred to two new legal personalities, as their common property. Such a transfer of

property, declared the Senate, was an illegal expropriation of the old university, without its consent. The old university should, in their view, remain legally in existence in the form of the German university, in full possession of its property rights. The new Czech university should receive only rights to that part of the property voluntarily transferred by the German university. In regard to the institutes, the Senate believed that those belonging to German chairs at the existing university, the Botanical Garden and the medical clinics, except in case of duplication, should remain with the German university. This aggressive declaration, rejecting the Czech claims entirely and undermining the agreement reached in the House of Deputies, was accepted in principle by the Education Committee of the House of Lords and embodied in substance in its report.<sup>28</sup> According to this report, drawn up by the President of the Reich Court, Josef Unger, the new Czech university would thereby not be called into existence "at the cost of the legal existence of the old University", "the maintenance intact of the existing Charles-Ferdinand University in its existing property-rights would be guaranteed."<sup>29</sup> Parliamentary acceptance of this report would have rendered quite meaningless any symbolic continuity expressed in the common name of the two universities. The report was however rejected, and the bill as passed in the Lower House was adopted by the House of Lords.

The delay in the passing of the bill by the House of Lords made it impossible for the Czech university to enter upon its new life in time for the academic year 1881-1882. Doubts were in fact raised as to whether the university existed *de jure* by virtue of the imperial decree or whether legislation was necessary; and the House of Lords refused to grant additional credits before both Houses had agreed upon legislation. Much to the anger of the Czechs the inauguration of the Czech university had to be postponed. Rieger sought in vain to secure a *de facto* activation of the university by the appointment of professors.<sup>30</sup> The Czechs began to doubt whether the university was even now assured and to threaten parliamentary opposition. The ultimate acceptance of the bill by the House of Lords, and again by the Lower House, and the imperial sanction, made possible the inauguration of the Czech university for the session 1882-1883.

## 3

From the autumn of 1882 there existed in Prague two universities where one had existed previously. Under the provisions

of the law they were to bear the names "k.k. deutsche Karl-Ferdinands-Universität" and "k.k. böhmische Karl-Ferdinands-Universität." German and Czech were to be the exclusive languages of instruction at the two institutions, except in so far as Latin was still used. The two universities were to be spatially separated and to have separate organisation and administration. Professors and docents could belong only to one university; students were matriculated at one university only and must take at least half of their hours of work at that university. The partition was apparently to be a complete one, severing faculty, student body and buildings.

The settlement of the property question in the law of 1882 seriously marred the satisfaction of the Czechs with the achievement of a university of their own. The bulk of the existing institutes were assigned to the German university in accordance with the law, which contained no provisions for the establishment of new institutes for the Czech university. The additional appropriations for setting up the Czech faculties were a meagre dowry for the daughter institution of Charles-Ferdinand. Later struggles with the government for new institutes were to prove discouragingly slow and protracted.<sup>31</sup> The Czech university began its life poorly equipped and was condemned to a long period of slow development before it could reach a position of equality as compared with the German. As Professor Goll later wrote, "According to the law which brought about the partition, both universities are equally old and equally new, and are equal in rights, but the same law divided the legacy unequally among the two heirs."<sup>32</sup>

In other ways, too, the continuity of the Czech university with the old institution was weakened, and its unequal status as compared with the German accentuated. Most serious of all, the Czech university was but a "torso," consisting, as it did, of only two faculties, Philosophy and Law.<sup>33</sup> The German university was for the time being a more direct continuation of the old in the sense that it contained four Faculties, including the as yet undivided Faculties of Medicine and Theology. In the case of Philosophy and Law, "miniature Faculties" were all that resulted from the separation of the Czech professors from the old university; these had at once to be enlarged by new appointments for the opening of the winter semester.<sup>34</sup> Fortunately, the two universities were given space within each of the historic buildings, the Carolinum and the Clementinum, with both institutions sharing the ancient "aula" of the Carolinum for ceremonial occasions. The library remained

in common use and under joint administration. The archives were held in common but entrusted to the German university for administration. The ancient seals and insignia, to which a great deal of sentiment attached, were retained by the German university, the Czechs receiving new ones. The seat in the Bohemian Diet held *ex officio* by the Rector was occupied by the German Rector only, until a new provincial law gave a corresponding right to his Czech colleague. In these and other minor ways—the installation of the rector, the transfer of professors and the matriculation of students—the distinction between the Czech university as a new institution and the German university as the *de facto* continuation of the old was expressed.<sup>35</sup>

A further irritant to Czech opinion was the decree of the Minister of Education, issued on 29 June 1882, regulating state examinations under the new conditions. The state examinations were special ones, conducted by an Examination Commission, the passing of which was required for entry into the public service. These were primarily taken by law students. The university examinations proper—*rigorosa*—required for the doctorate in each of the four Faculties, could under defined circumstances fulfil the requirements of the state examinations. The decree of 1882 sought to provide the guarantees, referred to in the Imperial Decree partitioning the university, “that no student at the university with Czech as the exclusive language of instruction should enter a branch of the public service, without having demonstrated a complete knowledge of the German language and the capacity of using it.” This was a matter on which the Emperor himself laid the greatest emphasis. Germans in both houses of parliament had tried unsuccessfully to have safeguards incorporated in the legislation concerning the university. The decree sought to fill this gap. According to it, the Examination Commission was to remain a united body. Students of both universities were free to take the state examinations either exclusively in German, or in both Czech and German; in the latter case the student was required to take the examination in at least one subject, chosen by him, in the German language. If the candidate, otherwise satisfactory, failed to show adequate knowledge of German, the examination in the one subject had to be repeated. The doctorate at the Czech university would fulfil the requirements of the state examination only if at least one subject had been successfully passed in German in the *rigorosum*.

This settlement was largely in accord with the stand taken by

the German professors in the Faculty of Law, with some modifications to satisfy the views of the Czech professors of that Faculty.<sup>36</sup> It did not go as far as some Germans would have liked, but it went much further than earlier Czech programmes had conceded. The decree aroused a storm of opposition, especially among the Young Czechs, who insisted on its entire revocation. "A Czech university with a German state examination," declared Eduard Grégr, a Young Czech spokesman, "is a monstrosity."<sup>37</sup> The Old Czechs, more conscious of the need for a knowledge of German, sought to have the one-sided character of the decree modified by urging the requirement of the knowledge of Czech by all officials serving in Bohemia. When their protests were ignored year after year, the Old Czechs also took up the slogan of abolition. Apart from slight modifications, not affecting the principle, the decree remained nonetheless in force.

The most serious deficiency of the Czech university was its incompleteness, including, as it did, two Faculties only. The original committee report in the House of Deputies had proposed the activation of the Czech Faculty of Medicine for the winter session of 1882-1883, and had urged the establishment of the Faculty of Theology in the shortest possible time. The delay in the passing of legislation made it impossible to establish the Medical Faculty in the year proposed, and the law itself made no direct reference to its formation. As a result of the importuning of the Czechs that it be established, and of the desire of the Germans to avoid further utraquisation of the existing Medical Faculty, the government finally introduced the bill for the necessary supplementary estimates, and the Faculty of Medicine was opened for the session of 1883-1884. The Faculty of Theology remained undivided until 1890, largely as a result of the opposition of Cardinal Schwarzenberg, Archbishop of Prague, supported by the Emperor, who feared that the German Faculty might lose most of its students and that the clergy would become overwhelmingly Czech.<sup>38</sup> It was only in the summer of 1890 that the government established by decree a Faculty of Theology in the Czech university, in the hope of abating Czech hostility towards the Czech-German compromise of that year.<sup>39</sup> Instruction commenced in the academic year 1891-1892. From that year the Czech university was organisationally complete, and the last vestige of the former united institution was gone.

The formation of the Czech university ushered in a new and significant period of Czech national development. It is not surprising that the Old Czechs boasted of the university as one of the proudest achievements of their activist policy after 1879. True, their nation had suffered a formal defeat in not having vindicated the principle of equality of rights at the undivided Prague university. Still more serious, the possibility of ultimately attaining a single university predominantly Czech in spirit and in personnel was lost. Moreover the Czech university started off less adequately equipped than the German and its treatment cast some doubt on the genuineness of its continuity with the mother institution. Considerable time was to elapse before these initial disabilities were overcome. In the meantime the Young Czechs could point to these facts to illustrate the failure of the policy of activism and the inadequacy of the new university.

Nonetheless the establishment of the Czech university was undoubtedly a landmark in the development of the Czech nation and of Austria-Hungary. The Czech professors' memorandum had declared :

Science, even after the replacement of universal Latin, is a common good of all civilised nations, regardless of the multi-lingualism of its cultivation ; its success is based not only on the literature of one nation but is conditioned by the collaboration of gifted scholars belonging to large *and* small nations. Swedes, Danes, Dutch, although not more numerous than the Czechs, contribute to its common stock, just as Englishmen, French and Germans. There can be no ordinary reason for excluding just us Czechs, who as a nation have played such an active part in the history of intellectual activity, from the possibility of participating, for our part and in our language, in this competition of large and small nations.

From 1882 the Czechs had full assurance that they would not be thus excluded. That year made it manifest that the effort of the Germans of Austria-Hungary to stem the tide of Czech cultural development had failed. Higher education in the Czech language, to the fullest possible extent, could no longer be gainsaid. Continued denial of Czech rights at the Prague university and painfully slow acquisition of facilities and opportunities were at an end. Many Czechs had for some time seen this as the only real assurance of the continued cultural development of the nation. Moreover the danger of the creation of an entirely new university, with no

share in the tradition of the old, and perhaps with a new name, had been averted.<sup>40</sup>

Most significant of all, the Czech university began almost at once to provide benefits, not merely in the narrowly scientific and scholarly spheres, but also in the political sphere. It was a mere coincidence that one of the first appointments to the Faculty of Philosophy in 1882 was Thomas G. Masaryk. It was not, however, accidental that, largely under the impact of Masaryk's teaching and action, it became a fertile source of political ideas and personalities, introducing into Czech political life the critical and scientific elements so necessary at a time when Old Czech patriotic authoritarianism and Young Czech liberal bourgeois demagogism were struggling for the leadership of the nation. Masaryk's coming to the new university involved almost a revolution in Czech life. The university became "the foundation and seminary of all our cultural life."<sup>41</sup> Retrospectively, it can be seen, too, that the contributions of the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University, and of professors such as Masaryk, Kaizl, Bráf and others to the life of Bohemia and of the Czech nation prepared the way for independent statehood several decades later.

It is somewhat paradoxical that the separate Czech university resulted from the insistence of the Germans that Czech needs must be met outside the existing Prague university. This has sometimes been cited as illustrating the victory won by the Germans in 1882. As in the case of the Czechs, however, the decision of that year was both a defeat and a victory. It was a defeat inasmuch as it marked the failure of the German effort to preserve the Prague university as a pre-eminently German institution, with Czech opportunities reduced to a minimum. It was a victory in the sense that it averted what to the Germans seemed a greater danger, namely, that the single Prague university would become first a mixed institution, with German reduced to a position of equality with Czech, and ultimately a predominantly Czech institution, with German in a position of disadvantage.<sup>42</sup> Neither was tolerable to Germans long accustomed to the almost effortless hegemony of the German language and of German culture in the Habsburg realm. If they could not preserve the Prague university as an exclusively German institution, then separation and the creation of a new Czech university would guarantee the exclusively German character of the German institution. They would have preferred to have seen the Czech institution established as something entirely new, at the most sharing the ancient name with the German university.

As it was, they were able to achieve much of this in substance, although not in form, and to force the Czech institution to begin life under somewhat unfavourable conditions.

The issue was not permanently decided in 1882. Partition guaranteed to the Czechs the opportunity to develop more fully their cultural capacities, and assured to the Germans the continuance of their cultural labours in Prague. This arrangement lasted for almost four decades and was not seriously questioned during that time. The two universities existed side by side, in the same city, "ohne Liebe, aber auch ohne Hass . . . aber doch als Nachbarn, die leben und leben lassen" <sup>43</sup> The efforts of the Czechs to secure a second university in Moravia were defeated, but the Prague institution gradually secured the fulfilment of its main needs. This "compromise," as it was considered in official circles in Austria, was typical of the relationship between Czechs and Germans in Austria before 1914, it was a compromise that satisfied fully neither party, and, worst of all, was not founded on reciprocal sacrifices and mutual confidence. It was a political settlement, imposed from above, and likely to last only as long as the political system of which it was a product.

## 5

With the overthrow of that system in 1919, the Czechs sought to reverse the decision of 1882 and to adapt the settlement of that year to the new situation of Czech pre-eminence in a Czechoslovak state.<sup>44</sup> The Czech university, re-named the Charles University, was by law made the continuation of the ancient Caroline institution, and endowed with material advantages not enjoyed under the 1882 agreement.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless the right of the Germans as a national minority within a Czechoslovak state to an institution of higher education was recognised, although the German University, as it now came to be called, was deprived of any share in the tradition of Charles-Ferdinand and suffered certain material losses. The Germans now found it to their advantage to appeal to the settlement of 1882, in order to deny the "historical fiction" of the exclusive succession of the Czech university to the old, and to prove the equal legitimacy of both the universities.

Viewed in this historical perspective, the partition of 1882 appears as an event of decisive importance in the life of both Czechs and Germans. Had there been no partition, the emergence of a strong Czech university by 1919 and the building of other Czech universities after that date would have been difficult and perhaps



long delayed Had there been no partition, the existence of a German university after 1919 would have been doubtful in the extreme. Both universities could rightfully see in the settlement of 1882 a legitimation of their right to continued independent existence and a foundation of subsequent development.

The rôles of the two nations, and hence of the two universities, had however been reversed. The years 1882-1919 were a period of German advantage and Czech disadvantage. The Germans had reluctantly brought themselves to accept the necessity of a Czech university as a defence against what they termed the Czechisation of the old, and had subjected the former to both material and spiritual handicaps. From 1919 to 1939 there ensued a period of Czech advantage and German disadvantage. Although the right of the German university to exist was fully recognised, Czech higher education was given preferences, such as the addition of other universities in Brno and Bratislava. The German university was subjected to some discriminatory treatment, although less severe than that experienced by the Czechs before 1914. The historic fact remains that the existence of a German university in the heart of the Czech world for twenty years was sanctioned by a nation whose rights to higher educational development had been recognised grudgingly by these same Germans in the forty years preceding.

It remained for the Nazi occupation of Bohemia and Moravia in 1939 to open a new phase characterised by German monopoly of, and Czech exclusion from, higher education. This was expressed in the incorporation of the German University into the Reich German administration, the identification of the German University with the ancient institution, and eventually the closing of the Czech university. This led, almost inexorably, after the liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945, to the present phase of Czech monopoly and German exclusion. This has manifested itself in the transfer of the Germans from Czechoslovakia, the end of the German University in Prague, and the restoration of the Czech Charles University, as the sole heir of the Caroline foundation. That the German University no longer exists in Prague, after almost six centuries of uninterrupted life, is one of the historic achievements of the policy of National Socialism, denying to all but Germans the right to cultural life. Genocide has turned out to be a form of suicide.

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<sup>1</sup> The outstanding study of the partition of the Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague is *Rozdělení Pražské Univerzity Karlo-Ferdinandovy roku 1882 a počátek samostatné univerzity české* (Prague, 1908), by Jaroslav Goll, a professor at the university before and after partition. This book contains the texts of relevant documents, including all the contemporary Czech and German statements on the subject referred to in the course of this article. Two other contemporary studies of lesser significance are the anonymously published books of J. Scherer, *Die Karl-Ferdinands-Universität in Prag und die Čechen* (Leipzig, 1886), and *Die Deutsche Karl-Ferdinands-Universität in Prag unter der Regierung Franz Josefs* (Prague, 1899). An informative study of the developments in the Prague university before and after partition is included in Zdeněk Nejedlý, *T. G. Masaryk*, especially Vol. III, Ch. II. Additional information was secured in Zdeněk Tobolka, *Politické Dějiny Československého národa r. 1848 až do dnešní doby* (Prague, 1934), Vol. III, Part I, Ch. VII, VIII, and O. Kadner, *Politika českého školství vysokého*, in Z. Tobolka, *Česka Politika* (Prague, 1913), Pt. V.

Certain post-1919 studies presenting Czech and German views at that time and dealing incidentally with the partition of 1882 are listed in note 44. Other sources are cited in the course of the article.

<sup>2</sup> This does not include technical colleges (*Hochschulen*), such as the Polytechnical Institute in Prague, which was divided into separate Czech and German colleges after 1869.

<sup>3</sup> A list of Czech appointments after 1848 is given in Zdeněk Nejedlý, *T. G. Masaryk*, Vol. III, pp. 20-21.

<sup>4</sup> In 1881-1882, the professors of the three faculties of Law, Medicine and Philosophy might be classified as follows

	German	Czech
Ordinary professors . . . . .	43	17
Extraordinary professors . . . . .	15	6
Privatdozenten (lecturers) . . . . .	30	18
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	88	41

At the Theological Faculty there were 6 German professors, 2 Czech, 1 Czech and 1 German docent, and one further Czech instructor (calculated from data given in *Personalstand der k.k. Universität zu Prag zu Anfang des Studien-Jahres 1881-2* and the same publication for 1882-1883). In the summer semester of 1882, immediately preceding the division of the university, there were at all four faculties 689 Germans, 1,247 Czechs, and 53 others, in other words 62.7% Czech (*Oesterreichische Statistik*, Vol. III, Part 2).

<sup>5</sup> The utraquist was a follower of John Huss, claiming for the laity the sacrament in both kinds. The term came to be used to mean bi-lingual, and to describe an institution in which Czech and German might both be used. Utraquism was currently used in the 19th century to describe the process by which the use of the two languages was established.

<sup>6</sup> In 1882, students in the undivided university were to be classified as follows: 1,639 from Bohemia, 165 from Moravia, 8 from Silesia, 53 from other provinces of Austria, 73 from Hungary, and 51 aliens (*Oesterreichische Statistik*, Vol. III, Part II).

<sup>7</sup> The words used by the Czech professors of the Faculty of Philosophy in their memorandum of 1880. Cf. the Petitions of the Czech professors of Theology, Philosophy and Medicine, and of the Czech doctors of law, in 1882. Texts in Goll, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> The words of the memorandum of the German professors at the Faculty of Philosophy in 1879. Cf. for the above the Petition of the University Senate (by majority German) to the House of Lords in 1881, the memorandum of the German members of parliament in 1880, P. Mohsch, *Die deutschen Hochschulen in Oesterreich* (Munich, 1922); P. Knoll, *Beiträge zur heimischen Zeitgeschichte* (Prague, 1900), the speeches of Wurmbrand and Sax, 21 and 22 April 1880, and of Lustkandl, 30 May 1881 (*Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des oesterreichischen Reichsrathes* (hereafter cited as *Sten. Prot., Ab'haus*), Vol. IX, pp. 2507 ff., 2543 ff., and 5929 ff. resp.).

<sup>9</sup> Speech of Josef Unger, 10 Feb. 1882 (*Sten. Prot., Herrenhaus*, pp. 790 ff.).

<sup>10</sup> Goll, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the Petitions to the Emperor from the Prague City Council and from Czech doctors of all faculties in 1872.

<sup>12</sup> Cf the Young Czech programme of 1874

<sup>13</sup> Speech by Tišer, 21 April 1880 (*Sten Prot., Ab'haus*, pp. 2511 ff.)

<sup>14</sup> Speech of 22 April 1880 (*Sten Prot., Ab'haus*, Vol IX, pp 2549 ff.)

<sup>15</sup> Cf J Kvičala, *Zur Böhmschen Universitätsfrage* (1881) There was a great variety of alternative schemes of administrative reorganisation of the university, with the object of separating Czech and German professors without partitioning the institution completely.

<sup>16</sup> Cf Z V Tobolka, *MUDr. Eduard Grégr. Denník* (Prague, 1908), Vol II, pp. 65-71

<sup>17</sup> Letter from Rieger to Pražák, 10 Jan 1881, in F. Kameníček, *Paměti a Listy Dra Aloise Pražáka* (Prague, 1927), Vol II, pp 279-81 Cf the Old Czech newspaper, *Pohltik*, 16 Sept 1880, and 13 and 28 Jan 1881.

<sup>18</sup> Cf the memorandum of the Czech professors in 1880 already cited

<sup>19</sup> Goll, *op cit.*, pp 19-20

<sup>20</sup> See Goll, *op cit.*, pp 10, 15, P Molisch, *Die deutschen Hochschulen in Oesterreich* (Munich, 1922), p 49, and revised as *Politische Geschichte der deutschen Hochschulen in Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1939), pp 51-52, P Knoll, "Deutsche Wissenschaft in Böhmen," in H Bachmann (ed), *Deutsche Arbeit in Böhmen Kulturbilder* (Berlin, 1900), pp 289 ff

<sup>21</sup> Knoll, *Vortrag über die Prager Universitätsfrage*, Vienna, 1881, p. 16 Molisch argued that this was the only way the Germans could preserve their own "state of possession" (*Besitzstand*), *op cit.* (1922), p 50.

<sup>22</sup> See Tobolka, *op cit.*, Vol III, Part I, p 52, and *Neue Freie Presse*, 28 May 1881, giving the German position at the Prague enquiry.

<sup>23</sup> Cf the speeches of Kvičala, 30 May 1881 (*Sten Prot., Ab'haus*, IX, pp 5916 ff.), and those of Randa, 4 June 1881 and 9 Feb 1882, Leo Thun, and of Schönborn, 9 Feb 1882 (*Sten. Prot., Herrenhaus*, pp 568 ff, 759 ff., 777 ff, and 735 ff. resp.)

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Neue Freie Presse*, 17 May 1881

<sup>25</sup> Text in Goll, *op cit.*, pp 93-97

<sup>26</sup> Speech of 30 May 1881, already cited

<sup>27</sup> Goll, *op cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the reply to the Senate petition in the Petitions of the Czech professors, of the Czech doctors of law, and of the Society of Czech doctors, texts of which are given in Goll

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Unger's speech of 10 Feb 1882 already cited

<sup>30</sup> Letter to Pražák, in Kameníček, *op cit.*, Vol II, pp 284-86

<sup>31</sup> Goll, *op cit.*, p 67

<sup>32</sup> J. Goll, *Der Hass der Völker und die österreichischen Universitäten* (Prague, 1902), p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Nejedlý, *Masaryk*, Vol 3, p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 23 ff A complete list of the professors in the first year, 1882-1883, is given here, pp 30-32.

<sup>35</sup> See the references cited in footnote 44 below

<sup>36</sup> Tobolka, *op cit.*, Vol III, Part I, pp 71-72

<sup>37</sup> A speech reported in *Národní Listy*, 4 Aug. 1882

<sup>38</sup> In the Winter Session of 1881-1882, the Faculty of Theology was attended by 44 Germans and 164 Czechs, in the same session of 1890-1891, by 32 Germans and 208 Czechs.

<sup>39</sup> See Karel Kazbunda, "Krise české politiky a vídeňská jednání o t zv. punktace roku 1890," in *Český časopis Historický*, Vol. 41, pp 313-15.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Goll, *op cit.*, pp 42 ff., 53-54

<sup>41</sup> Nejedlý, *op cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 20, and the whole of Ch I to IV.

<sup>42</sup> This latter possibility is recognised by Czech scholars. Goll, *op cit.*, pp 48-49; Nejedlý, *op cit.*, Vol. II, p. 292; V Novotný, "L'Université Charles IV dans le passé," in *L'Université Charles IV dans le passé et dans le présent* (Prague, 1923), pp. 88-89, 91; Vaněček, in work cited in Note 44, pp 84-85

<sup>43</sup> Goll, *Der Hass der Völker*, etc, p 26.

<sup>44</sup> Post-1919 studies presenting the Czech view include the official University publications, *Universitas Carolina* (Prague, 1934), *L'Université Charles IV dans le passé et dans le présent* (Prague, 1923); J. Krčmář, *The Prague Universities* (Prague, 1934), and V. Patzak, "The Caroline University of Prague" (*The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol IX, pp 83 ff.). Cf. also Ernest Denis, "University of Prague" (*Czechoslovak Review*), Chicago, 1919, Vol. 3, pp 316-19, 374-77 See

also recent works by Vaněček, *Kapitoly o právních dějinách Karlovy University* (Prague, 1946), and by Vojtišek, *Karlova universita uždy jen naše* (Brno, 1946).

Post-1919 studies presenting the German view include the German university publications, all sponsored by the *Akademischer Senat der deutschen Universität in Prag*. *Das Gesetz vom 19. Feb. 1920 über das Verhältnis der Prager Universitäten* (1920), *Die Entstehung und Rechtsstellung der Deutschen Universität in Prag* (1924), *Das historische Recht der Deutschen Universität in Prag* (1930). See also G. C. Boyce and W. H. Dawson, *The University of Prague, Modern Problems of the German University in Czechoslovakia* (London, 1937), Wolfgang Wolfram von Wolmar, *Prag und Das Reich, 600 Jahre Kampf deutscher Studenten* (Dresden, 1943), a National Socialist publication, and articles by W. Wostry, J. Pfitzner and others in *Unsere Alma Mater* (Boh., Leipa, 1938).

<sup>45</sup> The community of property was dissolved, and the archives, the insignia, the seals, the Carolinum and other historical objects were transferred to the Charles University.

## THE RUSSIAN THOUGHT PATTERN

THE year of the Great Exhibition in London was the high-water mark of those ideas of technical, scientific and democratic progress in which we have since tended to become disillusioned. In that same year Alexander Herzen wrote his open letter to Michelet. The Russian thinker and publicist answered some of the criticisms made by the French historian in an article on Kosciuzko; he defined his idea of the Russian people and defended them from certain misconceptions current at the time in Western Europe.

The *Letter* is valuable for the distinction it drew between Russia and the West, the revelation of Herzen's attitude to Europe, and particularly to the new dominant class there—the bourgeoisie. Herzen's repugnance for this class emerges very clearly. This distaste for and hostility to the bourgeoisie assumed another and more general aspect when this "despised class" also became identified with 19th-century European civilisation as a whole. We find Herzen referring to "Old Europe" as "that decrepit Proteus, that decaying organism," and as we have seen, he did so in that year of optimism, 1851. He also prophesied that "*Europe was approaching a terrible cataclysm*." In this connection, he used the analogy of the "Decline and Fall," which has since become the stock-in-trade of those who deal in the "crisis of civilisation."

A hundred years later, when Europe is still tottering on the existential brink of further calamities, Herzen's words in retrospect assume fresh significance. And what are we to think when we realise that Herzen's views were also shared or developed in various forms by a good many of the leading Russian thinkers of his day and, in fact, throughout the second half of the 19th century? We also cannot help but note that the Soviet Press of our own day not only quotes Herzen and other thinkers allied to him, but also gives undue prominence to the themes of "the decayed and putrescent culture of the Bourgeois West," the "plague of capitalism," and the relentless struggle being waged between the "new world and the old." The persistence of this theme forces us to conclude that there must be a certain underlying unity not only of theme but also of mental habit between many of the Russian thinkers of Herzen's time and the ideological politicians of today.

From the age of Pushkin the Russian 19th century was rich

and creative, especially in literature and music. But when we examine the affirmations of the leading thinkers and writers, we begin to distinguish a peculiar mode or pattern of thought, which peeps through a variety of distinct outlooks. This pattern seems to dominate some attitudes already in the formative stage of Russian thought and, within a century, it would seem to crystallise and impose itself as the main line of development, if practical success in pursuing a programme is a criterion in this particular case. It is with this main line of development, this fundamental idea or, rather, nexus of thoughts, which often exhibit all the signs of a complex or obsession, that we shall be chiefly concerned here.

To begin with, let us distinguish between three types of mental habit prevalent in 19th-century Russia: a *conscious* one—that of the intelligentsia, moving in the realm of ideas, historical awareness, criticism and the analysis of reality; the *semi-conscious* one—that of the autocracy, the state-controlled Orthodox Church, and the landowners, preoccupied with the preservation of forms, traditions and authority; and the *unconscious* one—that of the amorphous peasant masses, forming about 90 per cent. of the whole at the time and still existing in a nebulous mental state of legend and superstition. This mass, however, had had a hard core of realism beaten into it on the anvil of the land by the hammer of the despotic but somewhat erratic authorities—the government officials, the police and the landowners.

In the “congealed” reign of Nicholas I the formula of the authorities was “Orthodoxy, Autocracy and the People.” The “people” were included, but they were conceived as a passive instrument for carrying out the will of a “Byzantine-German rule,” as Herzen had put it. As it grew politically aware and became more conscious of its powers in the 1840’s, the “reforming” intelligentsia had found no practical formula as yet, but it was obviously in search of one, and eventually the issue turned on a formula that could be most effectively applied in practice. In this search, the intelligentsia tackled a series of problems which impinged on the political field: the destiny of Russia, the plight of the peasantry then still enduring serfdom, and the villains of the piece—the autocracy and the landowners.

Very quickly an antithesis was established between the landowner (autocracy) and the people. On the one hand, the intellectuals directed their critical faculties to sap and demolish the autocratic edifice; and, on the other, they began to build up a

positive, though at first an idealised, image of the Russian people—that peasant mass, which in those days seemed to have no organic connection with the authorities or even, at first, the intelligentsia.

The middle classes, though rapidly developing by the middle of the century, were to remain small in proportion to the rest of the community, and it was a long time before they exercised any political influence. In fact, right up to the Revolution of 1917, they had failed to become the cement of the State or to prove an effective power in the land in the manner of the Western bourgeoisie. Moreover, as in the case of Herzen, the Russian radicals and intellectuals were almost as hostile to the bourgeoisie in general and the nascent "liberals" in particular as they had been to the autocracy and the landowner. Thus, when the Revolution finally came, the bourgeoisie as well as the autocracy was removed from the scene, though power was within its grasp. Actually the effective power was seized by a group of intellectuals of a different type, who had graduated in the school of revolutionary marxism and who relied on the popular support of the more conscious elements of the growing working class and the peasant masses. The intelligentsia played a very important part in this development. At first, its activities were concentrated on criticism and the discovery of a formula, which would set this peasant mass in motion, integrate it into a new State and a more advanced economy; and then, for the most determined section at least, on the logical application of the formula in order to transform dynamically the peasantry into a proletariat without the assistance of the bourgeois middleman or *kulak*. Needless to say, this formula and "lever" turned out to be the marxist theory.

The 19th-century intellectual was largely preoccupied with the discovery of the "Russian people." As we know, Dostoevsky had almost deified them and officially the Soviet State is nothing but the incarnation of the "people," become the ultimate source and justification of all expedient measures. Now the Russian people was synonymous with the peasantry; and the latter was also the raw material for the growing proletariat, and finally for the new Soviet intelligentsia. Let us therefore turn to the Russian peasant, the basis of it all, and examine some of his mental characteristics.

The paradox of Russian social development was that serfdom had become an increasingly rigid institution late in history. Thus, in the 18th century, the domestic tyranny of the landowner became

more irksome in an age when European countries had either long grown out of serfdom or were rapidly discarding an out-of-date system. In Russia serfdom was not abolished till 1862. Its persistence into the 19th century proved a source of bitterness and indignation to "reforming" aristocrats and intellectuals. The fate of Radistchev could not muzzle the voice of conscience forever. After 1812 the agitation increased and culminated in the Decembrist revolt of 1825. The repression ultimately only fanned the flames. Between 1840 and 1862 the intellectuals, though still persecuted, became more blunt and authoritative in their criticisms. Their analysis of the serf system and its abuses has, I think, left a lasting imprint on Russian and Soviet modes of thought. In peasant practice as well as in intellectual theory the despotic landowner became the symbol of iniquity, the reverse of justice. After the abolition of serfdom there was a distinct tendency to identify this image with his milder successors—the rent-charging landlord, the factory owner, the bourgeois and capitalist. The old landowner had often been a person of foreign, "European" education; the capitalists and the industrial technicians who succeeded were not infrequently foreigners or at least Russians whom the peasant-worker also regarded as "foreigners" or as authorities imposed from the *outside*, just as the serf-owner had been an autocrat imposed from *above*. On the whole, even the liberal intellectual was a "foreigner" in the eyes of the mass. Here were the makings of a complex in the minds of the peasants and workers, and, in giving expression to it, the radical intellectuals echoed a deep-voiced national sentiment. After being given an edge by the doctrines of the French Socialist Utopians, this complex was further reinforced by the study of Marx in the eighties.

The peasant notion that all authority, whether that of the officials, landowners, landlords or factory owners, was something alien and imposed from above, had become a deep instinct and habit of thought, which has even survived the Revolution and which accounts for the constant Soviet stress on discipline. One of Michelet's accusations had been that the Russian was "perpetually stealing, perpetually lying, and quite innocently—that is his nature." To this Herzen had replied: "But from whom does he steal? From whom if not the landowner, the Government official, the steward, the police officer, in fact, from the sworn foes of the peasant, whom he regards as heathens, traitors, and half-Germans?"

The peasant did not believe in the rights of the landowner,



the justice of the law courts, or the legality of the acts of the authorities. He had his own notion of justice *outside* these, a justice based on folk tradition and a sense of community. The consensus of the opinion of the majority by acclamation as practised in the decisions of that original peasant institution, the Commune, still held the force of law in the villages. This sense of communal justice was opposed to legal forms and the very idea of legality. Hence an innate dislike of legal formalities and of the fundamental conception behind them. Here we can trace one of the deeply dividing habits of thought distinguishing Russians from Western Europeans. The latter had been brought up on Roman Law, or like the English, had developed a tradition of respect for the law which may be summed up in the phrase "the rule of law." But Herzen, like any peasant Russian, scoffed at the European idea of respect for law. "The truth and justice of old Europe are falsehood and injustice to the new Europe that is being born," he roundly declared. "Nations are the product of *nature*. If we apply our standards to nature, we shall not get very far." The Russians never got to the stage of working out the relations between the individual and the State to them the individual was either outside the State, fighting it, or entirely subordinated to or identified with it. This mentality is also clearly reflected in the Soviet outlook, and the Soviet legal code in its turn reflects this lack of distinction. Behind it was the Russian peasant's belief that justice lies outside established legal forms and that, in order to achieve it, one must begin at the beginning and make an autonomous start. It is significant that this repugnance for "abstract principles," which we can note in the outlook of both the Russian peasant and the intellectual, has now been given theoretical justification in Stalin's *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* (1938).

The peasant also appears to have had no clear conception of ownership or property such as had been worked out in the West, particularly after the Reformation when increased stress was laid on the idea of individual property as well as on that of the individual conscience. Even under serfdom the Russian peasant had retained the belief that the land really belonged to him as part of the Peasant Commune. "We are yours, but the land is ours," the peasants used to say. Herzen had emphasised this innate sense of communism as a fundamental feature of the peasant outlook. Here was another gulf between the peasantry, on the one hand, and the landowners or later landlords, on the other. This gulf had been

noted by Mackenzie Wallace when exploring 19th-century Russia : he wrote that his " first impression was that of a conquered race and its foreign masters."

Some critics have argued that Russians have no idea of freedom and were born slaves ; others that the Russian peasantry have always preferred " equality " to " freedom." It may also be argued that Russians have had a strong idea of freedom, but that their conception of it has had a very different psychological and historical basis. The history of " freedom " in the West is a long and complex one. In Russia we are faced with a simpler situation. The Orthodox Church tended to be either " otherworldly " or Erastian, and even the Raskolnik schism had turned on a dispute over Church ritual and traditions rather than on a struggle to assert the rights of the individual conscience. By the middle of the 19th century the political issue had resolved itself into a struggle between the peasantry and the intellectuals *versus* the autocracy, the landowners and the Church in so far as the latter had become a prop of the established state and of serfdom. Therefore " freedom " tended to mean *freedom from* bad authority. It tended to be identified in the popular mind with such rebels of the past as Stenka Razin and Pugachev, and also with the foundation of free and independent peasant communities outside the system of an authoritarian state. Thus in the repressive reign of Nicholas I we see Gogol in his *Taras Bulba* idealising the Zaporog Cossacks of the 16th century and their " independent " way of life. Anarchism was another aspect of this rebellious attitude to the authorities, an aspect which also belies the generalisation that the Russian peasant was always and essentially a passive and humble Christian. This anarchism corresponded to a desire to live a purer communal life outside the confines of the State, and it found expression not only in peasant revolts and frequent assassinations of landowners but also in the theoretical works and lives of such thinkers as Bakunin, Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoy.

The early years of the Revolution (1917-1922) were by no means exclusively Communist or Socialist, but also witnessed various anarchist movements and revolts, which the Bolsheviks finally had to crush. These anarchist trends were also reflected in the literature of the time. Thus Sergey Essenin, a poet of peasant origin, believed that the Revolution would inaugurate a new period of " old and wooden " communal peasant life and regarded industrialisation as an " enemy." This tension between country and town was not resolved until the forcible methods of

collectivisation were applied as from 1930. A third aspect of this notion of freedom was the idea, eventually forged by the intellectuals and the marxists into an instrument of action, that freedom was synonymous with the inherent potentiality of the Russian people to create something new and autonomous, and to shape their own destiny after the impediments of established authority and the landowner had been removed. This idea has not only become the driving force of Bolshevik theory and practice, but has also been extended and applied by them to the world at large. In fact, it has become the dominant activating principle of the Party and, therefore, of the Soviet State. Originally it had been merely the antithesis, which the intellectuals had established in opposition to the *passive* interpretation of nature of the Russian peasant. But the will to action had created an active tradition, and had eventually produced a positive revolutionary type.

Throughout the centuries, in legend and literature, two types of Russians had been contrasted: the proverbially indolent peasant, who refused to kill his bugs, and the giant, full of latent strength, for whom nothing was impossible. Selifan, Chichikov's coachman in *Dead Souls*, is a typically indolent peasant, one of the many to be described in Russian literature. The giant type had his ancestors in the legendary *bogatyrs* or champions of old Russia. In history there have also been many examples of this power latent in the Russian people—examples such as Peter the Great and Lomonosov. This idea of the giant who has only to bestir himself to achieve the impossible is not only very much alive in Soviet psychology but is also encouraged by propaganda.

These two types, the indolent and the forceful, the passive and the active, tend to become a *leit-motif* in 19th-century Russian literature. In time the radical intellectuals come to identify the strong type with the ruthless and atheistic revolutionary of later vintage, while the passive "Christian" type becomes in their eyes a "reactionary."

As we know, Russian literature began to flourish when Russian writers and intellectuals became historically conscious after the Napoleonic invasions and applied themselves to study the character, nature, psychology and behaviour of the Russian people. Thus the maturity of this literature coincided with the intellectuals' discovery of "the people." Socially and economically Peter the Great's reforms had been followed by a century of aristocratic rule during which the "rulers," owing to their "foreign" education and other contributory causes, had drifted even further apart from the

masses. By the first half of the 19th century there was little organic cohesion in Russian society at a time when the concept of nationality was rapidly gaining ground in the rest of Europe. But 1812 had been a notable date, because the Napoleonic invasion had stirred the masses for the first time since the Pugachev rebellion. As a result of contact with the West, the nascent intelligentsia, at first recruited mainly from the nobility, had also grown more politically conscious; and the Decembrist rising of 1825 was the first public manifestation of the new ferment of ideas. Tolstoy revives this atmosphere for us in the later chapters of *War and Peace*.

The 1820's also saw the publication of Karamzin's *History of Russia*. This work sharpened the intellectuals' awareness of national history and traditions going back before the Petrine era. In the 1820's, too, Griboyedov had ventured to satirise Moscow society in his comedy *From Wit to Woe*: and by 1823 Pushkin had already started his novel in verse, *Eugeny Onegin*, in which he made the first sketches of a gallery of national characters; and he had also introduced historical and folk motifs in many of his poems. Krylov's *Fables* summed up pithily the essence of Russian peasant wisdom. By 1836 Chaadayev had boldly raised the whole question of Russia's destiny. Quite bluntly he had asked whether Russia had an autonomous culture of her own. Chaadayev himself was pessimistic about his country's possible contribution to world culture, and affirmed that it had nothing to offer the West. He helped to define and encourage the so-called Westernising trend among the intelligentsia, and these "westerners" maintained that Russia must above all learn from and imitate the West. Their opponents, the Slavophiles, argued that Russia had produced some original forms and institutions—the Peasant Commune was to become their great native example—and that these must be preserved and developed at all costs and independently of the West. Yet another group of intellectuals, with Belinsky at their head, was to affirm that much could be learnt from the West but that the native genius must be fostered first. The Bolshevik of today seems to combine elements drawn from most of these schools of thought and he is more or less "Westerner" or "Slavophile" according to the expediency of the moment. In essence, he wants to learn technique from the West but to encourage an autonomous culture, free from Western "bourgeois contamination."

The birth of the Russian novel had coincided with the discovery of the "people" and the national past. One of Belinsky's main activities as a critic had been to integrate the new generation of

writers from Pushkin onwards into a new national tradition, to analyse the significance of the Russian characters revealed in literary portraiture, and to point to the Russian people as a source of hope, expectation and inspiration. It was also he who had written in his famous *Letter* to Gogol in 1847 that "a bad book might be forgiven, a pernicious one never." Both these aspects of Belinsky are still very much in evidence today as part of the Soviet outlook on literature; and he is now regarded as one of the chief precursors of "Soviet philosophy."

Gogol was the first great Russian novelist. It will repay us to examine his novel, *Dead Souls*, published in 1842. A supremely comic and readable book, *Dead Souls*, as its title suggests, has another and more lugubrious aspect. This vastly amusing novel had also in its day all the explosive force of a charge of dynamite laid under the autocratic and social fabric of the period. Already in an earlier play, *The Government Inspector*, Gogol had shaken the bureaucratic dovecotes and made a laughing stock of the régime. Now he directed his venom against the serf-owning squire. But it was more than just this. By making Chichikov, the hero of the novel, attempt to acquire an estate and property by means of a fantastic device—that of buying up *dead* serfs who had not yet been struck off the census register (it was checked only every ten years)—Gogol not only ridiculed the serf system, but also in the final analysis repudiated the very idea of an "acquisitive society." In doing so, he became part of the pattern of anti-landowner and anti-autocratic, anti-landlord and anti-bourgeois, thought, which we are here attempting to describe.

*Dead Souls* (Part I) is entirely lacking in positive characters in the sense of men of will-power and integrity. The negative aspects of his own work and the political interpretation put on it produced a revulsion in the author, who began to seek refuge in mysticism. Thus, in the second and later part of the novel, we find Gogol trying to reform Chichikov and to portray a number of "positive" characters. In his mystical mood he tried to give them virtues that coincided with an idealised conception of the autocracy, the landowner and the Orthodox priest. After years of trying, he failed in the attempt and burnt most of the manuscript; but this attempt at "positive" portraiture is also interesting within the pattern of the Russian oscillation between what we have described as the negative character and the forceful one. Yet even in *Dead Souls* (Part I) it was obvious that, when Gogol spoke of Russia and the Russian people, he entertained of them a positive

and mythological conception as a source of potential "giants." More than once he referred to that "spacious Russian nature" which would rather "unfold than contract"; and he frequently expressed unalloyed contempt for the "kulak," a term of abuse since systematically employed in Soviet propaganda.

Gogol has been described as the first "critical realist." In general, the word "realism" is apt to recur in connection with Russian literature. Nor can it escape us that Soviet Russians reiterate the words: *real*, *reality*, *realism*. It would be rare to find a Soviet statement that is not studded with these words and, as we know, the post-1932 theory behind Soviet literature is termed Socialist Realism. We have referred to the hard realist core of the peasant outlook. We are also struck by the underlying realism of many of the statements in Russian literature, in the plays of Fonvizin and Griboyedov, in the poetry of Pushkin and Lermontov, in the *Fables* of Krylov and the *Dead Souls* of Gogol, in the later writings of Belinsky and those of the critics who succeeded him. There are no metaphysics and very little idealisation, none of that rarefied atmosphere so often characteristic of English poetry. Russian poetry, Russian thought, is earthy by comparison. There is a tendency to fantasy and satire instead of idealisation and understatement. The critics are prone to invective or to an exalted tone of enthusiasm. These characteristics not only reappear in the polemical writings of Soviet publicists but are deliberately cultivated: a certain bluntness, a reference to the realities, invective, satire, and sometimes a lyrical incantation, these appear to be their stock-in-trade. The Russian classics are also often deliberately introduced to point some Soviet diatribe. On examination Gogol's so-called realism was a very strange one and very largely based on a penetrating fantasy that at times could have done justice to the great Hieronymos Bosch himself. It was a "realism" that distorted the object of contemplation—a convenient way of annihilating an opponent by making him look supremely ridiculous and absurd, by removing the very basis of objective reality from under his feet. Hence the phantasmagoria of *Dead Souls* and its extraordinary gallery of portraits. This Gogolian device also recurs in Soviet propaganda. An opponent is usually made to look absurd—the exaggeratedly non-human type. The cartoons and posters of the Kukrinihsy during the War of 1941–1945 afford a good visual example of this method.

We must distinguish several aspects in the Soviet use of the term "realism." Firstly, it may be regarded as a natural Russian

mode of expression, product of an earthy and non-metaphysical interpretation of the universe as in Pushkin. Secondly, in Gogol's deeply probing approach to reality it assumes a fantastical and often grotesque aspect. Thirdly, in the works of critics from Belinsky to Pisarev realism is insisted on as an antithesis to idealism; and eventually it becomes an instrument in the struggle against the established régime. Fourthly, in the Soviet theory of Socialist Realism it becomes a method of propagating a certain world view (Socialism—Communism), on the one hand, and of acting as a control against the intrusion of alien "idealistic" elements, on the other. These four aspects by no means exhaust the question, but they should help us to pick our way.

In the Russian history of this term we reach a formative philosophical stage in the work of Pisarev, a publicist and philosopher of the 1860's. In 1864 he published a long essay entitled *The Realists*. What were these Realists? They were a new type of intellectual emerging at this time—one that was disillusioned with the so-called "idealists" and verbose reformers of the 1840's. Pisarev's "Realist" was not only a new intellectual type but also a model of a man of action bent on effecting practical changes in society. According to Pisarev, the first step was negation: the "Realist" was to begin by attacking the established order (family ties, conventions, etc.). This initial step was to pave the way for a social and human transformation. The Realist's life was to be based on a programme of *utility*. The criterion was simply "is this useful?" He was to concentrate only on the social problem and his watchword was "social purpose." "Life" was more important than "culture," and "art for art's sake" had become an anachronism. As Pisarev said, "Society must work out its own transformation, and only by the mutual efforts of all its members can it fulfil this task of *mental regeneration*." Here was a definite affirmation that society *can* and *must* be changed, that the mental outlook of people *can* and *must* be transformed, that there was a social *purpose* and a *goal*, and that, if necessary, luxuries, like "ideals, art, literature," must be sacrificed to this end. Pisarev's theory is another element we have to consider when studying the development of Russian 19th-century mentality. Tolstoy later arrived at a similar conclusion about art, though he started from Christian Premises.

Pisarev's theory and his insistence on the possibility of "mental regeneration" has probably influenced the way Soviet literature has been reorganised since 1932, when stress was laid on its "educa-

tive role." Pisarev's realism had an interpreter in Turgenev who, in his novel, *Fathers and Children*, portrayed a "hero," whom Pisarev himself acknowledged as a bearer of his ideas. This character, Bazarov, is worth examining for the traits he reveals. He is deliberately curt, blunt, caustic and critical. He is one of the so-called Nihilists of the 1860's, who criticise and deny all accepted authorities and notions. Their aim was to hurry the process of disintegrating the social forms they disliked. Pisarev had maintained that it was a good thing to hit out right and left, and so test the stability and strength of the "opposition." Bazarov had no time for either poetry or Pushkin (Pisarev had attacked the "father of Russian literature" and ridiculed *Evgeny Onegin*); his interests were *scientific* and he talked in terms of the natural sciences. His attitude was deliberately unsentimental and his reasoning based on the "laws of nature and physiology."

Bazarov is activated by self-sufficient pride: he is in fact a "man-god." "A *real* man," according to him, "must either be obeyed or hated." "When I meet a man who does not wilt before me, then I shall change my opinion of myself," he says. He believes in "no principles but only sensations." When breaking with his more sentimental disciple and friend Arcady, who had the weakness to fall in love and get engaged, he condemns him as part of a whole class of "useless" people, liberal but superfluous. This is what he says to him: "You have plenty of youthful ardour and passion, but no vehemence or pride; and that is quite useless for the ends we pursue. . . . The likes of you won't stand up and fight—and yet you imagine you are heroes. We insist on fighting. Yes, that's the trouble. The very dust of us would bite your eyes out, the dirt of us would soil you and, in any case, you haven't yet reached our stature. . . . We are made to break other men! You may be a good chap, but you're too soft, a *liberal gent.* . . ."

*Fathers and Children* provides many appropriate quotations. Bazarov, like Pisarev, believed that society could be transformed. "If society is put right, then the diseases will disappear." But he did not believe that material progress or comfort was an end in itself. The idea that progress would culminate in every peasant having a bright and tidy cottage roused his disgust rather than approbation. In his outlook we can clearly detect the anti-liberal and anti-utopian Socialist strains which have since become part of Soviet psychology. Thus, in his *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, Stalin expresses much the same attitude.

Another very significant fact was Bazarov's "scientific" outlook.



The impact of the new scientific theories and of Darwin in particular on Russian intellectuals was tremendous, and the notion that social laws are scientifically ascertainable took root at this time. The "laws of nature" as revealed by the scientists seemed to contradict most of the fundamental social and religious assumptions of the past; and the radicals were tempted to apply the "laws of nature" to the interpretation of social phenomena. The Victorian era in England was also a period of such debate, but the Russian radicals were more uncompromising in their search for a self-sufficient formula—they were fighting for power. It is in the days of Pisarev and "Bazarov" that the "laws of nature" are invoked as a final justification for acts that transgressed the old laws of morality. Then also the seed was sown of the notion that social laws can be ascertained and controlled. These ideas, in a developed marxist form, still dominate the minds of Soviet dialecticians who, like Stalin, claim that they have actually discovered the "scientific laws governing the development of Society."

Russia had remained too long a medieval society. The transition to the 18th, 19th, and then the 20th century could only be effected by a series of drastic jolts or revolutions. Peter the Great, Napoleon, Lenin and Stalin, were the violently shaping forces that impinged upon a somewhat amorphous and backward community. In thought there had been no long tradition of philosophy or metaphysics such as had influenced European minds from the days of Socrates. The transition from theology came abruptly, in the 18th and then chiefly in the 19th centuries. The new ideas came mostly from France, England and Germany. And in the 19th century, when a more organised nucleus of intellectuals grew up; these ideas reflected the new scientific, materialistic, economic and social trends of a Europe that had already digested the principles of nationality, revolution, and industrialism, and had begun to think in terms of, first, Utopian Socialism, and then marxism.

The influence of marxism began to make itself felt in Russia in the eighties. Its fortunes became linked with the Social Democratic Party and then, after it split into Menshevik and Bolshevik groups, with the Bolshevik Party. At the same time, Western democratic and liberal notions had also been making headway. But the relations between Russian liberals and Bolsheviks were rather like those between the "superfluous" and "forceful" types in Russian literature. At the critical moment during the Revolution, Lenin's attitude to Kerensky proved very similar to that of Bazarov

to Arcady. "You're too soft, a liberal gent. . . ." The Westernising liberals were ousted. The danger of Russia being infected by the "bourgeois disease," against which Herzen and many other Russian thinkers of the left and the right had fought, was now warded off. The tension between "Bolshevik" and "liberal" was now transferred mainly to the international arena. In Russia marxism had proved the formula, which the most forceful and least compromising type of intellectual had been seeking. Whatever the social merits of the formula, it certainly was an instrument of discipline and a lever of action when wielded by a closely knit Party. It also combined a "scientific" analysis of social trends with a sense of mission. The sense of mission, the great expectation, the belief in Russia's destiny, had all been voiced by the great writers from Gogol to Dostoevsky. The marxist formula now canalised this by associating it in a more universal and practical way with the idea of "world proletariat" to be liberated.

This idea might have been specially invented for the Russians, for it fitted into the Russian animus against the landowner and landlord, their equation of "serfdom" and "capitalism," and a certain innate predisposition to Communism as a native institution long familiar to the bulk of the peasantry in the guise of the Peasant Commune. Had not Herzen declared in 1851 that "The Russian peasant has no morality except that which flows naturally and instinctively from his communism"? The reiterated idea that "bourgeois culture" was on the wane and must be superseded by a new culture was also very convenient for those who had formed a distaste for capitalist economy and the supremacy of commercialism in the "old world." Thus marxism, a European idea, was grafted on to a Russian aspiration. It then became the instrument of wilful change answering to an innate sense of historic mission ("Moscow is the Third Rome"); and to a preoccupation with the destinies of Russia and Europe. Similarly, the idea of a liberated "world proletariat" satisfied that sense of justice which was still concentrated on the abolition of the "individual exploiter," i.e. various forms of landlordism.

The fact that the proletariat was a mere nucleus in Russia did not seem to invalidate the theory and its application. On the contrary, it provided an opportunity for the exercise of a dynamic will to create something which had not existed before. Therefore, the theory was applied to create a larger proletarian element by means of an industrial Revolution, and by the war years the proportion of workers to peasants had changed to about 40 to

60 per cent. The Bolshevik Party had staked its future on the growth of this proletarian nucleus ; and this stake on "growing element" is a theory still applied in the international arena when "rising minorities" are backed. This operation is intended to succeed by an act of will, cohesion, discipline, persistence and, of course, ruthless methods when necessary. Individual distress counts for little in this "scientifically" executed programme : the "ultimate justice" of the ends pursued justified the means employed. Behind it is the conviction that these changes are inevitable but must be speeded up because they correspond to certain "scientific laws of natural social development." In this context the laws of individual morality or "eternal principles" are regarded as negligible ; in fact, they have been discarded.

This stress on the power of the will to alter the environment, this revolutionary determination to achieve the "new" at the expense of the "old" at any cost, is a salient feature of Soviet Communism (Bolshevism). It also corresponds to the Soviet idea of freedom—not "individual" freedom but the freedom of "historical man" to conquer nature and to transform society. This notion lies no doubt at the back of the oft-repeated slogan, "There are no obstacles which the Bolshevik Party cannot overcome." In practice the Party has rationalised and applied its experience of previous controversies, conflicts and clashes, with other parties inside Russia in the pre-Revolutionary days, and has perfected a special technique of political struggle. The very idea of "struggle" is constantly stressed : this is both a "revolutionary" and a Darwinian concept. It is one of pivots in the dialectical attitudes expressed in the main text-book of the Bolshevik Party since 1938—*The History of the Communist Party* (B).

This unremitting political struggle is also the forge for shaping the new type of purposeful man of action, i.e. the Bolshevik. In the perspective of Russian history this type is the pragmatic successor to the giant and forceful types who had been evoked in literature as a contrast to the "indolent" or superfluous types of hero. The giants and indolent peasants of legend were succeeded in the 19th-century literature by intellectuals : the indolent peasant had become the "superfluous man" and the "forceful type"—the revolutionary. The "superfluous man" was an intellectual who felt ill at ease under the established order and dreamt of "reforms," but he was not very effective in practice. Griboyedov's *Chatzky*, Pushkin's *Evgeny Onegin*, and Lermontov's *Pechorin*, all gave expression to intellectual disillusionment, but had no

practical solution to offer. Gogol's Khlestakov and Chichikov proved more telling devices for pointing more directly to certain abuses, but they were still "superfluous men." This breed culminated in Goncharov's monumental and futile Oblomov (1859)—an expansion of Gogol's sketch of Tentetnikov in Part II of *Dead Souls*—who preferred a sort of Buddhist Nirvana in bed to any action whatever. This portrait of Oblomov, symbol of inactivity, helped to stimulate a crisis in Russian thought by providing a perfect "negative" in the search for the "positive." The debate became more intense. Dobroliubov, one of the leading radical critics of the time and one of the "precursors" of Soviet philosophy, wrote a well-known article on the subject, *What is Oblomovism?* Dobroliubov deplored this "useless" type and argued for the necessity of discovering "stronger characters and men of action." Pisarev's Realists and Turgenev's Bazarov were already more positive symbols. Then Chernyshevsky, another "precursor," published his novel, *What Is To Be Done?* Its hero, Rachmetov, trains himself consciously for "revolutionary action" through discipline and physical exercises, sleeping on a bed of nails and abstaining from women. He is a revolutionary athlete in embryo.

In the Russian 19th-century novel the "superfluous man" had predominated so far, and his tradition was carried on in the plays of Chekhov and even into the Soviet period—in Olesha's *Envy*, for example. Bazarov and Rachmetov, though "stronger characters," were still only potential men of action. The reality of the day was stranger if we recall the lives of men like Bakunin and Nechayev, and Dostoevsky's *The Possessed* was in some ways nearer the mark. Most of the writers and critics had also suffered terms of imprisonment or exile. Dostoevsky's penetrating, soul-searching and complex "dramas" reflected the struggle more deeply, and his striking confrontation of the *god-man* with the *man-god* proved a more prophetic and philosophical interpretation of the debate. But Dostoevsky's protagonists were in many ways like Shakespeare's—and they were portrayed as objectively—if we accept Wyndham Lewis's thesis of the Shakespearean confrontation of the "Lion" and the "Fox." In Shakespeare it was the "noble heart" *versus* the Machiavellian mind; in Dostoevsky it was the humble Christian *versus* the pride and self-sufficiency of the new revolutionary realist. Dostoevsky's judgment was an ethical and Christian one: it favoured the Christian interpretation of the Russian character. But for the revolutionary realist this interpretation symbolised the passive element in Russian nature and was equivalent to an

acceptance of the autocracy and the Erastian aspect of the Orthodox Church. It was precisely against this "passivity" that the revolutionary intellectuals were struggling. They were not interested in an *objective* confrontation of antagonistic elements as in Dostoevsky, but rather in affirming the strong traits of the man of action. This no doubt accounts for the fact that the reading of Dostoevsky has not been encouraged in the Soviet Union. Similarly, the Christian and anarchist aspects of Tolstoy's teaching were likewise made taboo. Thus, philosophically, the two greatest of Russian writers found themselves outside the revolutionary tradition of the "strong man" that was in the process of forming. However, Tolstoy contributed the "realistic method," which was later to be incorporated into Socialist Realism.

It was Maxim Gorky who forged the main link between the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary worlds of literature. His works contained some of those "positive" elements which the revolutionaries thought essential for building the "new world." The "tramps" in Gorky's early stories already implied a world in which external authority had collapsed—a world in which a sort of "natural" Russian, free from the trappings of Byzantine tradition, European culture or bourgeois civilisation, was roaming over a vast expanse of almost virgin soil. This "tramp" was the Russian peasant without landowner or landlord, and also without a new social fabric which might express his vague cravings for a better life. In Gorky this "tramp" has a certain dignity and latent humanity—a humanity in the raw, as it were, free from the "forms and deformations" of an alien culture. Then Gorky began to glorify "labour," the "worker," man as productive force in history. "Man—that rings proud!" This aspect of Gorky was particularly stressed during the Soviet period, it became the foundation of the so-called "Soviet Humanism," which claims that he is both an "historical creature" and a maker of history. "Nature is no temple but a workshop," as Bazarov had said. This was one of the Realists' principles. And so the man of action, the "undivided" positive man, becomes the ideal hero of Soviet fiction. In order to affirm his supremacy over the "superfluous man," the Soviet authorities eventually took a hand and established a control over literature, through the medium of the theory of Socialist Realism, so organised as to foster the "positive" features and exclude the "negative" ones, in which Russian literature from Pushkin to Chekhov had revelled. The analysis of weaknesses and frailties was now frowned upon: the model character of the new

era was to be an "heroic type"—the man who was actually taming the forces of nature and altering the structure of society. This transformation, it was argued, postulated a change in man's consciousness, and literature became an important medium in effecting this change. The "positive" wheat had to be sifted from the "superfluous" chaff. This "Hero Operation" is still going on. Soviet literature is ultimately intended to produce a portrait of a new Bolshevik "giant." And here we find a link between Russian legend and present-day history.

The mental pattern we have been describing has established its ascendancy in Russia. Stalin's *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* (1938) is the latest and most authoritative document to embody this outlook. This "Bible" of Soviet philosophy is a synthesis of Russian Realist thought and marxist philosophy. It strives to preserve a balance between "historical forces" and the "men who shape them." It was published in the period of reforms following the liquidation of the "pigmy" Trotsky and the "abstract" marxist doctrines of the historian Pokrovsky, who allowed the "hero" no say in the historical process. Now the "hero" has come back but he must only act within an historical framework and give expression to trends whose general direction is predetermined by a "scientific" analysis of social and historical factors at a given time. In this situation the "hero" or maker of history can place no reliance on "abstract principles" or "expressions of good faith." In order to rise and grow himself, he must support "waxing forces" against "waning ones." And in this consists the struggle between the new world and the old. In this perspective "capitalism" is branded as the old "decaying force." To quote: "if the dying away of the old and the growth of the new is a law of development, then it is clear that there can be no 'immutable' social systems, no 'eternal principles' of private property and exploitation, no 'eternal ideas' of the subjugation of the peasant to the landlord, of the worker to the capitalist."

This pattern of thought explains the Soviet attitude of today. Behind it we have a traditional peasant communism, a realist revolutionary intellectual attitude, and the marxist formula as adapted and systematised by Lenin and Stalin. The peasant disbelief in private property re-emerges in the condemnation of Western bourgeois civilisation. The old Russian dislike of foreign forms and "Roman legality" imposed from above reappears in the denial of "abstract and eternal principles." The "capitalist" is a more generalised symbol of the old Russian landowner. And

when Stalin writes that "The fall of the 'Economists' and Mensheviks was due . . . to the fact that they did not recognise the mobilising, organising and transforming role of advanced theory, of advanced ideas and, sinking into vulgar materialism, reduced the role of these factors almost to nothing, thus condemning the Party to *passivity* and inanition," we can detect in this antithesis the background of the struggle between the *active* and *passive* principles in Russian thought.

GEORGE REAVEY.

*London.*

# STEERFORTH AND STAVROGIN

## ON THE SOURCES OF *THE POSSESSED*

(To Alfred Bem, whether alive or dead)

ALMOST eighty years after his appearance on the literary stage the character of STAVROGIN in Dostoevsky's *Devils* (*The Possessed*) remains a puzzle to the reader, as well as an unsolved problem to the critic and scholar. The ties which connect this mysterious character with the complicated mechanism of the plot remain concealed, and his power over the various secondary characters unexplained and rendered even more difficult to understand by his aloofness and detachment. It would be futile to explain the difficulty of understanding Stavrogin's character and position by the interference of a purely casual circumstance, namely the refusal of the editor of the *Russky Vestnik* to include the chapter containing the "Confession of Stavrogin" in the novel. When the objectionable passage was at last published in two different versions in 1922, it only gave rise to a new problem, namely whether the chapter really stands in context with the other parts of the novel as completed by Dostoevsky, or whether it belongs to a different version of it which had been, perhaps unwillingly and under the pressure of M. N. Katkov's refusal to publish the "Confession," none-the-less consistently abandoned by the author. In the latter case it should never be inserted into the text, which was completed in 1872 and republished, without the confession, by Dostoevsky's wife, during his lifetime.<sup>1</sup>

The interpretation of the character, the explanation of his origin and sources and of the author's motives in introducing him, present difficulties as well. We know that *The Possessed* resulted from the interaction of at least two literary projects on different levels of artistic endeavour. One of these was conceived as a kind of literary political pamphlet intended to be a virulent attack on the Nihilists and on their spiritual fathers, the uprooted liberals of the forties. "Let it be only a pamphlet but I want to speak my mind." "Sometimes I believe one should lower the tone and take the whip in the

<sup>1</sup> This view has been taken by Komarovich in the introduction to the unpublished chapter of *Possessed*, which is attached, in English translation, to *Stavrogin's Confession and the Plan of the Life of the Great Sinner*, translated by Koteliansky and Virginia Woolf, Hogarth Press, 1922. It was also shared, and supported by new arguments, by that eminent scholar and critic of Dostoevsky's work, A. Bem.



hand in order not only to defend oneself, but to attack with the gloves 'off' In these words Dostoevsky described the literary form of his projected novel in his letters to Strakhov. The style was to be that of an intentionally tendentious novel, a counterpart to the writings of Chernyshevsky and Pisarev. This of course excluded a treatment of moral, psychological, and even political questions on the level of the discussions in *Crime and Punishment* and *The Idiot*.

## I

The characters of this novel were developed from "prototypes," i.e. real persons, by whose names they were regularly designated in the early drafts. The prototypes were chosen among contemporary figures in what could be called with certain reservation Russian public and political life of the sixties. They were on the one hand members of a revolutionary group led by Nechaev. On 21 November 1864 the members of this group murdered their comrade Ivanov for insubordination to the leader Nechaev. Nechaev fled abroad and was delivered to the Russian Government only in 1872. The other persons implicated were given a public trial in the summer of 1871 and Dostoevsky was fascinated by the records of the proceedings. On the other hand the prototypes were taken from the members of the Petrashevsky conspiracy in which Dostoevsky was himself involved in the late forties as well as from persons of the literary and academic world, such as the liberal Professor of History at the Moscow University, Granovsky, Dostoevsky's personal antagonist Turgenev, and others. The characters of the novel all stand in a particular relation to their prototypes, of whom they are by no means the portraits, nor, necessarily, the caricatures. The prototypes are the rough casts for the fictitious characters of the novel. Dostoevsky was thinking of them as of real beings possessing the completeness of particular individuals. The characteristic features required by the development of the plot were fixed upon them with complete disregard of whether the prototypes possessed these features in reality or not.

The characters in *The Possessed* belonging to this group are therefore not literary types in the conventional sense, i.e. personifications of abstract character features, but real, historical persons whom Dostoevsky merely modified according to the requirements of his literary project through a kind of imaginative process akin to that by which we may think of a person whom we know to be mean, in a fanciful way as being generous. When building up the character

of Stepan Verkhovensky, Dostoevsky regularly thought of him as being Professor Granovsky, possessing all the traits of character the author needed for his story, even those which he very well knew Granovsky never had in real life. Peter Verkhovensky was, for him, no other than Nechaev as Dostoevsky thought of him when reading the newspaper reports of the trial of his accomplices. But he intentionally refused to go into the study of the character of the real Nechaev in order to retain a free hand in the modelling of the fictitious character out of the prototype<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes one prototype was substituted for another in the creation of one and the same character (thus, at a certain stage, Petrashevsky was used in place of Nechaev for building up Peter Verkhovensky), or the same prototype was used for various characters of the novel.

The pamphlet novel, however, never came into being in its originally projected form. Simultaneously with it, other and far more ambitious literary plans occupied Dostoevsky's imagination in 1868-1869. These were the novels, which also were never completed, entitled "Atheism" and "The Life of the Great Sinner." Certain features of these, and especially of the latter epic projected on a gigantic scale, were brought into contact with the novel built around the Nechaev affair. In particular, a character referred to as "the Prince" or "Prince A.B.," bearing a certain resemblance to the "Great Sinner," was introduced in a short draft, dating from the end of 1869 or perhaps January 1870, and entitled "Jealousy," in the draft copybooks published by the Central Administration of the Archives of the U.S.S.R. in 1935 (pp. 46 f.). After a complicated development this character became the Nikolai Vsevolodovitch Stavrogin of the novel. Dostoevsky's drafts do not betray the existence of any prototype for this figure, who very soon captured the author's imagination and produced a revolution in the conception of the novel. His appearance raised the level of the philosophical and literary aspirations of the whole project; and *The Possessed* ceased to be a mere pamphlet and assumed the character of a prophetic and visionary message to Russia and to the world, of the same rank if not quite of the same quality, as *Crime and Punishment*, *The Idiot*, the unfinished *Life of the Great Sinner*, and *The Brothers*

<sup>2</sup> In his letter to Katkov, dated 8 October 1870, Dostoevsky thus describes the relation between the prototype and the character of the novel: "I never knew either Nechaev or Ivanov, or the circumstances of the murder, nor do I know them now, except from newspapers. And if I knew, I would not copy them. I only take the accomplished fact. My imagination may differ in the highest degree from the actual event, and my Peter Verkhovensky may be not at all like Nechaev, but it seems to me that in my amazed mind there has been created by my imagination the person, the type that corresponds to that murder."

*Karamazov*. In his letter to Katkov Dostoevsky introduces this new figure as "the main character of the novel." "In my opinion," he writes, "he is both a Russian and a typical character. I shall be very, very sad if he should prove a failure. Sadder still will it be if I hear the verdict that he is a stilted character. I took him from my heart" . . .

It is only natural that at a time when the early drafts of the novel had not been published critics should have asked themselves who was the prototype of this powerful intruder, for most other characters of the novel have one. Bakunin and Speshnev were both championed for this role.<sup>3</sup> Now, however, there seems to be little reason for this search. The drafts make no secret of the prototypes, whose names figure regularly to denote the characters. The fact that the later Stavrogin is regularly referred to as "Prince A.B." or "Prince," "the Son," "Nicolas," and so on, and never as "Bakunin" or "Speshnev," suggests that even if there was a relation between the character of Stavrogin and one of these historical figures, this would not be the relation connecting the character of the committee of five of the novel with the men of the Nechaev group, nor that prevailing between the real Professor Granovsky and Stepan Verkhovensky. This points also to a different genesis for the character of Stavrogin, who is, as Simmons remarked, a "literary character rather than a bearer of ideas in the fashion of the typical Dostoevskian hero." Yet this was exactly what the author dreaded he would become when he insisted that he was a real Russian character and expressed apprehension that he might appear as a stilted person, although he had taken him "out of his heart"

This protestation, however, contains an admission of the different ætiology of Stavrogin's character. Most of the other characters were taken from the life of the Russian intelligentsia of the late sixties, whereas this one came "out of his heart," i.e. his mind, quivering with ethical emotion and tortured by the problem of the origin of evil and of the will for evil in the human soul. It is not too bold to assume that the objects which Dostoevsky took "out of his heart" to subject them to the chisel of his creative imagination are themselves likely to turn out to be heroes of novels, i.e. beings of whom he was thinking in an eidetic way when reading literary works by other authors. We know from the works of Grossmann, and especially Alfred Bem, that Dostoevsky was a "reader of

<sup>3</sup> Speshnev was an outstanding member of the Petrashevsky circle. His striking appearance, his pride, courage and dominating attitude towards the small fry of the circle provide a certain plausibility to the use of him as a prototype for Stavrogin.

genius." When reading, Dostoevsky was never satisfied with the manifest creations of the author he read and not even with the hidden intentions for which the manifest situation might be only a disguise or a symbol, but that he followed up other possible developments of a story in his imagination, discovering aspects which no ordinary reader might have seen in it, like a chess-player of genius who, when reading the records of a game, would see greater and richer developments than those which were actually recorded. It is, therefore, in Dostoevsky's reading (if indeed this process of imaginative thinking can be adequately called "reading"), that we should look for the source of such a hero as Stavrogin, whom the author had taken "out of his own heart." Should we be lucky enough to discover this source, or at least one of the main sources, we might find a new basis for the interpretation of the character and might attempt to answer with new reason for confidence the questions of the puzzled reader and of the literary critics with regard to the character's meaning, genesis and significance.

## 2

The thesis which I shall attempt to make appear as plausible as possible is that the basic scheme of *The Possessed*, as far as Stavrogin and the intrigue centred on him is concerned, was built up from reminiscences of the reading of Dickens's *David Copperfield*. This view can be supported by a considerable number of themes borrowed mainly from the Steerforth interludes and transposed into a Russian milieu. I also believe that James Steerforth stood unnamed as a prototype for Stavrogin in very much the same way as, for instance, the historical Granovsky and Nechaev stood as prototypes for the Verkhovensky father and son. The main difference in the relation between Steerforth as a prototype and those of the Nechaev group is that this relation has never been directly documented or admitted by the author. I shall try to provide an explanation why Dostoevsky would be unwilling to admit this relation even had he been conscious of it: but I shall also put forward reasons for the view that, although the similarity of certain characters, situations, and episodes in both novels can hardly be regarded a mere coincidence, the domination of the creative fantasy of Dostoevsky by his recollections of *David Copperfield* could have easily remained unnoticed by the writer and should in this sense be called "unconscious."

The similarity of the characters of Stavrogin and Steerforth is such that they appear to be the same person as soon as one tries to

describe them in exclusively abstract terms, omitting all biographical incidents inherent in the different plots of both novels and certain specifically national features. They are both handsome, powerfully built, and of great physical prowess. The dominating feature of their character is pride and lust for domination, together with a sombre determination to use ruthlessly the privileged position in which they are placed by their social standing, wealth, superior intellect and powerful physique, in order to satisfy every caprice of a primitive passion by which they are possessed. They are both born leaders of men, who attract weaker characters, and become the inspiring factor for the actions of others, which they themselves do not intend to inspire and for which they are unwilling to assume responsibility. Nor do they take particular interest in the actions which they in this way dominate, other than the satisfaction of an unbending instinct for domination. Insults, betrayal, perfidy, and the injuries inflicted by them on those who look up to them for inspiration, are forgiven them by their followers and "friends." Under the mask of magnanimity they conceal total egotism, under that of charm, an emotional and moral coldness. The reader is held under the spell of their beauty, power, and mystery. The final victory of the destructive forces in their soul is treated not as the exposure of the villain, but as the tragic issue of a struggle between equally real parts of their split personality, which seem to be the outposts of the forces of good and evil in a dualistic metaphysic.

In itself, however, the similarity of the characters would not permit us to infer the direct influence of Dickens's Byronic hero on that of Dostoevsky. Byronic heroes can be counted by the hundred in the national literatures of the 19th century and not least in the Russian novel. Dostoevsky himself enumerates in *The Diary of a Writer* in 1880 the different exponents of this type when he says: "Aleko and Onegin produced later a multitude of similar types in our literature." "They were followed by the appearance of the Pechorins, Chichikovs, Rudins, Lavretskys, Bolkonskys (in *War and Peace*), and by a multitude of others whose mere appearance witnesses the justice of the idea originally put forward by Pushkin." Dostoevsky's interpretation of Tolstoy's hero, Prince Andrei Bolkonsky, as the last link in the line of this development is particularly interesting. In *Jealousy* the future Stavrogin is called "Prince A.B.," the initials never being elucidated. They soon disappear and the hero remains simply as "the Prince," a title which was replaced by the name "Stavrogin" only in the latest version of the novel. If we remember that Dostoevsky was reading *War and*

*Peace* exactly at that time, the conjecture that "A.B." should be read for "Andrei Bolkonsky" should not appear too adventurous, provided we do not see in the name more than a mere fixation of a potential prototype—just as we do with the names of Granovsky, Nechaev, Milyukov, Golubov, and many others with which we meet in the early drafts. The names function in these cases as clamps by means of which the author fastens the rough cast of a character in order to submit it to artistic treatment. The "Andrei Bolkonsky" rough cast must have developed so rapidly into something utterly different from the figure of *War and Peace* that the initials "A.B." were soon dropped and only the title remained, pointing to the exalted social position of the bearer until even this became unnecessary as the character and his place in society were sufficiently determined by the fully developed plot.

Whereas the similarity of Stavrogin's floating and rapidly changing figure to the Byronic hero of Tolstoy was only momentary, his kinship with Steerforth is sustained throughout its development by a great number of minute traits which are strewn all through the drafts and many of which can be traced in the final version of *The Possessed*.

A few instances should suffice to put an attentive reader on the track of such traits, the search for which is a most fascinating intellectual game. The outward appearance of Nicolai Stavrogin is nowhere more strikingly outlined and more significant as a pointer to his character than in § 4 of ch. 1 of the second part of *The Possessed*. His mother, for many days tortured by worries about him, cannot resist the temptation to enter his room ("his study, a room, already his favourite from olden days, tall, thickly carpeted, furnished with somewhat heavy, old-fashioned furniture") and finds him sleeping, seated in the corner of his divan: "Seeing that Nicolas is sitting somehow almost too still, her heart beating fast she approached the divan. It was as if she was surprised that he had fallen asleep so quickly and that he could sleep like this, sitting so erect and so motionless, hardly could one even notice his breathing. His face was pale and stern and as it were frozen and transfixed. The eyebrows lightly drawn and frowning. Positively he resembled an inanimate wax figure."

Steerforth is also frequently described asleep. Thus, for instance, the last time Copperfield saw him alive in Yarmouth "I was up with the dull dawn and having dressed as quietly as I could, looked into his room. He was fast asleep, lying easy with his head upon his arm, as I had often seen him lying at school . . . he slept—

let me think of him so again—as I had often seen him sleep at school, and thus, in this silent hour, I left him.” (End of ch. 29.) It seems nothing could be more distant from the atmosphere of Stavrogin’s lethargic sleep than this sentimentally romantic description. and yet, after the disaster of the seduction of Emily, after the tempest in which the man whom he had injured most lost his life in an attempt to rescue him, Steerforth lies dead on the beach near Yarmouth. There “among the ruins of the home he had wronged I saw him lying with his head upon his arm as I had often seen him lie at school.” Translated into the language of literary realism the similarity of both situations underlined by the repetition of “as I had often seen him lie at school” can only mean that the impression of repose, clear conscience and serenity which David had of his sleeping friend was only a sham and was in reality nothing but the inanimity of a corpse or of an “inanimate wax figure.” “Too far fetched” one might object. “Where is the similarity of the situation?” There is certainly little, but in ch. 20, where a description of Steerforth’s room is given, we read: “It was a picture of comfort, full of easy chairs, cushions and footstools worked by his mother’s hands, and with no sort of thing omitted that could help to render it complete. Finally, her handsome features looked down on her darling from a portrait on the wall, as if it were even something to her that her likeness should watch him while he slept.” The three scenes, the serenity of innocent sleep, the rigidity of the corpse, and the mother looking at her sleeping son, led Dostoevsky to a psychological discovery which could be roughly expressed in the following words: she, the mother, when looking at the features of her darling, would have recognised that the serenity of his sleep was nothing but the rigidity of death, which had already frozen his heart and paralysed him as a moral being. This discovery led to the construction of the scene in Stavrogin’s study.

Like Steerforth, Stavrogin masters to perfection the art of charming the women who love him by an attitude of respectful gentleness. He makes use of it, as does his opposite number, both as a means of appeasement in his relation to his adoring but despotic mother, and as a means of seducing and dominating the lame girl whom he had secretly married. Nowhere do these charms work greater wonders than at the climax of the wild scene in the house of Varvara Petrovna (*The Possessed*, Part I, ch. 5, § 5), when he leads Mlle Lebyadkina, his secret wife, out of the drawing-room of his mother. His mother has just asked him whether the girl is his wife. Without replying he goes to her, kisses her hand, and then turns to Lebyad-

kina, who stands before him overpowered by a mixture of awe and ecstasy: "It is not possible for you to stay here"—Nikolai Vsevolodovitch said to her, in a caressing, melodious voice, and his eyes shone with unusual tenderness. He stood before her in the most respectful attitude, and his every movement expressed the most sincere deference." This is mere artifice, which he applies quite naturally and with full confidence in its immediate success. It is exactly the same as that used by Steerforth in his first encounter with little Emily. When she was reluctantly brought in to the fireside to meet her future seducer "she soon became more assured when she found how gently and respectfully Steerforth spoke to her." And on his last visit home before eloping with Emily "Steerforth was . . . particularly attentive and respectful" to his mother (ch. 29).

Dostoevsky's favourite idea of splitting the personality of a character and bringing about dramatic encounters of the doubles, one of whom appears sometimes as a devil, has been traced back to Gogol's *Nose*. This theme is also to be found in *The Possessed*. It plays a more important part in the original version of the novel as published in the *Russky Vestnik*. The later editions omit certain passages relating to the hallucinations of Stavrogin, possibly in connection with the falling out of the "Confession" chapter. The theme was not abandoned, however, and comes back in an elaborate form and in a central position in *The Brothers Karamazov*. When Stavrogin wakes up from the lethargic sleep observed by his mother, to which I have already referred, he opens his eyes and remains motionless for about ten minutes "staring fixedly and with curiosity at some object in the corner of the room which had struck him, although in that corner there was neither anything new nor peculiar." And later, Part II, ch. 3, § 4, he tells Dasha that he is seeing ghosts and, in particular, a certain devil: "Oh no, I don't believe in him, don't worry," he smiled, "for the time being, I still don't believe in him. I know that it is I myself in different aspects; that I split in two and carry on conversations with myself." These ghosts are also referred to in the conversations preceding the reading of the "Confession" in the excluded chapter.

Steerforth also sees ghosts. When Copperfield finds him sitting alone in Peggotty's house, looking fixedly into the fire, his entrance "failed to rouse him." "I was standing close to him, looking at him, and still with a heavy brow, he was lost in his meditations. He gave such a start when I put my hand on his shoulder that he made me start too. 'You come upon me,' he said, almost angrily,



‘like a reproachful ghost’ . . . ‘Have I called you down from the stars?’ ‘No,’ he answered, ‘no . . . I was looking at the pictures in the fire’ . . . he returned. ‘But you are spoiling them for me,’ said I. ‘You would not have seen them,’ he returned, ‘I detest this mongrel time, neither day nor night’ . . . There was a passionate dejection in his manner that quite amazed me. He was more unlike himself than I could have supposed possible. ‘It would be better to be this poor Peggotty or his lout of a nephew than to be myself . . . and be the torment to myself that I have been in this Devil’s bark of a boat, that I have been within this last half hour.’” And he goes on explaining to the confounded Copperfield that he had been a nightmare to himself just now, “‘must have had one, I think. At odd, dull times, nursery tales come up into the memory, unrecognised for what they are. I believe I have been confounding myself with the bad boy who “didn’t care” and became food for lions—a grander kind of going to the dogs, I suppose. What old women call the horrors have been creeping over me from head to foot. I have been afraid of myself.’”

Steerforth concludes his confession with the same spasmodic sombre hilarity which the other “bad boy who didn’t care” confessed to Dasha: “You know, since last night I have an awful desire to laugh, and laugh, ceaselessly, a lot, and long. I seem to be loaded with laughter.”

## 3

Steerforth, however, is not the only one personage to tread the magic way from the Victorian sentimental novel through the heart of Dostoevsky into the dæmonic world of Russia in the sixties, already teeming with the germs of the coming revolution. He is followed by a number of accessory characters who can be recognised, not only by applying the method of minute observation which we followed in the previous pages, but even by macroscopic inspection, because their identity is revealed by their mutual relation and their relation to the central hero. We have already caught Mme Stavrogin looking at her son in the way Steerforth’s mother used to look at him through her likeness. The analogy is, of course, much deeper. It rests on the unbending pride of both women, the pride inherited by the sons, the pride which is stronger than their motherly love. “I have no son,” snapped Varvara Petrovna to Dr. Salzfish, not knowing how right she was, for Stavrogin was on his way to self-destruction at that time. More dignified, but not less fierce, Mrs. Steerforth says: “Let him not put her [Emily] away now,

and he never shall come near me living or dying while I can raise my hand to make a sign against it, unless being rid of her for ever, he comes humbly to me and begs for my forgiveness'' There is a vague hint in the drafts of *The Possessed* that A. O. Smirnova-Rosset was used as a kind of prototype for Stavrogin's mother In any case, Varvara Petrovna is a far more important character in *The Possessed* than Mrs. Steerforth is in *Copperfield* But as far as her position as the mother of Stavrogin is concerned she does not display any features other than those to be found in the mother of Steerforth

The same cannot be said of the female ward living in the house of the hero's mother. Yet the attitude of Rosa Dartle and Daria Shatov is determined by a similar event which precedes the day on which the narrative begins Dickens typically alludes to it by means of a literary artifice or symbol, i.e. by means of the scar which Rosa bears on her face and for which Steerforth is responsible. It is left to the understanding reader to conclude that the event of which the scar is a permanent reminder could not have been a mere outbreak of a childish temper of James Steerforth's, because it is closely connected with that strained emotional fixation on Steerforth of which Rosa's temperamental outbursts are an outward manifestation. The scar can safely be regarded as a conventional symbol for some kind of sexual aggression committed by Steerforth in the past, which crippled Miss Dartle morally and established the erotic fixation on to Steerforth's person which it is no longer in his power to loosen or to break. A similar event must have taken place in Switzerland between Stavrogin and Daria. *The Possessed* allows us to assume the existence of a liaison to which Stavrogin attempts to put an end shortly before the events take a catastrophic turn. The drafts are less definite; they speak sometimes of a rape of the ward by Stavrogin, but more often they refer to an early meeting between the hero and his mother's ward in Switzerland during which the girl was "inflamed" and which left "a deep ulcer in her soul." The chatty inquisitiveness of Rosa, outwardly so different from the silent resignation of Daria, can hardly conceal the identity in the emotional attitude of both to the dæmonic hero. Maybe that the method of minute observation will give further support to this analogy Rosa's performance as a singer of Irish folk songs might be reflected in a detail of the projected novelette for the magazine *Zaria*, where one of the earliest versions of the Stavrogin type, named "The Heir," asks the ward of his mother to sing to him, under the pretence that he wants to test the piano

Next to the family group of the Steerforths, the shadow of another accessory character slips out of *Copperfield* into *The Possessed*. The early draft *Jealousy* to which we already referred, and adjoining versions, mention a Teacher who was to become at a certain stage the positive hero of the novel. The Teacher is of course a home tutor in the house of "the Prince" and Dostoevsky even thought of providing pupils for him in the person of younger brothers and sisters, forgetting for a moment that a hero of the Stavrogin-Steerforth type could not possibly be other than an only son. This Teacher was to be insulted or injured in his dignity by the Prince. The analogy with the dramatic incident in which Steerforth and Mr. Mell were involved in Salem House is at hand. To make it more convincing one need only mention that Dostoevsky's draft also refers to the Teacher's Mother, who was quite unnecessary to the plot, and dropped out of the final version, while "the Teacher" evolved into the figure of Shatov after being identified with various other rough prototypes for the same character.<sup>4</sup>

## 4

The method of minute observations of which we availed ourselves to establish the bearing of reminiscences of *David Copperfield* on the formation of the characters of the Stavrogin group in *The Possessed* can also be applied with revealing results, to the analysis of the plot of Dostoevsky's novel. Hardly a single scene connected with Steerforth and his milieu has escaped being reflected in one way or another in *The Possessed* or in the drafts. We have already mentioned the scene with Mr. Mell, one of the finest passages in

<sup>4</sup> I am tempted to support the results obtained by the method of minute observation by another in itself less convincing type of internal evidence, namely the choice of names, known to be always significant in Dostoevsky. The similarity of the names Stavrogin-Steerforth is obvious. The number of letters in "Stavrogin" by the old Russian orthography is the same as in "Steerforth". This, with the initial "St" and the alliteration would justify us in identifying the two, if we follow the method which no less an observer of his own creative imagination than Franz Kafka applied to his work. The same initial letter and number of letters in a name suffice for him to identify the characters of his short story *The Verdict*, with himself and persons of his entourage (Cf Max Brod: *Franz Kafka*, ch 4).

Another instance of this line of argument would be the choice of the name "Daria" for the ward. The drafts refer to her at an earlier stage as "Maria Alexeevna." The urge to change her name can be easily explained by the desire to avoid confusion with Shatov's wife and with Mlle Lebyadkina, who are both "Maries." The replacement of *M* by *D* could be traced back to Dartle, anyway phonetically alliterating Daria. There is one more instance of a choice of name directly influenced by *Copperfield*, in *The Possessed*. The name of Stavrogin's estate is "Skvoreshniki," from "Skvoreshnya," "starlingcote." "Skvoreshnik" would be the place where many starlings live together, like "Kuryatnik" for "henhouse." There is no Russian word for "Rookery" (the name of Copperfield's birthplace) but "Skvoreshniki" would be the nearest rendering of it.

*Copperfield*, where action and not psychological description lays bare the essential character features of the protagonists. The scene in Peggotty's deserted boathouse where Steerforth has hallucinations is another instance. A certain reticence caused by a fear of overstating my case prevents me from insisting on the analogy between the boat in which, according to Verkhovensky, Stavrogin is to steer the élite of the revolutionary group through the storm, and the episode of the purchase of the *Stormy Petrel*. Both the allegorical and the real craft were the instruments of crime and suffered shipwreck in the final disaster. The central scene, however, in the formation of which reminiscences from Dickens affected the creative work of Dostoevsky in the most striking manner is the scene of the meeting in the house of Stavrogin's mother, where almost the whole caste of the dramatic novel is assembled and the general outline of the plot emerges for the first time. When confronting this scene with that of the visit paid by Daniel Peggotty to Mrs. Steerforth after the abduction of Emily we should bear in mind what recent research has brought to light about the way Dostoevsky remodelled literary recollections. Bem, for instance, has shown convincingly how a number of scenes of *Crime and Punishment* were modelled out of Dostoevsky's reading of Pushkin's *Queen of Spades* and thus proved the descent of Raskolnikov from Pushkin's German. The central episode of the same novelette by Dostoevsky's recognised master was used by him in *The Idiot* in a way closely resembling parody (in Tomsy's confession of the most shameful action of his life). In both cases the lowering of the setting, the elimination of all stylistic elements, the treatment of a romantic situation in crude realistic colours, is for Dostoevsky a means of bringing out the psychological aspect and the moral significance of the narrated event.

Something of this kind must have occurred when Dostoevsky wrote the scene in Varvara Petrovna's house. In Dickens's novel Old Peggotty appears as the injured party, whose magnanimity and moral dignity prevent him from recrimination and vengeance, even when he meets with hardness and unpardonable contempt for his legitimate grief. Lebyadkin is a crook and a clown, a blackmailer, who fears to go too far and kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, and he therefore keeps his secret, although he tries to make the best of it by feeding Mme Stavrogin's suspicions that he might know something which would dishonour her son. Peggotty is intended to appeal to the sympathy of the reader by his edifying firmness and restraint. Lebyadkin is abjectly comical. And yet, in both scenes

the obstinate and proud mother is made to face a man, emerging from the quagmire, to which her son has been attracted and into which all the hopes and ambitions she had set upon him threaten to sink for ever. There she sits enthroned in her drawing-room, her heart tormented by the knowledge, or foreknowledge, of the inevitable disaster. At her side is the ward, whose attachment to the hero is all the stronger for having given up all hope of reciprocation. The petitioner appears specially clad for the occasion, and is embarrassed by the magnificence of the furnishings.

When the scene develops, the mother is prepared to hear the worst and is stiffening herself in her pride, determined not to yield and to remain unperturbed even when the worst happens. The petitioner, although conscious of his right or of his power, is not as insistent as he is expected to be, out of real or faked magnanimity ("Is it possible to die of magnanimity?" asks Lebyadkin.) He never raises a formal claim, never utters a threatening word, but is threatening by his mere appearance. The interview remains inconclusive, and the petitioner withdraws, suffering humiliation at the hands of Peter Verkhovensky in *The Possessed* and of Rosa Dartle in *Copperfield*. This is the general scheme, common to both novels, in each case filled with an utterly different content. We know that Lebyadkin is a further development of a certain Captain Kartuzov, the hero of a projected humorous story. Kartuzov, however, was not a rascal. He was meant to be a kind of Russian Don Quixote or Pickwick—a sort of Myshkin with a comic vein. Lebyadkin's poetry, his falling in love with a beautiful society girl, and other traits, are all taken from Kartuzov. But there is no trace of a scene like the meeting at Varvara Petrovna's town house in the humorous story of Kartuzov. The idea of it was obviously suggested by the appearance of the Stavrogin group of characters in the plot.

The degeneration of the funny but nevertheless noble-minded Kartuzov into the drunkard, bully, blackmailer Lebyadkin, is only an instance of Dostoevsky's failure to produce positive heroes. But how are we to explain the downfall of the honest-to-goodness, straightforward, noble character of Daniel Peggotty to the level of a Lebyadkin? And yet it seems that this metamorphosis is particularly significant for the way in which Dickens's character images influenced Dostoevsky's creations. Here is the rugged seaman coming to claim, not his personal right, but the right of a girl of whom he is the guardian, and on whom he has bestowed all the warmth and deep feeling of his rustic heart. Yet the first thing

he does is to accept the point of view of his opponent that social differences *do* make impossible a complete rehabilitation of Emily and a reparation of the injury inflicted upon her and her family. He is full of preoccupation with social considerations, and the only thing he can suggest is that little Emily should be raised to the rank of the Steerforths. He is ready to forgo his own right to see his child, as well as the right of all his clan: "Not one of us that she's growed up among, not one that's lived along with her and had her for their all in all these many years, will ever look upon her pritty face again." No wonder he fails in his appeal and no wonder that his readiness to "bide the time when all of us shall be alike in quality afore our God" could not conceal in the eyes of Dostoevsky the moral defeatism of his attitude. And Dostoevsky puts the reference to the Supreme Judgement with a vengeance in the mouth of Lebyadkin when it only produces a scornful "That is strongly worded" from Mme Stavrogin. Had Peggotty based his appeal on a direct claim of the right of even the meekest and least important human-being for reparation of personal injury, he would probably have failed as well, but his failure would have been tragedy, as Dostoevsky understood it, while, as it is, it must have appeared to him what we would now call "Victorian melodrama." In spite of all his "rugged eloquence" Peggotty, the righteous Peggotty, acts exactly as a blackmailer would have acted. He rejects money with an indignant gesture, but so does the blackmailer Lebyadkin when he insists on repaying twice over the alms which Varvara Petrovna had given to his sister.

A close comparative reading of the two scenes provides, therefore, an important clue to the question as to why memories of *David Copperfield* so powerfully dominated the creation of the Stavrogin group. Fascinated by the masterly revelation of characters in action which he found in Dickens, Dostoevsky must have been repelled by what must have appeared to him a shallowness of the tragic situation. He must have asked himself whether the seduction of Emily was a manifestation of evil—a crime—only because of the existing social prejudices. He must have played with the idea of a Steerforth braving the pride and the anger of his mother, marrying Emily, and facing the consequences, as Stavrogin was ready to face the consequences of his secret marriage with Maria Timofeevna. By raising the temperature of the dramatic situations encountered in Dickens to a degree where cheap and shallow solutions have no chance of providing an escape from tragedy rooted in the condition of man, Dostoevsky the writer is soothing the wound which

Dickens had unintentionally (or was it intentionally?) left in the mind of Dostoevsky the reader. He cruelly derides the conception that the evil of Steerforth's action is conditioned by social pride and prejudice and makes Lebyadkin the ludicrous champion of the melodramatic social argument

## 5

The refutation of shallow social explanations of human tragedy as reflected in literature was indeed a cause championed by Dostoevsky with great determination and perseverance. We need only recall the scorn of his attack on the conception of Pushkin's *Tatyana* which made her develop into a society lady who had lost the freshness and ingenuousness of the country girl, and therefore suppressed her ability to follow a natural and genuine passion towards Onegin during their encounter in St. Petersburg. The reading of Dickens must therefore have left behind in the mind of Dostoevsky a feeling of moral frustration. The characters and situations were there, true to life, but the tragic tension was explained by inadequate reasons and collapsed under the scrutiny of a moral and psychological vision which penetrated deeper than the social conscience of middle-class Victorians. This feeling of frustration and dissatisfaction produced a twofold reaction. On the one hand, all sentimental romanticism and all utilitarian reformism was punished with parody, such as we met in the reversal of the death and sleep situation in the figure of Steerforth or in the caricature of Peggotty as Lebyadkin. On the other hand, the true solution of the tragic tension encountered in Dickens's situations and characters was followed up into its potential developments and led to a transposition of the plot on a different scale and into new dimensions. The situations in which the character of Steerforth was revealed by Dickens are altered in a way which makes a trivial explanation impossible. If Steerforth is ready to brave public opinion, flaunt the love of his mother, and jeopardise his career for the sake of a "pretty face," Stavrogin adopts the rebellious attitude which precludes the vulgar explanation of a spoilt young gentleman "falling in love" and eloping with a girl of lower social standing. The direction of this development must be somehow inherent in Dickens's narrative. Little is directly said of Steerforth's passion for women, and there is good reason to believe that he as well as Stavrogin was only playing with the idea of being in love (as is suggested by Stavrogin's attitude to Lisa); that he *acted* the great

lover, but *wasn't* one.<sup>5</sup> But if it wasn't love which moved him to commit a breach of faith to his host, treachery to his friends, and to injure his mother, what was it then? As a reader of Dickens, Dostoevsky reconstituted the elements of Steerforth's character and saw that the evil actions he committed were not the result of yielding to the temptations of the flesh, or of social ambition, but sprang from an autonomous dæmonic desire for evil as such. He recognised Steerforth's kinship with those dæmonic heroes whose descent from the heroes of Darles de Montigny and de Sade has been revealed by Mario Praz.

In order to demonstrate the essential features of Stavrogin's psychological and moral constitution, Dostoevsky was led to create extreme situations, which would allow of only one explanation. This accounts for the necessity he felt of letting Stavrogin commit an act of the type described in the "Confession." Nothing less than the most abject crime committed with no other purpose than to wallow in filth and cruelty would unambiguously characterise the triumph of the autonomous will for evil of the dæmonic hero.

I do not know how long Dostoevsky carried in his mind the sinister figure which he made for himself of Dickens's hero; nor how precise and stable it was in his imagination. It seems that it was rather a fluctuating figure, subject to constant changes under the pressure of a desire to redeem the dæmonic hero, of which the life of *The Great Sinner* is a fragmentary record. When, however, in 1869, he heard of the monstrous occurrence in the Petrovskaya Agricultural Academy (the first instance of a radical purge in a Russian revolutionary group), the problem of the origin of an autonomous will for evil in man became for him an immediate one. Quite naturally the imaginary characters in terms of which he had been thinking of this problem were brought into contact with the pictures he made for himself of the real characters of the perpetrators of this crime. Yet he could not make the imaginary figure of Steerforth overlap with that of Nechaev. It seemed to him too high an honour for the finicky, stupid, limited personage of this real drama to be identified with the dæmonic character of his imagination. The crime in the Petrovskaya academy was monstrous enough to evoke in Dostoevsky's mind the cherished figure of the

<sup>5</sup> It might be only an odd coincidence, or it might be an implicit confirmation of my view that Robert Graves in his *The True David Copperfield* is led to assume that Emily had never been the mistress of Steerforth. Is it possible that the same idea occurred to Dostoevsky and was reflected in the odd situation hinted at in Stavrogin's conversation with Shatov to whom Stavrogin confides that Maria Timofeevna is a virgin?



dæmonic hero. The perpetrators were too despicable to be identified with him. Hence the necessity to introduce Stavrogin as a separate character in the novel, who, although basically responsible for all the series of crimes committed in that fantastic Russian provincial town, nevertheless was so little implicated in them that he could easily be omitted from a purely causal explanation of the tragic events (Peter Verkhovensky is entrusted with the task of explaining his "innocence" to Nikolai Vsevolodovich). Hence also the emphasis of Dostoevsky's assurance in the letter to Katkov that such types as Stavrogin really exist in Russia "in certain circles." The insistence all too clearly betrays the weakness of Dostoevsky's own conviction in what he was saying.

This also is the reason why I am inclined to believe that Dostoevsky was not conscious of the provenance of his hero. A peculiar inhibition, supported by the desire to deduce revolutionary movements such as Nechaev's from the mentality of the dæmonic rebel such as Stavrogin, prevented Dostoevsky from remembering that he had met his hero in the pages of the English novel. The same inhibition must have endowed the imaginary dæmonic figure with a strange ascendancy over the imagination and creative powers of his author. Stavrogin is somehow resilient; all attempts to save him and to transform him into "the new man" of Russia of which the drafts repeatedly bear witness fail completely and his story tends to assume lines parallel to those drawn by Dickens. Had Dostoevsky been able to analyse his hero, that is, had he been able to recall where he had met him, he might possibly have been liberated from the ban imposed on him by Dickens. But then he would not have suffered the humiliation of failing to explain the origin of evil in man by assuming the existence of a dæmonic lust for evil as such, a humiliation of which he was profoundly conscious, and which forced him to come back to the problems of *unde malum* in *The Brothers Karamazov*, this time without introducing the artificial types derived from the sublime Marquis. We should also have been deprived of the pleasure of getting, through the intermediary of *The Possessed*, a glimpse into the chapter of a great work of art otherwise completely lost to humanity, *The True David Copperfield* by Feodor Dostoevsky.

## 6

I have confined myself in this essay to establishing a relation between the Steerforth group of characters in *David Copperfield* and that of the Stavrogin group in *The Possessed*. I have little doubt

that a close comparison of the texts would reveal further, if not equally significant, parallels. In fact, in the Stavrogin group of characters themselves elements can be found which reflect other parts of Dickens's novel than the Steerforth chapters. There are elements in the character of Varvara Petrovna which recall not only Mrs. Steerforth, but also Betsy Trotwood with her affectionate snappishness and tyrannical generosity. As there is hardly any biographical justification in the life of Prof. Granovsky for a relation of the kind existing between Mme Stavrogin and Verkhovensky-Granovsky, I feel entitled to draw a parallel with the relation of Miss Trotwood to Mr. Dick, of which Dickens speaks with so much discretion. Mr. Dick's unpromising work on "the Memorial," his lack of purpose in defending Miss Trotwood's vital interests in the piece of green against the donkeys, even his sentimental relation to children, are all pointers to the lines along which such a comparison could be attempted. And possibly this would lead to a further elucidation of an ideological connection between the two novels, without which a mere comparative morphology of the characters has little illuminating value. There is, however, an ideological parallel between both novels for which the method of text contra-position provides but little support and which is, nevertheless, worth looking into. Biting has never been a widespread and accepted method of social intercourse between fully grown specimens of the human kind. The use of the jaws in this manner, although very effective, seems incompatible with even that kind of commerce which is directed to mutual destruction. It is, therefore, striking that scenes of biting between adults occur no less than three times on the pages of *The Possessed*. Stavrogin bites the governor's ear when the latter leans over to him in order to hear what he expects to be a confidential explanation of his strange behaviour. A young officer, who is reprimanded by his superior in front of the company, throws himself at him and bites him in the shoulder, an event which produces a strong impression on public opinion. Finally, Kirilov, before committing his philosophical suicide, bites the finger of Peter Verkhovensky who annoys him by his presence, his impatience and by doubting his determination to shoot himself. It seems that at a given moment, when the "secession of the rebel from society" (Edmund Wilson) has reached a point where verbal communication and other forms of mutual understanding become meaningless, biting sets in as the pre-human form of intercourse.

Biting was also used by Dickens as an essential constructive element of his novel. When David bit Mr. Murdstone's hand he

committed his first act of rebellion against authority. At the same time this action, which he remembered "with a shudder" all his life, was the beginning of his life's story, of his adventure as an independent individual in the hostile world. Not content with the report of the scene, Dickens gives sequence to it by letting David carry the poster "Beware of him—he bites!" But David was a "goody-goody" and not a rebel after all, in fact his whole life was a redemption of this act of original rebellion. The same does not apply to his creator Dickens. I do not know whether *his* rebellion had ever taken the drastic form of biting in his childhood, but we know that it lived in his heart throughout his life and made him introduce into his works the scenes which gave it satisfaction. This function gives these scenes particular force, and we may trust the psychological insight of Dostoevsky to credit him with profound understanding of the real meaning of such scenes as the biting of Mr Murdstone's hand by his stepson.

The desire to speak to Russia out of Russian experience made Dostoevsky camouflage the influence of Dickens in a way which traditional methods of comparative literary criticism were, until now, unable to decipher. But Dostoevsky was not ungrateful; we know that on 8 June 1880, after having lived through the greatest personal triumph which ever fell to a Russian man of letters before or after him, after the delirious crowds had crowned him with laurels at the conclusion of his speech on Pushkin, Dostoevsky went at night and laid the wreath which had been given to him at the feet of Pushkin's monument, thus witnessing once more his humble admiration for and gratitude to the greatest of his masters. But we also know that on the following day, lunching with a group of writers and critics, he spoke of Dickens with an enthusiasm which much impressed his audience. The record of this scene by A. S. Suvorin still awaits publication.

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## TWO HUNGARIAN MEN OF LETTERS

(IGNOTUS, 1869- )

### I

IN the last quarter of the 19th century and in the early part of the 20th century Hungary developed a range of urbane sensibilities which seemed like a deviation from the traditional social and cultural pattern of the nation. New moods, perceptions, reactions were emphasised. The art of words, sometimes the turn of a phrase, seemed unlike anything the Hungarian public had previously experienced. In some instances the manner and mannerism of writing, especially noticeable in the newspapers of Budapest, seemed utterly unmindful of the academic or idiomatic terminology of the past. Modern diction, facile and ornamental, seemed to lack contact with the organic verbal expression of the "historic classes" and the people. It was a radical departure from the admirable (or stale) phraseology of writers and poets referred to in textbooks and discussed in scholarly publications. Clever, pertinent, gaudy, involved and dynamic expressions, coordinated with the swift tempo of commercial and industrial activities, characterised the works of writers (often conflicting in their ideology) like Sándor Bródy, Ede Kabos, Tamás Kóbor, Adolf Ágai, József Kiss, Jenő Heltai, Emil Makai, Dezső Szomory and others. There was technical dexterity in their writings which achieved its end of stimulation with a structural and contextual device that considerably differed from the "proper" works of conservative authors. Hungary was developing a middle class which in outlook and taste had its analogy in literature. To a large extent this middle class was Jewish. It consisted of "adjusted" merchants, manufacturers, promoters, and intellectuals, personifying the social and æsthetic standards of recently acclimatised individuals and groups. No doubt there were thousands of poverty-stricken Jews, workers, peddlers, junk-dealers, many of them conditioned by their ghetto-environment; and they too gradually had their literary representatives. But what particularly determined the urbanisation of this Hungarian epoch was the practical and cultural contribution of the middle-class Jews to the nation's progress.

It is not without good reason that Ignotus (Hugo Veigelsberg), one of the most influential writers of his generation, stressed the

creative consideration of this new and resourceful stratum of Hungarian society. He did not look at this social stratum with the disposition of humdrum politicians who observe people out of the corner of their eye with the intent of using them. Despite his political acuteness and elasticity he witnessed the new forces of Hungarian society with the responsible awareness of one whose creative and critical sensitivity diagnosed their virtues and shortcomings without the necessity of singing a pæan of undiscerning and self-deceiving admiration. However, it would be wrong to suppose that in the social and literary life of Hungary Ignotus felt and acted as an alien. Neither he nor the other Hungarian writers of Jewish descent considered themselves Hungarians to a lesser degree than their non-Jewish confrères. As Benjamin Disraeli, Henri Bergson, Stefan Zweig were identified with their national cultures, Hungarian writers of Jewish descent identified themselves with the rhythmical design of their nation. Anti-semites were inclined to doubt their instinctive honesty with reference to the Hungarian scene, but during the "liberal" régime of the late 19th and early 20th century Hungarian authors of Jewish origin were as a rule judged as Hungarians. Even their Jewish themes did not suggest a special theory about Jewishness; it did not qualify the æsthetic merit of their writings, but merely revealed a different emotional and ethical attitude in the world of creativeness. It was not to their discredit that a casual reading of their works implied a cosmopolitanism, which was partly a pathetic escape from uprootedness despite linguistic adaptability, partly an attempt to transpose their views from a provincial or national platform, that is, to enliven their writings with a broader horizon, without suggesting an inferior version of Hungarian loyalty.

The family background of Ignotus, the experiences of his youth, are illustrative of the inescapable difficulties that the transition from a German and Jewish culture to Hungarian culture demanded from gifted Hungarian Jews. With the cultural growth of the nation and as the result of various political, social and economic factors, the Hungarian language gained in importance. The younger Hungarian generation of Jewish origin was apt to use German in the home, but not in its intellectual, practical, and recreational pursuits. The father of Ignotus was a prominent German publicist in Hungary, Ignotus, too, mastered the German language; nonetheless by choice, which in its effect determined his position as a man of letters, he became a Hungarian writer. Compared with indigenous Magyar writers one discerns linguistic

strangeness in his labyrinthine sentences ; it is truly a style of his own, unquestionably Hungarian, but invaded by alien verbal and spiritual shades, and animated by a mental agility and association of ideas which seem to say that as a critic and as a creator this pioneer of certain modern Hungarian literary tendencies had to discover his own native tongue

Ignotus was born in 1869 in Budapest. He received an excellent education. As a publicist he wrote for *Magyar Hírlap* (Hungarian News), and later for *Világ* (World)—progressive Hungarian dailies. He may be regarded as an eclectic writer, with leanings towards the left. The crucial point of his literary activities came when—after having been a contributor for a number of years to *Hét* (Week), a literary weekly—he edited, in cooperation with the noted critic Ernő Osvát *Nyugat* (West), a periodical of decisive influence in modern Hungarian literature. Opposed to sterile traditionalism (which did not interfere with the recognition of his literary proclivity by Pál Gyulai, the “grand old man” of Hungarian criticism), he seemed well suited to sponsor unknown writers and poets. His ironic intelligence did not diminish his good will for and sincere interest in artists who needed critical support. Some of the best writers of 20th-century Hungary achieved critical acknowledgment and an audience after Ignotus had introduced them to the public. As a writer of essays and short stories he possessed a polished, albeit involved, technique, and as a poet he recalled Heineesque qualities. His translations of some Shakespearean sonnets and other poems revealed him as a skilful interpreter of foreign poetry. In his rôle of critic he flaunted conventions and it was difficult to intimidate him. He knew how to entrench himself in the realm of words. By nature he embraced man’s universality, by decision he served the Hungarian rhythm of this universality. His impressionistic views seem like lyrical ventures in the field of creative evaluation. He left Hungary after the first World War and for some time lived in Czechoslovakia and in Transylvania (Roumania) ; then for many years he worked in Vienna in the editorial office of a German daily. When Hitler’s barbarism made life in Vienna intolerable for civilised men, Ignotus and his wife sought and found shelter in the United States of America, where he contributed to the daily paper *Szabadság*. He was never politically indifferent—in fact politics coloured his literary judgments ; essentially, however, he has been impatient with aggressive political criticism applied to literature, and he could be fair with poets and writers who produced the kind of art which was not agreeable to

his political convictions. Of his prose works the following are the most significant: *Olvadás Közben* (While Reading), *Kísérletek* (Experimentations), *Változatok a G Húron* (Variations on G String), *Színházi Dolgok* (Things of the Theatre), *Egy Év Történelme* (The History of One Year), *Vallomások* (Confessions). His prose works contain criticism, aphorisms, short stories, sketches, expressions of positive thoughts and elusive moods, notes about transitory events and episodes. Of his poetic works *Slemil Keservei* (Sorrows of Slemil), a story in verse, and a volume entitled *Vérsek* (Poems), deserve consideration. A selection of his stories and poems was published in 1918.

## II

Indignation and critical subjectivism determined Ignotus' attitude about life and literature. He managed to say what he wished to say in a fashion which differentiated him from his colleagues. He accepted the right of the writer to inconsistencies, since his own judgments rested not on doctrines, but on impressions. He knew how to praise and how to condemn. In his appraisals he did not limit himself to one type of writing; the major criterion of his evaluation was creative power. When he found faults with an author whose talent he appreciated, he naturally gave an account of his objections, but remained true to the premise of his evaluation which derived from his respect for the writer's ability. Even in his less important critical jottings his sharp-witted intelligence asserted itself. He certainly knew how to project himself into the object of criticism; his empathic experience was the essence of his critical measurement. He could be graceful and sparkling, some of his works have the charm of *causeries*, yet his tolerant views notwithstanding his writings were also polemic and controversial. He demonstrated the correlation between æsthetic sensibilities and political exigencies. It is to his credit that Endre Ady, the great Hungarian poet, has reached the public. Nonetheless it was not only Ady's poetic genius that compelled Ignotus to favour him, but the progressive political and social ideas that were evident in many works of the Hungarian poet.

In his style Ignotus aimed to recapture the idiomatic richness of the Magyar language, but by means which made his "pure Hungarianism" artificial, and out of all proportion with his urbanity. He has represented the principle of relativistic criticism in modern Hungarian literature, an intermingling of reasonableness, scepticism, and romantic individualism, a style that alternated between force-

fulness and turgidity—an inclination to over-rate the immediate and attribute to it lasting significance, but also to value finished literary works with the reliability of a real critic. The impulsiveness of his critical expressions proved to be the projection of a flexible intelligence, primarily concerned with literature, but also conscious of the orthodox and unorthodox ideas of the 20th century. He had profound respect for Hungarian creators of the past (for instance he admired János Arany, an exceptional poet, indeed), but it was the contemporary scene that dominated his interest. Because of political reasons he permitted the moment to affect his judgment, nevertheless his consciousness of things and events was so keen that it enabled him to make paradoxical statements of critical validity. For example, in defending the irritating verbal mannerisms of the playwright, Dezső Szomory, he concluded by justifying Szomory's "unique music and picturesqueness." There was an element of contrived irrationality in his critical approval of Szomory, an ingenious defence more flattering to Ignotus' understanding than a verification of the dramatist's oriental and baroque effusiveness.

In his philosophy Ignotus has been a positivist and a rationalist, in tune with his friend, the philosopher, Gyula Pikler. But he was too restless and too imaginative to succumb to "common sense" as the sole controlling force of his creative and critical activities. His mental process, while disposed to definitions, was also related to the wavering boundaries of the human spirit, to feelings that emancipated him from the finality of concepts. He knew how to present an argument, he also knew how to be argumentative without the necessity of accepting the omnipotence of an argument. His positivism and rationalism have accentuated a vigilance for literary authenticity, and an unwillingness to adjust himself to the Procrustean bed of theories, dogmas, and facts. In other words a distinction should be made between his inclination to fix his attention on facts and ideas that were statistically verifiable, and on facts and ideas that were coloured by his subjectivity and the nobility of his spirit. His perception and expression have lacked the kind of objectivity and methodical orderliness that a certain type of academic scholar expects from critics.

In his stories, sketches, confessions, and poems the principle of categorisation is as difficult to observe as in his critical writings. There is nothing stereotyped about Ignotus. As a general statement one may say that the decorative and impressionistic elements



of his creative work tell us as much about his personality as his critical writings. It has been said of 18th-century writers that their personality was of more importance than their art. Such comment is valid in the case of Voltaire and other Encyclopedists. In the writings of Ignotus his personality is of paramount significance, regardless of whether we read a psychological story in which delineation of character or atmosphere sustains our interest, or whether we read his maxims, which at times seem like a jest of the intellect, or his lyric or narrative poems revealing the seriousness and delight of love, or the complexities of life. We are constantly reminded of Sainte-Beuve's definition of the personality of a writer which is the expression of the man himself; even the masque is a part of his sincerity. We are conscious of the fact that neither surroundings nor the long span of his life could institutionalise Ignotus into grey detachment or silly pompousness. His fantasy as well as his keen intelligence, components of a subjective world, did not need the pretext of impartiality in order to suggest critical integrity; in intercourse with other minds he has shaped and reshaped his experiences in a manner in which the image of his own person justified the reader's interest in his work. In the preface to *Les Misérables* Victor Hugo remarks that "the malicious have a dark happiness." The assertiveness of Ignotus, his many-faceted sensitivities and his resentment of paralogisms have suggested an accent of satirical superiority; but it was never malicious and it was immune to the "dark happiness" of which Victor Hugo speaks. On the other hand his enemies have found plausible reasons for attacking his "immodesty." Goethe's *nur die Lumpen sind bescheiden* (only the ne'er-do-well are modest) is obviously the expression of an attitude which considered "modesty" as an idle term applied to those who create. In this sense Ignotus did not seem modest: that is, he made no excuses for himself as a writer and as a critic. He has repeatedly declared that he contributed a great deal to modern Hungarian letters, which was true, despite the sneering condemnations of his adversaries and the legitimate attacks of his opponents. The pliable universality of his ego was not the expression of universal reality, but it meant a gradual elimination of outmoded ideas and ideals in the particular historical and cultural situation of 20th-century Hungary, a combination of wisdom and cleverness, the ethics of the reality and illusion of understanding.

## III

While Ignotus used his creative and critical faculties for the exposure of political and social abuses, for the presentation of morals and manners, his main objective in writing was æsthetic. He was not typical of the art-for-art's-sake school of writers and poets, in fact—especially as a poet—he has been inclined to write in traditional lyrical convention; nonetheless his approach to permanent and elusive problems led to the reproduction of experiences on a level of articulated sensitivity which explains the distinct qualities of his work. He was, of course, always interested in the truthful portrayal of things, feelings, ideas, and events in a factual, actional, and critical sense; but by insisting on subjectivity and by possessing a rather refined than wide emotional range which was intellectually enriched with a delightful ironic flavour, it was not so much truth that he served but truth in the light of his attachments and idiosyncrasies. His works were the products of the mental and emotional manipulations of a writer who did not care to win favour with the multitude, but was also unwilling to ignore his public-spirited duties. Ignotus accomplished his purpose of self-expression, sometimes with a minimum of effort; but for the average reader who preferred plainness of expression and conventional exactness his intricateness has seemed far-fetched.

In contrast with his long sentences and paragraphs, overstocked with ideas or witticisms, he could be a master of aphoristic brevity. In his witty handling of an *aperçu* he reminds one of the formal, concise manner of La Rochefaucauld. His interest in psychology, his genuine and studied concentration upon "newness," his device of using "rugged" vocabulary without a rugged disposition, his taste echoing the decadence of the *fin de siècle*, his civilised weariness and curiosity, the mixture of a haughty, caustic, and pleasing intellectuality, have been indicative of a complex personality scientifically and philosophically receptive, earnest—although not solemn—in his literary and journalistic intent, decidedly impressionistic in temperament. He has represented Old World culture susceptible to new ideas; a kind of sophistication markedly superior in its rejection of hackneyed schemes and expression, an aptitude for minute analysis which was developed according to a pronounced subjective pattern. In some of his essays the ideas and in some of his stories the characters have acted as catalytic agents changing the design of his innermost self from artistic creation or critical discernment to a manifest expression of sensuousness or frivolity.

Sometimes he seemed to be walking tiptoe on the path of lyrical adventures, then again like one who could capture the whole emotion of an experience, or like a knight of criticism whose destiny was to stand before the world as a champion of modern Hungarian creators.

His life abroad has not caused a definite break with his Hungarian literary past ; he has never failed to be conscious of his obligations to Hungarian culture. Spiritually he did not become an expatriate, but neither has he ever failed his cosmopolitan obligations. From his youth on he looked to the West of Europe, hoping to discover in it a torch for cultural and social orientation. He always seemed to be living in a keyed-up state of mental excitement. Various forces within him were pulling in different directions. Despite his physical frailty and despite the insults heaped upon him by his political and literary enemies, the spiritual fibre of his being was such that he faced an uncharitable world with fortitude, with a wry sense of humour and at times with flippancy. Underneath his subtleness there was strength. His critical writings were replete with learning, his sense of values was related to the juxtaposition of cultural similarities and differences, and when he harangued certain conservative writers for their immobile taste and views, he did this tactfully, without the usurpation of his critical freedom. Sometimes he displayed deep feelings. He could, when he wished, be a meticulous craftsman of words ; in many of his pages there is an elegance of expression, an individually realised cosmopolitan rhythm, a release from provincial pettiness, universal expansion. Much of his psychology and manner of writing is traceable to his upbringing, to the transition from Jewishness to Hungarianism ; much of it, however, is the expression of a distinct critical and creative personality who in a world of agrarian traditions, urbane progress and mechanical contraptions, has defended the rights of the individual to his elementary and elemental emotions and thoughts as a private citizen and as a publicly active person. The sum total of Ignóty's work is fragmentary. It may be thus for organic reasons which he was unable to overcome, or for external reasons which between the two World Wars, and since then, created tensions in his life making the desultoriness of some of his writings inevitable. There emerges a personality from his works which both in major and minor utterances has been acutely aware of the unbearableness of any kind of oppression and which found safety in the protection of the critical and creative spirit ; but also a personality which recognises man's animal spirit, the

exhilarating and corrupt instinctivity of human fate and of man's materialistic destiny reaching out for a moral horizon.

(OSZKÁR GELLÉRT, 1882- )

I

Oszkár Gellért is chiefly acclaimed as a poet of family attachments. Nevertheless, it would be fallacious to say—as some of his critics do say—that his poetic consciousness as a father and husband established an invisible *cæsura*, a mental pause, between his pronounced lyrical self and his social self. Gellért's family feeling enhances his lyricism instead of detracting from it. It provides him with varied emotional responses, and oftentimes prevents him from succumbing to the traditional rhetoric or sentimentalities of versified family affections. To ban lyrical fervour from such poetry would mean an elimination of the basic reason of his poetry. His works have other motives besides family joys and anxieties. His intellectual bashfulness, which does not permit him to be an embarrassing exhibitionist of feelings, his free and conventional rhyming and versification and his connotative language are effective vehicles of tension and intensity, reminding the reader of an emotional depth which only a man of lyrical resourcefulness can have. When Gellért seems impersonal, he is in truth controlling his desire for uncritical emotional communication, thus balancing human frankness and artistic intent. His poetry is rarely ornate; it is masculine in the best sense of the word; it follows a pattern of compassion, understanding, pity and irony which, without skilful use, would be cumbersome or could degenerate into the sentimentality of "home, sweet home" verses. As a lyric poet Gellért talks to himself, though he is talking to his family, society or the universe; but his taste and manner make his lyrical voice inaudible to those who substitute effusiveness for pure lyricism, and who, at the expense of its poetically justifiable lyrical roots, translate the meaning of "family poetry" into "social poetry."

Gellért's critics have observed that his poetry is often conceptual, that he plays upon the instrument of words with emphatic self-consciousness. This, evidently, is an indirect condemnation of his lyrical "defects," of his incapacity to "let himself go." According to Blake, Sir Joshua Reynolds's concentration upon reason in the flights of imagination is wrong, because "if this is true, it is a devilish foolish thing to be an artist." The chasm between

instinct and reason in the realm of creative expression is an age-old controversial topic of critics and creators, but generally they agree (with the exception of some neo-classicists) that in certain instances the reason for the reality of a poem or of a work of art consists in its unreality. In working out the meaning of poetry, one arrives at the conclusion that even the conceptual poet, i.e. the poet in whom, at least on the surface, reason predominates, is a poet because of his instinctive authenticity and his ability to find through images, verbal colour and musicality a concrete presentation of his relationship to the sensuous and abstract experiences of life. The "content" of Gellért's poetry is only of importance insofar as it retains its ideological or emotional substance by being poetry. The Hungarian poet is not a master of striking metaphors or symbols, but his reactions to the discords of life, his joyous or distressed—sometimes sonorous—soliloquies, motivated by the particulars and totality of human fate, and his manner of verbal exactness, which should not be mistaken for verbal rigidity, reveal him as a lyrist of no mean order and represent him as a distinguished poet in his native land.

At this point one should say that often feelings are inverted actions. In many of Gellért's poems one senses a plot, simple and complex in its technique, specific or all-inclusive in its intent, profane, ethical, religious (not pious)—a reasonable expression of active subjectivism without surrender to the omnipotence of reason. In other words neither his "conceptual" nor his "plot-containing" characteristics detract from Gellért's lyrical validity. Indeed, his poetry is essentially the lyrist's self-addressed experience in which the familiar and the unfamiliar rediscover their possessor. Through subjectivity, the poet reflects the image of reality as he feels it and understands it. Oszkár Gellért sought poetic integration with human destiny. In his political and social outlook he was not always in accord with the Hungary in which he lived, in fact the world in which he lived. Yet the centre of his poetry, which is (1) love for his wife, family, and friends, and (2) justice for mankind, is related to a circle of humaneness which objectively-measured reality could not extinguish, although it darkened his attitude, so that at times the inhumaneness of life drove him into pessimism.

## 2

Gellért was born in Budapest, raised in middle-class surroundings, studied law, but decided to be a newspaperman and literary editor. In his youth, he edited *Magyar Gênio* (Hungarian

Genius), a literary magazine, later he became a co-editor of *Nyugat* (West), an *avantgarde* monthly, and an editorial writer for daily papers. By nature defiant but also gentle, reaching beyond the boundaries of many of his contemporaries, adjusted to his Hungarianism without a desire to be adjusted to chauvinism, he endeavoured to sustain an equilibrium of judgment both in the relatively endurable and in the panicky times of his country. The brutality, madness and tragedy-inviting conditions of the 20th century, the unwillingness to delude himself with irresponsible phrases, the necessity of finding a firm foundation in a world dominated by triumphant and stupid selfishness, explain somewhat the atmospherical and moral characteristics of his poetry. He remained prolific—although he had periods of non-productiveness or of non-publication—and he could place confidence in man, despite the lack of vision of his environment. Amid circumstances that blocked poetic sensitivity or that minimised it and masqueraded in nobility, he insisted upon creative and human honesty. Fourteen slender volumes—some contain his earlier poems—reveal a deft and courageous spirit. Several of his poems have been translated into French, German, and Italian. Watson Kirkconnell, the Canadian poet, gives a rendering of the poem entitled *Szent Rótság Ez, Barátom*, published in English under the title "This Is Holy Ugliness, My Friend."

The withered age of womankind · approach it not

But with the humble words of utter sorrow.

The youthful beauty you may mock ;

From her elastic body scorn rebounds

From her unwrinkled skin it rolls away,

The mirror of her eyes reflects it,

From her electric hair it leaps in sparks,

Our vain male mockery.

But ah, our wives and mothers,—

What has made

Their shrivelled bodies,

Their withered skin,

Their sunken eyes,

And faded hair ?

Labour and pain, yea, labour and pain.

For us and because of us, for us and because of us,

They bear and bury. Oh, how often do they bury ·

During one life-time ! And how often do we die

Not physically, in our wives' and mothers' eyes

Before the grave.

This is holy ugliness, my friend, at the foot of the Cross.  
 It beautifies us.  
 And only through our tears  
 May we behold this holy ugliness  
 With which they buy  
 Our more beautiful lives,  
 Our more beautiful death,  
 Our more beautiful resurrection !

This poem, similar to many of his other poems, shows how Gellért shared his lyrical responsibility with his humane obligations. *Salaktalan Bocsánatot Adj* ("A Pardon Without Reserve"), also translated by Watson Kirkconnell, is one of Gellért's representative love poems.

Do not demand, my dear, that in my pride  
 I draw near you again :  
 In my footsteps only thistles grow,  
 Serpents hiss, and stifling sulphur rises.  
 Let it be you who comes towards me and pardons me.  
 Look, you have taken only one step.  
 And blue forget-me-nots spring from the soil beneath your feet.  
 Another step, and the violets will open out,  
 Still another and the wild poppies will raise their heads.  
 And now, from within my arms, cast a glance behind.  
 See, behind you, a whole field in flower.  
 Alas ! Why have you looked back ! At one glance  
 From your eyes grown drowsy,  
 The field has faded from one end to the other.  
 Well, let us begin again. Come towards me.  
 One ! And at your step a ladybird tries its wings.  
 Two ! And a golden butterfly poises on a grass-blade.  
 Three ! A silky quail opens its beak—  
 Provided you do not look back ! Too late ! Already they have vanished  
 from the earth—  
 Does it happen no more ? Once more perhaps !  
 One ! And under your feet the sun half appears.  
 Two ! Three !—And from little craters a red and blue flame leaps like  
 a crest.  
 Oh, the marvellous fire of artifice !  
 But do not look back—alas ! all is gone, all is extinguished.  
 One time more, the last—  
 And think no more of any pleasure here below,  
 Grant a pardon without dross.  
 One, two, three—and under your feet  
 Behold the stars leap forth.

Now look back without fear, behold the stars, the stars !  
 How they shine and burn They will never go out.  
 For this is now thrice holy Simplicity.  
 For this is now celestial Love.

## 3

Through the years, Gellért's creative spirit manifested a more or less even quality of poetic expression. If one compares his early works, such as *Az Első Stációnál* (At the First Station), *Ofélia Térdein* (On the Knees of Ophelia), or *Velem Vagytok* (You Are with Me), with his later volumes, such as *Tíz Esztendő* (Ten Years), or *Őrizd Meg Titkodat* (Keep Your Secret), and his latest volume *Égtájak Közé* (Amidst Skies)—poems written in 1945 and 1946 to express his isolation, fear, and horror in the monstrous times of Nazism—one naturally notices differences in the manner of writing. Gellért could not accept the despotism of the obvious, although much of his poetry becomes obvious through his loyalty to sincere and valid experiences. His ideas, feelings, and form in his early poetry, as well as in his later works, are motivated and shaped by love, by family and social problems, by hedonistic and metaphysical questions, by man's mechanical advancement, by fear of spiritual sterility and the strength to repulse it, by a consciousness that the 20th century is "the night of ghost-visitations" and by the will not to lose his way in contemporary confusion and perversion.

He will ask: "Dreamer, am I allowed to awaken you?" or "Do you hear the music of the earth?" and one senses the correlation between anxiety and affirmativeness. He will speak about "naked palms" and "naked forehead" and "corrupt words" that undress innocence, and he will speak of the nakedness of "wet lips and wet eyes" with reference to a young girl, or about death, "the real good nurse" who assists "in the birth of new life." In this contrast of sensuousness and pathetic consolation, one recognises the corresponding psychology of identical aims as a conflicting experience—a need to believe in life's purpose through unrest and peace. In one of Gellért's poems, Adam turns to the universe and declares that should he ever disappear from this world he would will the universe "the memory of woman's love and man's revolt." The poet thanks the Lord that no one could accuse him of "ever having eaten the bread of others," thus giving an unqualified expression to his humanitarianism and social-mindedness. In another poem he joyfully plays with the word



"family" and caresses it as if it were "a mysterious flower." A lonely night induces him to implore "the tower of his books" not to fall upon him and crush him, and he asks the fly to continue its buzzing until "the morning arrives." His panegyrics of the woman whose most profound joy is "to carry her child beneath her heart" and his portrayal of the inquisitive woman who is thrilled by "visiting the cemetery of man's heart" are successful presentations of the antipodal traits of women. His nostalgia for universal justice and for man's humanisation find words in an image of man "destroying Satan and saving God."

Some of Gellért's poems seem parable-like, but in essence they do not differ from the organic pattern of his creative spirit. At times he uses an epigrammatic style which, however, does not harm the inner poetic texture of his work. In all of his poems, in their empirical and cosmic perspective, he remained true to his æsthetic standards and lyrical impulses. As the Greek chorus aimed to foster the plot of tragedy, his poetry intensifies man's 20th-century tragedy. He offers a synthesis of associations, illusions, allusions, and realities determined by an instinctively moral choice, by subjectively trying to take roots in an objective world. He owed very little to his predecessors in Hungarian poetry, except the heritage left by those who could not bear political and social chicaneries and persecution. As a man and as a poet, he too was ruled by a deep and irresistible spirit of fair play. He personifies the poet who despite his humaneness appeals primarily to the intellectual élite of his country; but it is worth noting that his lamentations and accusations, his elegiac and ode-like poems, and "free verse"—"cadenced verse" in the terminology of Amy Lowell—the seemingly artificial but really natural flow of his words, throw into the tragic darkness of his nation the kind of light of which only superior sensitivity is capable. While the world was armed to its teeth, the poet sang about peace; and while society showed disintegration and many leaders rejected freedom, the poet directed his interests towards the unity of family life and towards the dignity of man possessed with the desire and capacity for freedom. Not all of his poetic devices are effective; occasionally, contrary to his self-discipline, he is tiresome; as a rule, however, the tone of his poetry and its meaning represent a genuine creator, coexistent with modernity, but detached from its mannerisms and opposed to its atrocities.

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## THE TRANSLATION OF CERTAIN USES OF THE RUSSIAN IMPERFECTIVE

FIRST, some introductory remarks, to clear the ground. The difficulties—or difficulty—of rendering the Russian verb in English arises from profound differences between the very character of the two languages. English has what may be termed a substantival tendency. The noun, rather than the verb, is the keystone of speech. In distinction from English, Russian is a language in which the key word is a verb or verbal form. *Kak pojoť!* a Russian cries, *What a singer!* (or: *what a voice!*) cries the Englishman.

A substantive refers to a phenomenon—a physical object, or, in the world of ideas, a mental concept. It is a label, a description. It presupposes its reference to be momentarily still. In that it is like all definition, all measurement.

A verb refers to the change taking place between one state and another, and is interested in the “object” only in so far as it is required to define the flux, either of the object, or between that object and another. We have, indeed, a totally different way of regarding phenomena; the emphasis, the “angle,” is essentially different.

The difference between the objective or substantival and the verbal approach is to be seen from such phrases as: *TjoPLYje moločnyje sumerki stojali nad gorodom* (Leskov; *Lady Macbeth, Mcenskobo Ujezda*) or *Ej ot rodu šol vsevo dvadcatj četvortyj god* (from same work).

Why should the warm milky twilight be said to *stand* over the town? Why was the heroine’s twenty-fourth year *going* to her? To say these are Russian idioms is to beg the whole question. For the Russian mode of thought, which is the Russian mode of creating a language, has created the idioms. Had the Russian language been adopted ready-made at a late stage of development, by a people, the explanation “but that is an idiom” might be valid. The Russian language having developed as most other languages, the explanation is completely devoid of meaning.

We must observe linguistic facts, not deny them, or flourish them away. Admittedly, twilight is a passing phase of evening, and every person is always constantly older. Yet it is solely by isolating some instant of twilight, or some instant of time in a

person's life, that we can appreciate either the twilight or the age, and to emphasise the flux of change while referring to any phenomenon certainly indicates a peculiar approach to reality. The Russians emphasise flux in marked degree. This we sum up, when we observe that the Russian language is verbal, not substantival, in tendency.

For in English we should turn both statements round. We should prefer to state that *the town was wrapped in a warm, milky twilight*, or that *the heroine was in her twenty-fourth year*.

Thus, at the outset, we observe how ridiculous it is to require a "literal" translation from Russian into English, or *vice versa*, since in the simplest situations the "literal" translation may well not be a translation at all. *Kak pojot*, the Russian says—literally : *How he sings !* (or : *How she, it sings !*). This statement in English easily suggests that the person sings too much, *ad nauseam*, and, note, not because an "idiom" is involved, but simply because the emphasis is on the *action*. Similarly, if in Russian one says *Kakoj pjevec !* once again an ironical tinge creeps in, though once again no "idiom" is involved. The strange shade of meaning has arisen because emphasis has been shifted to the substantive.

Yet the difficulty of understanding the Russian verb goes far beyond this. There is also a peculiarity of Russian which is special to the Slav languages generally, but appears in a particularly extreme form in Russian. The difference is that whereas in English our verb is arranged primarily according to the *time when* the action takes place, the Russian verb has a predominant interest in *how*, and there is a whole class of forms in which *how* more or less completely excludes consideration of *time when*.

This distinction—almost a commonplace—is, unfortunately, like most slick generalisations, a gross over-simplification, and hence extremely misleading. It tends to deflect the student's attention from the essential difference between the two main "aspects" of the average Russian verb. For, whereas on the one hand the *perfective* verbs do indeed concentrate on the action as something accomplished (since they connote *a result*), that really means that they are not at all concerned with *how*, but rather with *what* is done. They also, in each precise form, do give a degree of precision about *when*. In fact, in the past they correspond to one great division of English verbs, the simple verbal forms like *he wrote*, though they can also stand for *he has written*, and *he had written*.

Examples may help to make the difference between the two classes of verbs more clear. In his *The Steppe* Chekhov says : *on*

*laskovo vzgljanul na Egorušku.* Bearing in mind the substantival habits of our own language, we can render this: *he shot a kindly glance at little Egor.* The *perfective* verb *vzgljanul* records the simple fact of this momentary action having taken place. It tells *what* (the making of a glance), and *when* (past time)

Ignoring the fascinating historical development by which the "present" form of the *perfective* verb came in Russian to acquire a *future* significance (in Hebrew exactly the opposite conclusion was reached from apparently similar parallel verbal forms, the *perfective* giving a past and the *imperfective* a future significance), we see the same with the only other simple temporal form of the Russian verb, in the *perfective* aspect.

Thus: *eto s'jedjat v kuhnje* we can render: *they will eat this in the kitchen* (or "*this will be eaten . . .*") (Chekhov: *Učitelj Slovesnosti*, II). That is to say, *s'jedjat* records the fact that an action will take place; it tells *what* is to be done, and *when* (eating, in the future).

With the *imperfective verb*, the same verbal forms, i.e., "past" in "-l" etcetera, and "present" with the "present personal" terminations, are used in quite a different way, particularly when the imperfective with "present" endings is used to refer to the past.

"*Na drugoj denj prijezžal urjadnik . . .*" Chekhov relates in *Maljčiki*, "*pisali v stolovoj kakuju-to bumagu Mamaša plakala.*"

Now, though the actions here were all obviously quite definite events, which occurred in the past, and are now narrated, they are recorded not with *perfective*, but *imperfective* verbs. Practically all grammars tell the student that these are verbs describing an incompleted action—though, notable exception among the more available works, André Mazon does call these basic *imperfectives* by a new name, *duratives*—i.e., verbs which deal with the action as one of some duration. All the same, the verbs in question are clearly intended to record events. How can that be, if the events are not completed, or even if it is the duration of the events that occupies the narrator's attention?

Continuing Chekhov's story, we find that a second person arrived, and then somebody outside shouted: *Volodša prijehal!* using a *perfective* verb. Now, why in a straight piece of narration, in which a succession of similar events is being recorded, should one person's arrival (and an action connected with it) be recorded in the *imperfective* form, and another arrival, immediately following, in the *perfective*?

The reason is surely that, in the second case, the narrator's

emphasis has changed. The second arrival is more dramatic, and what is important is *what* happened and *when*. But in the first case, emphasis is less on the actual fact of arrival and more on the attitude of mind *ascribed by the narrator* to the child supposed to be observing the events. To that child (in the narrator's mind), the agonising event is held to be interminable, both in its realisation and its after-effects. Emphasis therefore is not on *how* so-and-so arrived (as the common form of generalisation about the Russian verb would explain it), but on *how that arrival appeared to the narrator*.

So far we have examined only the beginning of the difficulty. The imperfect verb in the past in *-l* tells us both *what* and something of *when*, and gives an additional observation based genuinely on that incompleteness of the action which gives rise to the term *imperfective*. Hence, this form *may* convey a sense of effort still uncrowned with success, or of action definitely impotent, or simply of a sense of continued effort.

*Razve eto tak možno? ubeždal Papaša*, writes Chekhov, a few lines below the above examples about somebody's arrival. Quite definitely these words signify, not that Papa succeeded in convincing anybody of anything, but rather that he was speaking rhetorically, to persuade somebody that there was no cause for alarm or excitement he was *soothing*.

But this particular kind of incompleteness, of uncrowned effort, is not always present in the *imperfective verb*. We have remarked that in the past *imperfective verb* in *-l* (there are other forms, often classed as participles, such as *vyživši*—on *vyživši* being equivalent to *he has been boozing*, though used almost exclusively with *perfectives*—or *vyživaja*, used exclusively with *imperfectives*) there are three main elements: *what* the action was, some notion of *when* the action took place, and some indication of *the narrator's attitude*.

It may happen that the latter two elements coincide. The speaker may not be trying to be precise about *when*, but is merely giving a fairly vague *example* of somebody's conduct, to illustrate the person's character.

Thus, in *Kaštanka*, writing of a precise occasion, Chekhov tells us that Luka Alexandrych dropped in to see his sister for a few minutes, and have a snack, then called on one friend after another, till he was drunk, when he waved his arms and muttered something. Then Chekhov continues: *Ili že on vpadał u dobrodušnyj ton, podzyvaja k sebe Kaštanku i govoril ej. . . .*

This is fascinating for the light it throws on the Russian use

of the *imperfective* form. By the "or" (*ili*) a beginner might be led to imagine that Luka did one thing *or* the other. Nothing of the sort. The word *ili* (or) is supported by that troublesome particle *že*, and hence does not refer at all to the events described, *but to the narrator's own mental processes*. If dictionaries would tell the foreign student quite simply that *že* was a particle often tucked in to indicate that the narrator was becoming rhetorical, that he was abandoning his tentative hold on objectivity and indulging in self-expression, Russian would be better understood, even by diplomatists. "I have just given you one little vignette of Luka when drunk," Chekhov is saying, "now here, if you care to look at it, for further illumination of his character (*ili že*), is another."

Yet we must not forget that these generalised statements about Luka's actions are dependent on a precisely described, particular occasion. Although the opening "*Pobyvav u prikazčikov*" might be rendered either "Having called on the bailiffs," or (more correctly) "Whenever he had been to call on the bailiffs," the narration is fixed, almost at once, by a *perfective*: *Luka Aleksandrych zašol*—to a precise occasion.

But still we have not finished with the complexities of this passage of apparently simple narration. Once having shifted in mental attitude from the objective recording of events, to his own mental processes, in their bearing on the events, the narrator suddenly gives a more imprecise outline to the very record of actual events, or actions. For, having made Luka call *Kaštanka* to him (a precise act), Chekhov does not tell us that *Luka skazal ej* (*perfective*—"Luka said to her," "Luka told her") but *Luka govoril ej* (*imperfective*), which it seems only possible to render "Luka would tell her . . ."

We should note this very closely. Though precise quoted words follow the *imperfective* verb, we are not told that Luka did definitely say anything, and the sense is merely "used to say" or "would say."

There is here a fluctuation between a *precise event*, narrated as an example, to characterise a man, and a *typical event*, such as English narration cannot tolerate. It is the "literal" transference of such fluctuations of focus, or aspect, in so many English translations from Russian, that has given them a peculiar clouded quality.

In this particular instance, (apart from the slight ambiguity of the past verb, *pobyvav*), we start from a precise situation, i.e., precise events narrated, and we end up with a precise quotation of some-

thing said. Yet at the same time, this is definitely given not as something actually said, but merely as an example of what would, on such an occasion, be said.

It is easy to find the opposite state of affairs in a Russian narration, i.e., a generalised picture, abounding in *imperfectives*, becoming suddenly quite concrete, as one is given what seems at first to be merely a typical action—and *might so be*—yet eventually transpires to have been a fairly important event in the story! This fluctuation between the objective and the subjective (i.e., what actually did happen, and what the narrator singles out as typical action), occurs most strikingly in so Russian a writer as Gorki, where we can find such a case as the following.

In *The Artamonovs' Business* (*Artamonovo Djelo*) Gorki is describing the beginning of Artamonov senior's illicit love with Uliana Bashmakov. *Nočami, kogda gorod mjortvo spit*, he begins a paragraph, *Artamonov vorom kradjotsja po beregu reki. . . .*

Clearly Gorki emphasises the general character of this picture, saying *nočami* (night after night) or very often at night not *nočju* (one night). Then, instead of the normal past in *-l*, he uses a Russian form of what abstract grammarians have dubbed the "historic present." He uses a series of *imperfective* verbs with "present" personal endings, to describe repetitive, or typical, *past* actions. The mosquitoes buzz, seeming to waft the sweet scent of one thing and another over the world, the moon moves on, and shades caress the river. Then, suddenly, there is a sharp transition—to a *perfective past* in *-v*: *perešagnuv čerez pletenj . . .* "stepping over (or: he stepped over) the fence." This, we might expect to record a precise act, leading to some other precise act.

But no! Once again we slide away into the imprecise—*Artamonov tihonjko prohodit v dvor*—"literally" "Artamonov creeps with stealth into the yard."

Here once again we have an *imperfective* form with "present" personal ending. But this time its purpose is patently to communicate something concrete! For, immediately after the following *vot v tjomnom ambare* ("there he is, in the dark barn") we find that a timorous whisper greets him (*vstrečae*—the verb is again *imperfective*). But it is now a *precise* situation, and there is a precise quotation of what was whispered—*Nezamjetno prošol?* she asks—"Did you get in unnoticed?" Then for some time in the narration everything is again clear and precise.

The use of the *imperfective* past (whether in *-ja*, *-l* or with the "present" personal terminations) for typical actions is very common.

It is when this use is mingled in the same passage with other *imperfective* verbs, recording precise events, and side by side with *perfectives* (also, by their nature, recording precise events, when they are in the -l "past" form), that real difficulty arises. Either the Russian *imperfective* verb is a shockingly imprecise instrument, imprecise in a way that an English reader, accustomed to his highly-elaborated and very precise verbal apparatus, cannot grasp—or else there is an element of attitude, i.e., of *aspect*, in the *imperfective* forms—in all of them—such that these divergent uses remain—in the Russian way of seeing things—quite logical.

The vagueness possibly may go a very long way. Immediately following the passage just drawn upon, we are shown Artamonov senior leaving his mistress before daybreak. There is a perfectly concrete quoted conversation between the two. It is far too long to be taken as just another example of what "might be" said. After the conversation, we are told that "For some minutes he lay without a word." "You gone to sleep?" she asks him. "No," he replies. She then tells him it is time to be gone, daybreak is near.

There can be no question about the factual precision of all this. Moreover, the morning which follows is a very particular seasonal morning. *On idiot po holodku . . . hodit po svojej zemlje . . . dumaet.* We are given in precise form what he was thinking: but suddenly *he lies down on the sand* (we translate here "literally") *or on a heap of shavings, and is soon asleep. . . .*

What has happened? Exactly *where* did Artamonov lie down, on this particular occasion? Did Gorki not know? Oh, yes! But the occasion has simply ceased to be a particular one, and again become generalised. Yet only for a moment! For, though the following sentence begins with a further *imperfective* with "present" personal endings (which might be used to give a generalised picture), we read literally "*The sunrise breaks into flame.*"

Once again we have a sudden switch, to a very precise picture. Again, too, it is introduced by an interjection—*vot, Look!* Immediately follows a string of *perfective* past verbs in -l, i.e., verbs of indubitable precise fact-recording quality, verbs which now form the backbone of a longish description, over which nevertheless, once again, a little further on, is built—like the flesh on the skeleton—yet another series of *imperfectives* with "present" personal endings.

Here we have an almost insuperable difficulty for the beginner



who wishes to grasp exactly what is said. For, by our English logic, there is a question *when?* which one feels has to be answered, precisely in order for the proper tense of the verb to be used. But the Russian does not answer that question. "So-and-so," Gorki declares, "would do thus and thus and thus"—and then, without any definition of *time when*—"he *did* so-and-so."

The translator, in his work of re-creation (all good translation is re-creation), has to fill out and to say quite boldly something like: "For example, on such-and-such an occasion, such-and-such a thing happened." But even such a device cannot dispose of the extreme vagueness concerning fact, which we find in the above example in Gorki's work. For, in the final passage of precise events, the workmen are observing Artamonov as he sleeps, even stepping over him. Now, either they saw him and stepped over him sleeping in one place or another. The need to make such a passage completely intelligible makes it inevitable to add even more than mere narrational scaffolding. In such a case one is obliged to cut out the vague alternative, and to say quite precisely: "Once, as he slept on the sand . . ." (or *vice versa*)

But *ad hoc* translating solutions do not explain the verb. We have here a difficulty of understanding which is worthy of the greatest attention, particularly by all who have to deal in foreign affairs with Russians.

We have to take due account of a Russian tendency for a speaker to slip from the general to the particular, and *vice versa*, from the particular to the general.

It is outside the scope of this paper to discuss why Russians should exhibit such a tendency. It must be at least partly determined by the verbal machinery which present-day Russian forebears have evolved for them. Yet it is equally doubtful whether any generation can entirely repudiate responsibility for its inheritance. It is natural enough for people to exhibit a large degree of mental inertia, and further to develop a tendency of this sort along lines set by distant forebears; yet clearly the tendency can be overcome, and in a subsequent study the author proposes to show the extent to which earlier Russian writers, educated in infancy in western languages, did so do. Further, the process of decay of the tenses in all the Slavonic languages is a striking symptom of a general East European tendency of thought underlying the phenomenon we are discussing, though it does show fascinating divergence between Russian at the one extreme, and the South-Slav

(Yugoslav) languages at the other, with their so largely preserved purely temporal "past" tenses and consequently their more objective approach to facts.

We now have to answer a question which must follow from the analysis of the Russian *imperfective* verb which has so far been made—namely, is the *imperfective* verb, when used in any form (in *-ja*, in *-l*, in "present" tense), to deal with past events, always rather imprecise?

Here—a new complication—the answer is: not at all. It may be even more precise than in the example which was quoted from Chekhov early in this paper, where *imperfectives* stood side by side with *perfectives*. It would indeed be much easier for the foreigner to understand Russian narration (and not merely think he understood) if the *imperfective* verbs *were* always vague

We cannot do better than turn to the last page of this same novel of Gorki's (*Artamonovo Djelo*). "*Artamonov zadohnulsja*." (Here it is one of the sons who is called simply Artamonov, not the same hero as in our first example.) "*Bylo strašno vidjetj, što žena ne obidelasj, ne ispuğalasj, ne zaplakala*." So far, with the exception of the verb of state or condition (to be) all verbs are in the *perfective* form. But then follows: *Ona gladila . . . volosy na evo golove, i trevožno, no laskovo, šeptala . . .* Now perhaps things look really simple here. Here we can compare the *perfective* with *-l* and the *imperfective* with *-l* respectively with the simple English past, and the compound past with "to be" (I.e., *ne ispuğalasj*—she did not take fright, and *gladila*—was smoothing.)

Such uses are very frequent. We can find a fairly close parallel between the *imperfective* with "present" personal terminations, and the English "is going, etcetera"—or of the compound future of Russian (*ja budu čitatj*) with English "shall be doing."

But this simplicity merely adds to our difficulties. For it emphasises that there are two distinct tendencies in the Russian *imperfective* forms, which are not rather rare, "irregular" uses, but *the two most fundamental uses*. One is a tendency towards a vagueness which English cannot compass in any simple verbal form (but has to reveal in various paraphrases), the other is towards great concreteness. How is the non-Russian to decide when one or another is intended? How is he to get the feel of a verb which may look either of two ways? Is it—here is the fundamental question—merely a matter of the imponderables of associations in the context? Or else is there, perhaps, in the Russian imperfective, some quality common to both divergent tendencies, and to which

*those tendencies owe their origin?* Is there a logical "key" to the aspects?

The salient characteristic of one use is that of emphasis of the subjective attitude of the narrator. The emphasis is not on the actual subject of the verb, but on the way in which the narrator, fitting verb to subject, imagines the subject reacts to the given situation.

The salient characteristic of the other use is that of emphasis on the actual performance of the action, (much in the same mood as English "John was singing," in distinction from "John sang").

This latter use reveals the *imperfective* verb to be *par excellence* a concrete verb. It is, if we may venture the phrase, almost a *substantival verb*. It contains much that we in English cram into our substantival expressions.

Is it too bold a leap to suggest the former use also emphasises the "substantival" character of the *imperfective* verb, though in a quite different way? The indefinite use is in fact nothing but a lush though still quite logical overgrowth of the basic "concrete," but substantival nature of *imperfectives* generally. Through the *original*, the basic, preoccupation with the accomplishment of the action, rather than with recording its result, Russians have come, no doubt by slow stages through the centuries, to use a form which was originally intended exclusively for factual, concrete, precise purposes, also for a purpose which is really quite non-factual, non-concrete, and generalised. In other words, the simple basic *how was the action performed?* sense of the *imperfective* has become lost deep under overgrowths.

How and why this should be we shall not attempt to enquire here. It is a reasonable hypothesis that it has taken place. One people, developing their language, may tie up the more concrete verb with what is going on in (or projected to interest) the mind of the subject of the verb. That is what we might call the objective development. The Russians, it so happens (and the Slavs as a whole, in general tendency), tend to tie it up with *what is going on—relative to the action—in their own minds*. Since a man speaks largely to tell others what he feels, thinks, desires, etcetera, this is a perfectly reasonable attitude. It may not be very rational or scientific. But then, man does not live, as individual, rationally. Some peoples may tend to emphasise what can be objectively established about events in each individual's environment. Another people—the Russians—have tended through the centuries more and more to put their emphasis on *what THEY think and feel about it*.

In other words, whereas the nomenclature, *perfective*, and the common explanation (correct, but only a half truth) that it deals with completed action, may suggest to the English mind, which works by a different kind of logic, that the *perfective* verb is the more concrete (in some languages, e.g., Hebrew, it is so), in point of fact, at least in basic meaning, *it is in Russian the IMPERFECTIVE verb, dealing with "incompleted action," that as used by a Russian is the more concrete.*

It is this, to the average English mind, topsy-turvy approach to reality that also makes the Slavonic *perfective* verb equally difficult to grasp, when that verb is used with the so-called "present" personal terminations. It was a fantastic mistake ever to call them "present" terminations. The student first learns of them as such, then discovers that in exactly half the verbal forms (*perfectives*) they produce a future tense—and then, later, that in a high proportion of the other half of verbal forms (*imperfectives*), they are really a kind of past, or a special hypothetical tense!

Though the exact shade of meaning varies between one Slavonic language and another, in each "tense" or form (the various Slav peoples have had very various histories since they separated into nations, and an interesting field of enquiry into national divergences lies here), basically, the *perfective* verb with those personal endings called "present" is in each language an *abstract* verb, expressing the perfect accomplishment of the action, the essence of the action. But in Russian that basic sense has been further built on, and the unreal has, with what we may term specifically Russian logic, been accepted as that which has not yet happened, but will happen—i.e., a form expressing the future.

We now have a key to understanding the Russian verb and Russian narration. To conclude then—two examples of the use of this key.

First, why do those tags of narration like "he said" appear in Russian often in the *imperfective*? *Da, kazetsia, možno, otvječal aptekarj* (Leskov. *A Will of Iron*). But the *imperfective* is not always used; sometimes we find the *perfective*. *Papa! kričali iz djetskoi* (*imperfective*), writes Chekhov in *An Equine Surname*; but, a little further on, *"Ne Merimov li? sprosil on . . ."* (*imperfective*).

We can find two parallel forms of expression in English. Sometimes in our narrative machinery we use tags of the form *he asked*, *I enquired*, or *asked John* (in inversion). But at other times we use forms like: *was his reply, came the cry*. Is the difference not this? When we use the simple verb we emphasise solely the content

of the actual enquiry. When we use a phrase with a substantive—"was *his* rejoinder," we put more emphasis on our view of *how* it was said.

Exactly the same in Russian, only since as already suggested Russian is primarily a verbal language, while English is substantival, the shift of emphasis of the narrator is achieved in Russian by a change in the aspect of the verb

Secondly, a coda on the translation of verse may be useful. It will provide illumination from a totally different angle, throwing into relief the very same problem

Russian verse contains many multi-syllabic words, and many of these are verbs. Hence, questions of *perfective* and *imperfective* for the moment left out—there is a basic tendency for any translator of poetry who is obsessed with formalist aspects (for example, those who think it incumbent on them to reproduce the original metre in the translation<sup>1</sup>) to fall into the trap, first of rendering every verb by a verb, and secondly, of bodying out the comparatively poorly-syllabled verbs of English, by adverbs and other words, to match them up, as it were, with the syllabically rich pivotal verbs of the original

This means producing an unnatural speech in one language, to render the most natural speech in the other.

~ Let us take one example—a line of Lermontov Using our key, we are not appalled by *Kogda volnuetsja žoltjejuščaja njiva* because English has no *verbs* to render the richness of *volnuetsja* or *žoltjejuščaja*. English has other forms of equal evocative power. No English poet comparable with Lermontov would achieve a dramatic effect by a first line in which three-quarters of the space is verb, any more than a Russian poet of the stature of Keats would think of opening a poem with what is to us the dramatic picture of "Season of mists and yellow fruitfulness, close-bosom friend of the maturing sun," where in the first two lines only one-eighth (i.e., one-sixth as much as in Lermontov's opening) is given up, in syllabic space, to the verb.

The difficulty of rendering the Lermontov lines fascinates and hypnotises into error. But the likelihood of that happening is much diminished if the would-be translator approaching the task possesses the key which has been suggested in this paper, for then, before the magic Russian verbs can confuse his mind and before the formal shape of them captures his heart, he will have broken the spell and realised to what forms they really correspond in English.

ALEC BROWN.

## LE SLOVO D'IGOR

Si *La Geste du prince Igor, épopée russe du douzième siècle* (New York, 1948) avait paru dix ans plus tôt, elle m'aurait épargné quelques inexactitudes et fourni plus d'un complément ; peut-être même la partie polémique en eût-elle été moins âpre et plus courtoise. Mais ma thèse serait pourtant demeurée la même, avec le renfort d'arguments nouveaux. Il est vrai que, si l'opinion des " sceptiques " ne l'avait provoquée, *La Geste* n'aurait pas été écrite, non plus que la plupart des études sur le *Slovo* parues ces dernières années, et la connaissance de l'œuvre n'aurait pas fait le pas en avant que l'on a la satisfaction de marquer aujourd'hui. Le doute, comme il est de règle en matière de science, aura été plus fécond que la foi. C'est lui qui a déterminé un mouvement nouveau de recherches autour d'un texte qui semblait devenir objet d'admiration routinière plutôt que de critique.

Après les " remarques " publiées à Belgrade dès 1941 par un groupe de membres de l'Institut Kondakov, et notamment par P. Bicilli, après les travaux plus récents des savants soviétiques A. S. Orlov, N. K. Gudzij, V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, V. F. Ržiga, S. E. Malov et d'autres, après les articles fougueux de E. A. Ljackij dans *Slavia* et la sobre édition des *Zadonščiny* du regretté Jan Frček, voici que nous arrive des États-Unis la somme des recherches poursuivies par l'équipe igorienne que M. Henri Grégoire a, quatre années durant, animée de son ardeur. L'édition de *La Geste* vieux-russe et le commentaire philologique sont de M. Roman Jakobson, le commentaire historique de M. Marc Szeftel et la discussion historique de M. Georges Vernadsky, des traductions en russe moderne, en anglais (Samuel Cross), en polonais (G. Tuwim) font suite au texte ancien, mais elles sont précédées d'une belle traduction française de M. Henri Grégoire, à qui cette tâche a permis de se délivrer momentanément d'un doute que quelques mauvais esprits lui avaient suggéré quant à l'ancienneté du *Slovo*.

C'est la thèse classique que soutiennent les auteurs de *La Geste* : le *Slovo*, œuvre en prose d'un poète du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, reflétant la civilisation brillante que l'imagination des historiens russes évoque avec d'autant plus d'ardeur que les témoins en sont plus rares. L'œuvre ne nous est parvenue que dans une copie unique du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle : portée comme disparue dans l'incendie de Moscou en 1812, cette copie était de qualité fort médiocre et présentait une orthographe slavonne accusant la mode slave du Sud tout en laissant transparaître un original ancien de caractère plus russe que slavons. Du point de vue littéraire, cette œuvre offre un caractère raffiné que l'on compare à celui des écrits du métropolite Hilarion et de Cyrille, évêque de Turov,<sup>1</sup> et qui fait contraste avec la

<sup>1</sup> *Učenyje Zapiski* de l'Université de Leningrad, série philologique, fasc 9, 1945, pp 3-18, article de I. P. Eremin

manière rude et souvent malhabile de la Moscovie des XV<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. Ce contraste est invoqué comme un témoignage d'ancienneté, et des rapprochements nouveaux viennent le fortifier, qui illustrent l'appartenance du *Slovo* au patrimoine disparu de cette civilisation kiévienne qu'exaltent les voix de B. D. Grekov et de Georges Vernadsky d'un continent à l'autre.

Il s'agit surtout de trois rapprochements avec des textes byzantins, et l'on doit bien reconnaître que, s'ils étaient probants, les slavistes devraient rougir de ne les avoir pas repérés plus tôt, car ils sont extraits de la *Chronique de Manassès* et de la *Révélation de Méthode de Patara*, qui sont pour eux des ouvrages connus de longue date, sinon en grec, du moins en slavon. Ces rapprochements, il est vrai, sont tentants, mais un seul semble décisif. Serait-il possible, en effet, de reconnaître dans la préface de la *Légende de Troie* rapportée par Manassès la formule qui, dans le préambule du *Slovo*, oppose la fantaisie poétique aux faits vérifiables, la manière ancienne du poète à celle de l'historien, et pourrions-nous du même coup rendre justice à l'intuition de Venelin qui avait pressenti *Homère* derrière *Bojan*? Mais la confrontation des textes n'est pas satisfaisante dans le détail: la formule *starymi slovesy*, en particulier, ne répond pas à *αἱ ἀρχαιολογίαι* "les vieilles légendes," *drevnëa slovesa* de la traduction slavonne, et l'on serait fondé à supposer que l'on a simplement affaire ici à une précaution oratoire d'historien aussi courante qu'un lieu commun, si les *Zadonščiny* des XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles ne nous donnaient la clé de ce passage du *Slovo*, ainsi qu'on le verra plus loin (p. 532). L'*Obida*, vierge (*děva*) de *Violence* ou d'*Offense* (plutôt que de *Peme*), pourrait-elle être "la *παρθένος ἀδικία* de l'arsenal eschatologique byzantin"? La trouvaille serait séduisante à première vue, mais l'accord est loin d'être évident entre le contexte de Méthode, qui évoque une vierge damnée, mère de l'Antéchrist, et le contexte du *Slovo*, où l'*Obida*, disjointe grammaticalement de son attribut *děva* (*vřstala obida v silach Daziboža vnuka, vstupila děvoju na zemlju Trojanju*), n'est ici que la personnification de la notion que le même mot exprime en plusieurs autres endroits du poème, à savoir l'offense, l'injustice entre princes, génératrice de discorde (*Olgovo chorobroe gnězdo . . . ne bylo obidě poroždeno; za obidu Olgovu; ne dastŭ gnězda svoego v obidu, za obidu sego vremeni*), le substantif *děva* n'ayant guère d'autre valeur ici que celle d'indice de cette personnification. La certitude, en fin de compte, ne semble être acquise que pour la victorieuse interprétation de l'énigmatique *na sedmomŭ věčě*: "au septième millénaire," en conformité avec le même Méthode de Patara et la *Povest'*.

Mais, fussent-ils même tous décisifs, ces rapprochements ne décideraient pas de l'ancienneté du *Slovo*, car il n'est aucun des textes grecs invoqués dont un lettré russe versé dans la lecture des manuscrits, sinon même des imprimés anciens, n'ait pu avoir connaissance au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, ou au XVIII<sup>e</sup>, tout aussi bien qu'au XII<sup>e</sup>. L'auteur des *Izvestija vizantijskich istorikov* (1770–1773) et des monumentales *Memoriae popu-*

*lorum* (1771-1779),<sup>2</sup> Johann Stritter, n'était pas dans l'Empire le seul lecteur des sources byzantines, et la *Révélation de Méthode*, en diverses rédactions slavonnes, et même en rédaction grecque ou en traduction latine, pouvait être connue de plus d'un érudit, clerc ou laïc.<sup>3</sup>

Quant à la réputation des objections que l'on oppose à l'ancienneté présumée du Slovo, elle est certes instructive, bienfaisante même dans la mesure où elle éclaire l'intelligence du texte, et elle ne peut, en ce cas, qu'être la bienvenue. Mais trop souvent elle est décevante, car trop souvent elle ne fait qu'écarter des étrangetés apparentes sans pour cela toucher au fond même des choses—qui demeure suspect. Elle se réduit, en somme, à une argumentation qui se disperse avec profit dans les détails, mais esquive l'essentiel, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble et tout ce qu'il contient de grandes invraisemblances.

C'est à bon droit, au reste, que le croyant qui conduit sans grâce cette réfutation s'attache à dissiper les obscurités et à faire le point en matière d'archaïsmes, d'orientalismes, de prétendus polonismes, gallicismes, américanismes (le "chercheur malicieux" n'est pas de son goût) et surtout de modernismes imaginaires, sans compter les "inquiétantes singularités," les *hapax*, les fautes illusoire de flexion ou de syntaxe. Il produit à cette occasion quelques observations utiles entre beaucoup de corrections sans portée, mais, comme il ne faudrait pas moins d'un livre entier pour passer en revue les unes et les autres, mieux vaut laisser aux lecteurs avisés le soin de faire leur choix entre les épis pleins et les épis vides. Il suffira, ici, d'appeler leur attention sur quelques points.

Les *obscurités*, d'abord, si nombreuses dans le Slovo. Un étranger, Némec ou Frjazin, n'a pas à rougir d'avouer sa défaite devant tant de passages sur lesquels des générations de commentateurs russes ont peiné vainement à jeter un peu de lumière : c'est autant, de sa part, faire acte de modestie que se préserver du ridicule de se laisser duper à son tour par un texte dans lequel il n'a pas confiance. L'abondance même des explications proposées est l'indice d'un cas désespéré, et mieux vaut se faire alors que d'avoir réponse à tout. La réserve en pareille circonstance de Peretc ou d'Orlov appelle plus l'estime que la commisération. Et cette réserve s'impose lorsqu'il s'agit, par exemple de *spala knjazju umi pochoti*, où l'on nous invite à reconnaître un aoriste douteux et un prétendu locatif sans préposition *pochoti* ;—ou de *svistü zvěrinü vü stazbi*, coupé en *vü sta zbi* avec plus d'ingéniosité que de vraisemblance (il est permis de préférer la coupe recommandée par le paléographe expérimenté qu'était Ščepkin : *svistü zvěrinü vüsta (zri !)* ;—ou de *utrü že vozzni*

<sup>2</sup> *Memoriæ populorum, olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, paludem Mæotidem, Caucasum, Mare Caspium, et inde magis ad Septentriones incolentium e Scriptoribus Historiæ Byzantinæ*, Petropoli, impensis Academiæ Scientiarum

<sup>3</sup> Par exemple, *Monumenta S Patrum orthodoxographa*, I, Basileæ, 1569 (texte grec, pp 93-99, et texte latin, pp 100-113), *Magna Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom III, Cologne, 1618, pp 363-70, et *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum*, III, Lyon, 1677, pp 727-34. La *παρθένος Ἀδίκια*, dont l'identification avec la déva Obida est plus que douteuse, semble ne figurer que dans la version manuscrite de la Bodléienne publiée par V Istrin (*Otkrovenie Mefodija Patarskago* . . . , M., 1897, p. 148)



*strikusy* (dans *Cat.*), qui ne pourrait être lu *utrūže vozni s tri kusy* qu'à la condition de s'accommoder, à la suite de *vazni* qui serait plausible, de la formule étrange de "trois morceaux d'heureuse fortune";—ou bien du verset 197, celui de la Stugna, que le nouvel éditeur corrige laborieusement sans en dégager un sens qui s'impose, car *chudu struju* doit être traduit "un cours chétif" et non "un courant perfide," et *rostre* ne peut signifier que "elle a étendu" (et non point "elle a pressé"), comme le duel sans déterminant *na kustu* signifie "sur les deux buissons que l'on connaît" (et non pas "entre deux buissons quelconques").

Il est légitime de préférer reconnaître dans *bosymā vlūkomā* le "loup aux pattes blanches" que signalent les ethnographes, plutôt que le "loup gris" des contes (*busym*), mais il est excessif d'écrire que "cette expression désignant en vieux russe un loup aux pattes blanches perd tout sens dans le russe littéraire d'aujourd'hui" (p. 189), alors que précisément l'on n'invoque par ailleurs que des témoignages modernes (pp. 261-62).

Quant aux *polonismes*, *blanc-russismes* et *orientalismes*, il en sera discuté longtemps encore. Le repérage des premiers, depuis l'édition de Požarskij (1819), où la hantise du polonais est évidente, et depuis le jugement "blanc-russe" de Syrokomla (1850), a donné lieu sans doute à des exagérations; mais de fait la langue et surtout le style accusent un coloris *sud-occidental* incontestable, qui a été maintes fois dénoncé et qu'A. S. Orlov reconnaît dans sa 2<sup>e</sup> édition du *Slovo* (p. 199), sans pourtant se risquer à en préciser les détails: l'état présent de la lexicographie ne permet guère une discrimination rigoureuse des éléments polonais, blanc-russes, ukrainiens et grand-russes de l'Ouest. Quant aux *orientalismes*, on aperçoit assez, par les études récentes de S. E. Malov et de V. F. Ržiga, venant après celles de Melioranskij et de Korš, que la liste n'est pas close des explications hypothétiques, et trop nombreuses pour n'être pas déconcertantes, que les orientalistes seront amenés à forger.

Mais, pour les *gallicismes*, comment ne pas maintenir sans tourner le dos au bon sens que les premiers lecteurs du *Slovo* flairaient plus sûrement les calques du français que leurs descendants et qu'ils avaient quelque bonne raison d'interpréter *chošču prilomiti kopje* par la formule de bravoure "je veux rompre une lance" et *Končakū emu slėdū praviti* par le cliché "Končak lui fait suite" (comme au reste presque tous les traducteurs en russe moderne, notamment Orlov en dernier lieu) et non pas "Končak lui fraie la piste," c'est-à-dire à Gzak qui vient d'être évoqué par la proposition précédente comme "courant (en avant), tel un loup gris"? Il n'est pas interdit non plus de supposer que *lelejutū mestī Šarokanju* serait plus heureusement traduit: "elles bercent, ou bien elles caressent la vengeance de Šarokan" (au lieu de "elles exaltent en cadence les vengeurs de Šarokan"),—et que *na slėdu Igorevė ēzditi* pourrait avoir été modelé sur le français "il va sur la trace d'Igor" et ne saurait en tout cas être rapproché syntaxiquement de l'exemple invoqué de l'*Izbornik* de 1073 *vūstavū vū slėdu ichū*. Il est légitime encore de persister à tenir *kryčati tēlēgy*, en dépit des parallèles allégués

et dont aucun ne présente le verbe *kryčat'*, pour un gallicisme substitué à la formule banale des *Zadonščiny* *Hist. 2* et *Und. skripěli telěgi, Syn. voskripěli telegy*. Et nonobstant l'exemple du *Zlatostroj* cité par Peretc, et qui ne prouve rien, le couple verbal *pretrūgosta komonja* (en valeur active) "ils ont crevé leurs chevaux" garde bien l'allure d'un gallicisme.

Les *hapax*, si nombreux dans le *Slovo*, ne peuvent évidemment être qualifiés tels qu'à titre provisoire, et c'est enfoncer une porte ouverte que de le démontrer laborieusement : qui a jamais douté qu'il pût en être autrement dans l'état lacunaire de nos connaissances sur la lexicographie et la phraséologie du vieux russe ? Mais il n'en est pas moins nécessaire, en attendant d'en savoir davantage, de marquer d'un point d'interrogation chacune de ces curieuses unités dont l'abondance nous surprend. La précaution n'est ni sacrilège, ni même impertinente. C'est, pour une bonne part, de l'examen du lexique, ainsi qu'Orlov le recommandait avec raison, que l'on peut escompter des indices révélateurs : sinon les archaïsmes prémongols qu'aperçoivent les plus optimistes, du moins des provincialismes ou des néologismes caractéristiques d'une époque ou d'une classe de la société. La tâche sera délicate. Que penser, par exemple, de l'ancienneté relative de *charalugū* qui peut être traduit à notre choix "le carolingien" (entendons "l'acier des glaives carolingiens, l'acier franc," ou bien "le brun" (c'est-à-dire "l'acier brun du type de Damas") . soit emprunt germanique (vieil haut-allemand) dont l'emploi ne surprendrait pas au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et ne pourrait être au XV<sup>e</sup> qu'une survivance ou un écho attardé du *Slovo*,—soit emprunt turco-tatar postérieur à l'invasion, dont la présence serait naturelle dans la relation de Kulikovo et ne s'expliquerait dans le *Slovo* que par un emprunt aux *Zadonščiny* (bien que celles-ci, il est vrai, n'attestent que l'adjectif *charalužnyj* et souvent le déforment) ? Nous toucherions ici des mots indicateurs, qui, suivant l'interprétation adoptée, nous orienteraient vers la thèse de l'authenticité ou vers celle du pastiche. De même, *bylja* ou *byl* "grand seigneur," absent des *Zadonščiny*, mais commun au *Slovo* et à une *Menée* du Suprasliensis (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle) en même temps qu'à la traduction slavonne de Georges Hamartolos et à celle de Malalas, pourrait être tenu pour un mot significatif si son absence de la littérature slavon-russe postérieure se trouvait établie de façon certaine, mais tel n'est pas le cas, puisque Karamzin l'avait relevé dans la correspondance des khans de Crimée. Il en est autrement de l'extraordinaire surnom appliqué à Vsevolod : *buj tur* "le fougueux aurochs," qui paraît bien avoir été forgé d'après *bujvolū*, "le bison," mais en accord avec l'étymologie de *bogatyr* telle qu'elle est consignée, suivant la science du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans une note de l'édition princeps du *Slovo*. Et force nous est de reconnaître que, dans le thrène de Jaroslavna, l'emploi de *lada* au sens de "bien-aimé, époux" se trouve en conformité avec l'usage des chansons et avec une observation précise de Boltin, alors qu'il est absent du passage correspondant de la *Zadonščina* et, suivant le témoignage de Peretc, n'a pas encore été signalé dans la langue ancienne.

La notion de *modernisme* en matière de style, comme aussi bien celle de "cliché ossianique" ou "cliché pseudo-classique" est, certes, des plus relatives. Il n'était pas besoin, pour s'en aviser, d'avoir lu telles séries frappantes de clichés stylistiques de la littérature russe ancienne qu'apporte *La Geste du prince Igor'*, et sur lesquelles le livre récent de Mme Adrianova-Peretc nous renseignera mieux encore (*Očerki poetičeskogo stilja drevnej Rusi*, M.-L., 1947). Les lecteurs parisiens du *Slovo* qui, en 1938-1939, avaient rassemblé leurs communes impressions, savaient assez d'eux-mêmes combien leur jugement restait suspendu à l'attente d'une documentation dont ils ne disposaient pas alors. Ils le savent mieux à présent. La tradition biblique, la byzantine et surtout la byzantino-slavonne ont fourni aux lettrés russes nombre de moules poétiques dont parfois l'originalité raffinée peut nous sembler à tort trahir la marque classique, ou pseudo-classique, ou même préromantique. Tous amendements à un impressionisme indéfendable doivent être les bienvenus, mais encore faut-il qu'ils soient fondés. Ainsi peut-on savoir gré à *La Geste* de rappeler les variantes du *Skazanie* qui nous donnent l'interprétation correcte de *stjazi revut* de la *Zadonščina*, à savoir : "les étendards déployés claquent (mugissent) au vent" et non pas "les troupes hurlent" (rumeur des combattants et cri de guerre des assaillants); mais il n'en reste pas moins que la formule correspondante du *Slovo*, à savoir *stjazi glagoljutü*, peut être tenue pour une retouche du style noble à la note rude des *Zadonščiny* secondaires (*Hist. 1*, *Hist. 2* et *Und.*), si bien qu'une fois de plus, ici comme ailleurs, l'enjolivement d'un texte du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle apparaît comme plus vraisemblable que la dégradation d'un original du XII<sup>e</sup>. Ainsi encore, la fameuse image de l'exorde *svivaja slavy oba poli sego vremeni* paraît bien être du type pseudo-classique qu'évoque la traduction de Musin-Puškin : "rassemblant les gloires des deux côtés de ce temps," c'est-à-dire celle des princes anciens chantés par Bojan et celle des princes actuels, et non point "tressant des hymnes de gloire autour de ce siècle" (qui prête à *obapoli* un sens dont l'ancienneté est à tout le moins douteuse). Et quant à la formule du verset 115, *zvonjači v pradždnjuju slavu* "sonnant dans [la trompette de] la gloire des ancêtres," il faut bien reconnaître qu'en dépit de la tradition des couples associant un verbe "claironnant" à un nom abstrait (p. 244) le rappel des ancêtres y introduit un pathos étrange.

Le terrain grammatical est moins hasardeux, et cependant il prête aussi à plus d'un débat. Le nom même des "Russes," sous la forme dont le *Slovo* a le privilège, *Rusiči*, n'est pas, comme l'a montré M. Unbegaun, un ethnique de formation régulière, il ne peut non plus être confondu avec une création d'inspiration affective comme *Rusak*. Il cesse, par contre, d'être surprenant si l'on reconnaît en lui un patronymique et qu'on le rapproche du vieux russe *russkii synove* de la *Zadonščina*, *synove russtii* de la *Povesť de Mercure de Smolensk*, et de l'ukrainien *Rusovyči* d'une chanson rituelle citée par Potebnja. Mais comment ne pas se souvenir à cet instant de la faveur dont a joui au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle la légende des fils

de *Rus*, le grand ancêtre, dont il est téméraire de dire " qu'elle a dû entrer de bonne heure dans la Russie kiévienne,"<sup>4</sup> et comment n'être pas tenté alors de traduire cet *unicum* par le titre généalogique " fils de Rus " qui s'en va naturellement rejoindre l'étonnante série de *Velesov vnuče*, *Striboži vnuci*, *Daždiboža* (*Dažiboža*) *vnuka* et le *Dnepré Slovutičju* des chansons ?

Dans le domaine grammatical encore, Potebnja ne se fût pas attendu à recevoir la pesante leçon de syntaxe slave qui lui est tombée d'Amérique, — car c'est à lui qu'elle revient (*Filologičeskija Zapiski* de Voronež, 1877, V-VI, p. 6, et 2<sup>e</sup> éd. du *Slovo*, 1914, p. 6) plutôt qu'à ses lecteurs de France — pour s'être étonné du génitif *načjati toj pesni* survenant à bonne distance d'un verbe principal négatif dans une proposition que son autonomie relative aurait pu préserver du rayonnement de la négation. Si la leçon donnée avec tant d'autorité fait s'évanouir le " pseudo-archaïsme," si des observations appropriées justifient l'emploi ancien du génitif dans *poostri serdca svoego* et, au titre partitif, dans *da pozrimŭ sinego Donu*, comme, bien entendu, dans *iskusŭi Donu* et *ispŭi šelomomŭ Donu*, comment, au contraire, se contenter sans scrupule des aoristes hypothétiques *spala*, *zapala* formés sur des imperfectifs de *-polŭti* ou *-planŭti*, — des soi-disants locatifs sans préposition que l'éditeur de *La Geste* multiplie à l'excès, — de l'usage capricieux du duel à côté du pluriel dont le caprice même, suivant M. Isačenko, répondrait si exactement au dosage également capricieux des formes du duel au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, — et de ces datifs possessifs insolites dont le second, avec son enclave, semble calquer un tour latin : *solncju svŭtiŭ* (corrigé dans *La Geste* par un adjectif) et *na ladŭ voi* (que l'éditeur a simplement marqué d'un point d'interrogation) faisant suite à *na moeja lady voi* ?

Mais il est vain, à la vérité, d'attendre de l'étude de la langue un témoignage décisif sur l'ancienneté du *Slovo*, fût-ce sur la foi de quelques mots indicateurs. Les recherches de S. P. Obnorskij (*Očerki po istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka staršego perioda*, M.-L., 1946) ne justifient pas cette attente de la part d'un texte que cet auteur, l'un de ses plus chauds défenseurs, caractérise comme présentant des traces d'antiquité recouvertes en partie par les retouches d'au moins deux copistes novgorodiens, l'un de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ou du XIV<sup>e</sup>, l'autre, slavonisant à la mode slave du Sud, de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> ou des débuts du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (*ibid.*, pp. 193-97). Il ne s'agirait de rien moins, pour y voir clair, que de démêler la part des apports successifs ou locaux et de saisir la langue russe réelle du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle sous des orthographes variables, sinon même sous des usages linguistiques différents, et cela, en l'absence du manuscrit disparu, à travers le reflet certainement très imparfait de deux copies du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : celle de 1795-1796 destinée à Catherine (*Cat.*) et celle que représente l'édition princeps de 1800 (*Pr.*). Certains traits dialectaux ont été interprétés comme décelant la provenance pskovitaine du manu-

<sup>4</sup> *La Geste du prince Igor*, p. 296 : cette affirmation est réfutée par N. Elie Borščak (*Revue des Études slaves*, XXIV, 1948, pp. 175-76)

scrit disparu les plus récents éditeurs s'en remettent à cette interprétation, mais Obnorskij la récusé et reconnaît la marque d'un copiste de Novgorod (*ibid.*, pp. 134-37). On sait combien cette langue, depuis Dobrovský qui croyait y apercevoir la main d'un "Blanc-Russe" ou d'un "Ruthène Rouge," a déconcerté les slavistes les plus autorisés. Il est à craindre qu'en ce qui la concerne notre ignorance relative se prolonge et demeure sans remède.

L'éditeur de *La Geste*, qui admet l'origine pskovitaine du manuscrit, n'a pu que prendre, à la suite de Peretc, le parti le plus raisonnable : s'appuyer sur le texte de *Pr*, qui semble être le plus proche de cette copie perdue, en le contrôlant et complétant, le cas échéant, par *Cat*. Il annonce dans l'introduction son intention de reconstruire l'orthographe du russe du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais, par bonheur, tout en archaïsant volontiers, il s'en tient à un système plus souple qui nous laisse apercevoir à la fois l'orthographe supposée primitive de l'original et les retouches apportées par le copiste présumé du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (ainsi *plŭkŭ* au début du texte de *Pr.*, *plŭkŭ* à la manière slavonne méridionale par la suite, et *polkŭ* dans *Cat.*). L'essentiel est de voir transparaître les éléments dont l'éditeur a disposé : les leçons différentes de *Pr.* et de *Cat.* et ses propres corrections, restitutions et additions. L'édition de 1948, de ce point de vue, sera tenue pour satisfaisante, encore qu'elle ait le tort de ne pas signaler dans l'appareil critique la paternité de certaines conjectures. Il n'est pas besoin d'ajouter que la division de l'œuvre en versets numérotés est une innovation heureuse déjà tentée par Potebnja, mais qui vaut d'être retenue.

Le lecteur adoptera volontiers telles restitutions comme : *uže bo* [*sja*] *bědy ego paseti ptici*,—ou *vŭlci grozu vorožati* (dès longtemps proposée par Korš),—ou *na sedmom věčē z[eml]i Trojani* (avec un datif de désavantage),—ou peut-être même, en raison des rapprochements allégués, *sŭdu tok* (d'après Potebnja) qui donnerait le coup de grâce au hameau de *Dudutki*. Mais il sera réservé vis-à-vis de plusieurs autres corrections, comme : *pominemŭ* du préambule qui semble inutile et comporte au reste un emploi du verbe "nous passerons outre" dont l'ancienneté n'est pas certaine (*pomjanemŭ*, commun au *Slovo* et aux *Zadonščiny*, évoque tout aussi bien un rappel fugitif n'exigeant à sa suite aucun développement);—*vŭsta zbi*, où l'ingéniosité est plus inquiétante que persuasive,—*knjazemŭ na poganyja poběda pogybe* (v. 77), où la substitution de *poběda* à *usobica* est arbitraire, l'auteur ayant sans doute voulu dire que "la discorde des princes a péri (a trouvé la mort) dans la guerre contre les mécréants," mais cela, il est vrai, nous fait remarquer M. Vaillant, comme s'il avait pensé la phrase en latin avant de l'écrire en russe (*discordia principum in paganos pervit*),—*[ak]i s chotiŭ na krovati* (v. 144), dont la comparaison avec le "lit nuptial" avait été saisie par Potebnja (2<sup>e</sup> éd., p. 117), mais où il n'est nécessaire ni de corriger *i* en *aki*, ni d'ajouter *padŭ* à la proposition précédente (*a sam padŭ . . . na krovavě travě*), le texte original étant intelligible et singulièrement plus expressif à la seule

condition de relier étroitement la seconde proposition à la première, au lieu de la dissocier (comme dans *Pr.*) ou de supposer une lacune (ainsi que le faisait Potebnja) — Quant au " traîneau forestier " (*debriski sani*) imaginé par Snegirev, il n'est pas moins imaginaire probablement que le " traîneau mortuaire," symbolisant " l'approche de la mort," que Ševyrev assigne à Vladimir Monomach comme le réceptacle le plus propre à ses méditations (*Vladimir Monomach*, 1946, p. 101), et la confrontation avec une miniature du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle ne suffit pas à donner plus de poids à cette invention poétique. — Il faut bien aussi faire remarquer que la tradition, si pauvrement documentée et par là même si suspecte, de l'oiseau de malheur ou génie hostile qu'incarne le *divo* ne se trouve ni éclairée ni renforcée par le rapprochement avec bulg. et serbo-cr. *div*, qui signifie " géant " et est un mot turc d'origine persane emprunté pas les Slaves des Balkans (p. 279, note 10)

\* \* \*

Au reste, pour que le *Slovo* cesse d'être un texte suspect, ce ne sont pas les détails qui doivent dominer la discussion, mais le problème d'ensemble, celui que posent les conditions singulières dans lesquelles il se présente 1°/ sans tradition manuscrite, — 2°/ lié en apparence au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle par l'événement qu'il relate, soit que l'auteur en ait été un contemporain ou du moins un écrivain proche d'Igor dans le temps, soit que cet auteur ait utilisé à une époque postérieure des sources historiques, — 3°/ lié peut-être au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle par l'époque où le manuscrit disparu aurait été établi, — 4°/ lié de toute évidence aux *Zadonščiny* par des rapports qu'il s'agirait de définir de manière irrécusable, — 5°/ lié au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle par les circonstances dans lesquelles il a été découvert, copié et publié — Il y a là cinq ordres de questions qu'il faut aborder de face et sans opinion préconçue ce n'est qu'à ce prix que pourraient être écartées les grandes invraisemblances dont ce texte est entouré.

#### 1°/ CARENCE DE LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE

Attesté jusqu'en 1812 par un manuscrit unique qui était apparu en 1795, le *Slovo* n'a plus comme substituts de sa tradition manuscrite qu'une copie fort imparfaite établie en 1795-1796 en une orthographe légèrement modernisée (*Cat.*), et l'édition princeps de 1800 (*Pr.*), due à la collaboration de deux archivistes d'inégale valeur, Bantyš-Kamenskij et Malnovskij, assistés d'un amateur distingué, le comte Musin-Puškin, acquéreur du manuscrit. Le manuscrit avait été acquis dans des conditions obscures sur lesquelles le voile n'a pu être levé ; la provenance même en est l'objet de témoignages contradictoires (Jaroslav, Rostov ou Pskov ?). Il a été porté comme disparu dans l'incendie de Moscou en 1812 Malnovskij devait faire tenir à Musin-Puškin, en 1815, un second manuscrit acquis, disait-il, à Kaluga, qui fut aussitôt reconnu faux et dont on prit soin de ne plus parler. Un article de la *Revue des Études slaves* (XXI, 1944, pp. 5-45) a rassemblé tout ce qu'il m'a été possible de glaner

à ce sujet : il devrait être complété et ne manquerait pas de l'être si seulement quelques-uns de nos collègues de l'Union soviétique voulaient bien ouvrir à ce sujet dans les archives et les bibliothèques de leur pays une enquête\* qu'il n'est pas loisible à un étranger d'entreprendre. Il faut reconnaître que, depuis les honnêtes confidences de Barsov, la science russe a été d'une discrétion décourageante à l'endroit du manuscrit si soudainement découvert et perdu tout aussi soudainement. Cette discrétion a favorisé les soupçons, et les "méfiants," aux alentours des années 1800 et suivantes, semblent bien avoir été plus nombreux qu'on ne le dit, pour la plupart gens de qualité, savants ou lettrés. L'inquiétude de Kalajdovič est attestée par son insistance à s'informer, sans grand succès, auprès de Musin-Puškin. On connaît les piquantes sorties du comte Serge Rumjancev et du métropolite Evgenij, un peu plus tard celles de Kačenovskij et de Senkovskij. Il y a là un chapitre curieux de l'histoire de l'esprit critique en Russie qui vaudrait d'être écrit. Le *Slovo*, cet enfant trouvé de 1795, n'a d'abord été accueilli qu'avec réserve et quelque ironie : c'est le romantisme qui l'a finalement adopté, vers l'époque même où Puškin et Mickiewicz admiraient à l'envi, comme des trésors nationaux, les *Chants des Slaves de l'Ouest* inventés par Prosper Mérimée. C'est au reste Puškin qui, en 1836, introduisait la fameuse *Istorija Rusov* auprès du lecteur du *Sovremennik* (I, pp. 85-102) en louant l'auteur d'avoir su "concilier la fraîcheur poétique des chroniques avec l'esprit critique indispensable à l'historien."

## 2°/ LIENS DU *Slovo* AVEC LE XII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE

Le *Slovo* tient au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle par le sujet qu'il traite. Le consciencieux commentateur historique de *La Geste*, M. Marc Szeftel, cédant à une illusion qui lui fait quelque peu confondre cette œuvre poétique avec les chroniques authentiques à l'aide desquelles il la soutient et l'éclaire, n'hésite même pas à préciser l'époque où elle aurait été composée : entre le 25 septembre 1187 et la fin du mois d'octobre de cette même année, peut-être à l'occasion du mariage de Vladimir Igorevič avec une fille de Končak.

Il faut pourtant reconnaître que l'incohérence du plan et le désordre tumultueux (*bessvjaznosť*) de la seconde partie semblent trahir un interprète lointain plutôt qu'un témoin ou un porte-parole touchant de près aux hommes et aux événements. Et l'on doit faire effort pour retrouver, derrière un texte désordonné, la pensée conductrice qui a tenu lieu à l'auteur de cet ordre logique dont l'absence est évidente. Cette pensée, dont Orlov a tenté de renouer tous les fils la rattachant aux chroniques, ne peut être, suivant lui, que celle d'un homme proche en réalité du prince Igor' et, par son sentiment de la tradition et son imagination de patriote ardent, proche aussi de ce passé, long d'un siècle environ, qu'il évoque comme par soubresauts, en un style fulgurant d'allusions et d'exclamations. Elle va rejoindre celle des moines chroniqueurs obsédés par le souci de "la terre russe" que les princes ont morcelée et qu'ils se dis-

putent, ruinant ainsi la conciliation, sinon l'union, instaurée par Vladimir Monomach, le grand prince de Kiev, et ouvrant la porte aux Kroumans envahisseurs, ces Polovtsts que tels d'entre eux, comme Oleg le "Gorislavlič," ont refusé de combattre, et que tels autres ont momentanément pris pour alliés, comme Svjatoslav Vsevolodovič et son fils Igor' Svjatoslavlevič en personne. De là ces lamentations sur la discorde (*usobica*), le souvenir sans cesse rappelé des offenses et de l'injustice (*obida*), les appels à l'union contre les envahisseurs, l'anathème lancé sur les fauteurs d'offenses à venger (*za obidu sego vremeni, za obidu Olgovu*) et la mention symbolique de la plus lointaine principauté du Sud à rendre à la terre russe : celle de Tmutarakan'.

Mais l'auteur du Slovo n'est pas homme d'église : c'est pour la terre russe qu'il milite et pour les princes qui la défendent ; la chrétienté le touche moins que la puissance. Son sens de la tradition princière remonte même jusqu'à l'âge lointain des dieux de Vladimir le catéchumène, et il mentionne complaisamment *Dazibogŭ, Chrŭsŭ, Stribogŭ, Veles* comme des forces surnaturelles qui dominent le sort des princes et de la terre russe. Ce n'est qu'à la fin du poème qu'il se ressaisit, en chrétien du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et songe à nommer la Vierge *Pirogošča* de Kiev : la *Purgiotissa* "de la Tour" (ou *Pyrgotissa* "celle qui fortifie," ou *Paregoretissa*, "la Consolatrice" ?).

Tel serait l'auteur du Slovo : son sentiment de la patrie russe doit nous porter à l'absoudre, d'une part, de l'incohérence propre à son œuvre et à ses visions historiques, si fortement relevée par Sobolevskij et par Potebnja, et, d'autre part, de la persistance de son paganisme. Aussi bien ce serait précisément cette persistance illustrant la "double foi" de son époque (*dvoeverje*) qui nous expliquerait que, par une sorte d'interdit ecclésiastique, nous n'ayons recueilli après six siècles qu'une copie unique de son œuvre et la monnaie, purgée de toute mythologie, qu'en serait le plagiat à évolution progressive des diverses *Zadonščiny* et du *Skazanie*.

Ceux-là même qui se représentent ainsi l'auteur du Slovo reconnaissent que son œuvre est plus livresque que poétique, plus factice qu'inspirée, et M. Henri Grégoire, qui volontiers y retrouverait des lambeaux de la splendeur byzantine, la caractérise comme "sophistiquée, au sens américain du mot." Le tout serait de savoir si cet auteur a puisé sa science et son exaltation à quelque cour princière du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans l'entourage même d'Igor',—ou bien seulement dans la lecture passionnée des chroniques, à une distance de son sujet qui pourrait varier d'un à plusieurs siècles, de la Moscovie des grands-ducs victorieux à l'Empire de Catherine. Le fait est qu'il m'a toujours paru, comme à nombre de lecteurs, que le Slovo procède d'une optique qui fait moins songer à un contemporain d'Igor' qu'à un patriote d'une époque ultérieure tout grisé par les Chroniques de noms princiers, d'épisodes glorieux et de pensées d'historien. Qu'est l'Igor' sans personnalité du Slovo auprès du prince en chair et en os, le pécheur repentant de la Chronique ? Qu'ont de vivant ces princes dotés d'une formule poétique ou historique et surgissant



dans un cliquetis verbal comme des mannequins brillants ? Que sont ces noms de dieux survenant avec un retard de deux siècles, et ce mythe d'un evhémérisme dont l'histoire des dynasties princières de Russie n'accuse par ailleurs aucune trace, et ce *Trojan*, en qui l'on a quelques bonnes raisons de reconnaître l'empereur Trajan, mais sans que nul écho précis dans la Russie ancienne ait répondu jusqu'à ce jour à cette hypothèse ?

Les mêmes réponses ont toujours été données de longue date à ces questions troublantes. Le *Slovo*, dit-on, éclaire précisément la réalité de cette belle civilisation de la Russie kiévienne, qui de nos jours seulement s'ouvre peu à peu à notre connaissance. Il apparaît comme le plus grand vestige de cette littérature dont la manière verbale, par exemple dans les œuvres d'Hilarion et de Sérapion, avait le raffinement des écrivains byzantins. Loin de bouleverser notre connaissance de l'état religieux de cette Russie, il la complète heureusement : il atteste le prolongement d'une tradition païenne ancienne apparaissant sinon comme l'égale, du moins comme la brillante seconde de la tradition chrétienne nouvellement adoptée. Il nous révèle des mythes anciens qui, sans lui, nous eussent échappé, celui de l'ancêtre des Russes *Dazibogû*, celui des Russes " fils de la Russie " (*Rusiči*), il nous laisse apercevoir la légende historique qui rattacherait la terre russe au souvenir de Troie ou aux conquêtes de Trajan, il nous apprend le nom d'un grand poète de l'époque pré-mongole, *Bojan*, et les noms de plusieurs tribus torques ; il nous transmet quelques mots d'avant l'invasion, comme *bylja*, et *charalug*, et *drvo* que son étymologie rattache aux divinités iraniennes. Ses obscurités mêmes n'ont d'autre cause que le retard de notre science en matière de linguistique, d'archéologie, d'histoire, de folklore. Et les croyants les plus intrépides imaginent, avec E. A. Ljackij, plusieurs cycles épiques dont le *Slovo* ne nous aurait conservé que des fragments.

Il est pourtant permis de se demander si, faute d'imagination, l'on ne serait pas fondé à trouver la raison d'être du *Slovo* dans une époque moins lointaine et mieux connue.

### 3°/ LIENS DU *Slovo* AVEC LE XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE

Il est admis que le manuscrit échu à Musin-Puškin avait été établi au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Certains font remarquer que l'atmosphère patriotique de la Moscovie libérée des Tatars a pu inspirer à un lettré de cette époque le désir de copier la relation alors oubliée de la défaite du prince Igor' à laquelle l'essor de la puissance moscovite apportait une revanche. Tous d'ailleurs, entendons tous les *croyants*, sont d'accord pour estimer que le *Slovo*, dès les dernières années du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle ou les premières du XV<sup>e</sup>, a été connu de Sofonij de Rjazan', à qui il aurait fourni l'ordonnance générale et de multiples détails de la campagne d'Outre-Don. la *Zadonščina*. Les plus avisés, et les auteurs de *La Geste* sont de ce nombre, insistent sur le contraste saisissant entre la manière littéraire du *Slovo*,

qui aurait la finesse et l'éclat de la civilisation kiévienne, et celle de la *Zadonščina*, où ils dénoncent la rudesse de la Moscovie.

C'est à quoi sont réduits, d'ordinaire, les liens du *Slovo* avec les XV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. Les hypothèses qui rapporteraient la composition même de l'œuvre soit au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle comme prototype de la *Zadonščina*, soit au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle ou au XVII<sup>e</sup> comme pastiche de cette même *Zadonščina*,<sup>5</sup> n'ont jamais été examinées ni même formulées de manière précise jusqu'à ce jour, non plus d'ailleurs que l'hypothèse d'un *Slovo* plus ancien qui aurait été retouché au cours du XV<sup>e</sup> ou du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. La carence à cet égard de la critique et de la recherche est doublement regrettable. Mais la fait est qu'aucun document de cette époque ne fait la moindre allusion à une relation poétique de la campagne du prince Igor', ni, à l'exception des chroniques, au prince Igor' lui-même et à sa grande mésaventure. Sans doute on s'intéresse alors à la Russie kiévienne, et la bataille de Kulikovo apparaît dans la *Zadonščina*<sup>5</sup> comme une revanche de celle de la Kalka (1224), mais non point, ainsi que le suppose D. S. Lichačev,<sup>6</sup> de la défaite bien oubliée d'Igor' de Seversk (1186). L'indication chronologique donnée par les manuscrits ne permet aucun doute à cet égard (*Kir*, *Hist.* 2 et *Syn.* 160 ans.; *Und.* 170 ans.).

On pourrait pourtant se demander si le copiste du *Slovo* n'aurait pas vers ce temps là complété la formule biblique *grozy tvoja po zemljamŭ tekutŭ* (Deutéronome, XI, 25, et II<sup>e</sup> livre des Chroniques, XVII, 10) par le trait *Streljaŭ, gospodine, Končaka*, qui semble venu tout droit de l'époque du Terrible et qui jaillit si naturellement du texte des *Zadonščiny* secondaires (*Hist.* 2 et *Und.*).

Que l'on postule le *Slovo* comme modèle ou pastiche, nous touchons ici la question cardinale celle des rapports réels qu'il faut établir entre le *Slovo* et la *Zadonščina*.

#### 4°/ LE *Slovo* ET LA *Zadonščina*

Le *Slovo*, d'une part, et, d'autre part, la *Zadonščina* et le *Skazanie o Mamaevom poboiščě* ont en commun le plan d'une partie de leur contenu, des portions entières de récit, des traits frappants comme la mention du chanteur *Bojan*, l'intervention du *divo* (*div*) et le pressentiment de la bataille par les bêtes, et tout un arsenal de formules qui est celui des récits de guerre, mais dont le choix coïncide de façon frappante de l'une à l'autre de ces œuvres. Ces coïncidences sont surtout nombreuses, souvent même exclusives, entre le *Slovo* et les versions tardives de la *Zadonščina* des XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles (*Hist.* 1, *Hist.* 2, *Und.* et *Syn.*). Il m'avait paru suffisant d'établir cette constatation sans recourir au renfort du *Skazanie* dont, bien entendu, je connaissais les rapports, d'ailleurs

<sup>5</sup> P. B. Struve ne croyait pas à l'ancienneté ni au caractère original du *Slovo*. Il le tenait pour une œuvre du XVI<sup>e</sup> ou du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dont l'auteur s'était fortement inspiré des *Zadonščiny*. Telle était l'opinion dont il me faisait part dans une lettre du 28 novembre 1942, que je ne mangerais pas de publier.

<sup>6</sup> D. S. Lichačev, *Nacional'noe samosoznanie drevnej Rusi*, M., 1943, pp. 75-78.

mal définis, avec la *Zadonščina*, mais je me garderai bien de négliger ce renfort que l'éditeur de *La Geste* a tenu à m'assurer pour parachever ma démonstration

Le regretté Jean Frček, qui a publié sous une forme synoptique les cinq textes principaux des *Zadonščiny*, a, le premier, démontré que ces textes, ainsi que je m'en étais aperçu de mon côté, se divisent en deux groupes celui de la *Zadonščina* primitive ou *Pitié de la terre russe*, qui s'achève en lamentation, attesté par un manuscrit unique du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, et celui des *Zadonščiny* secondaires des XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles où la *Pitié* s'amplifie en *Pitié et éloge* et s'achève sur un péan de victoire, comme le *Skazanie* dont les diverses rédactions, étudiées par Šambinago, s'échelonnent du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Le *Slovo*, par rapport à cet ensemble de textes, a-t-il été le modèle ou le pastiche ?

Il convient d'admettre d'abord, puisque telle est la tradition, que le *Slovo* a été le modèle. Mais, pour une fois, n'allons pas évoquer cette hypothèse, comme on le fait toujours, à son terme et, pour ainsi dire, en fonction seulement de son résultat : il faut la déployer pour voir quel développement elle implique, quel enchaînement des faits. Si la *Zadonščina* est un plagiat, le plagiat qui démontrerait l'ancienneté du *Slovo*, comment les textes nous obligent-ils à nous représenter la genèse de ce plagiat ?

Le plagiat serait manifeste dès le début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la version primitive de la *Zadonščina* (*Kir.*), et le fait est que, dans les limites de cette version, de moitié plus brève que les suivantes, le " bien commun " éclate aussitôt, qui nous autoriserait à postuler un manuscrit du *Slovo* antérieur à la copie du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mais le plagiat présumé est notablement plus manifeste, et surtout plus étendu, dans les versions amplifiées des XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles et même en certains endroits du *Skazanie*. Il offre en même temps la singularité d'une étrange dispersion : les traits communs au *Slovo* et à ces textes ne sont pas toujours les mêmes de l'un à l'autre et, lorsqu'ils coïncident, ils se présentent souvent sous une forme différente. Les scribes de la *Zadonščina* se seraient comportés en copistes fantaisistes, ou bien ils auraient reproduit un texte de mémoire, presque en rédacteurs, mais en rédacteurs de médiocre intelligence, vulgarisant et déformant leur original, se méprenant sur le nom de *Bojan*, prenant le Pirée pour un homme (*Šelomen'* = *Salomon*) et substituant platitudes ou sottises aux fleurs de rhétorique d'un original dont la tenue littéraire les dépassait.

Cependant la divergence de ces textes d'époques diverses et de régions variées ne permet que deux suppositions, dont le bon sens ne s'accommode guère :

—soit une *Zadonščina* primitive calquée sur le *Slovo* vers la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle ou le début du XV<sup>e</sup> d'après un manuscrit unique de ce dernier, puis, dans des versions amplifiées, s'étant enrichie peu à peu d'additions et de retouches indépendantes dont, par miracle, un bon nombre se

trouverait coïncider avec le modèle plagié que les copistes ultérieurs auraient pu pourtant ne pas connaître,

—soit plusieurs *Zadonščiny* composées d'après plusieurs manuscrits du *Slovo*, ces divers manuscrits ayant fourni quantité de leçons tantôt différentes, tantôt semblables, mais tous, à l'exclusion du seul manuscrit du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle " redécouvert " en 1795, étant disparus à jamais sans que le moindre fragment nous soit resté d'aucun d'entre eux, non plus que la moindre mention ni la moindre allusion dans nul des documents si nombreux dont l'histoire russe dispose de la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup>, la note inscrite par le scribe Domid sur un recueil des *Actes des Apôtres* de 1307, que le métropolite Evgenij se refusait avec raison à tenir pour une preuve de l'ancienneté du *Slovo*, n'est qu'un nid de formules banales, étrangères d'ailleurs à la *Zadonščina*, et dont l'auteur du *Slovo* a pu avoir connaissance soit directement, soit par une source commune que nous ignorons.

Ainsi le *Slovo* serait une sorte de fusée à retardement qui ne se serait d'abord manifestée que par ses éclats éparpillés entre le XII<sup>e</sup> et le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, dans les diverses versions de la *Zadonščina* et du *Skazanie*, et cela surtout dans les plus récentes, jusqu'au jour de l'année 1795 où l'œuvre même, présentant le tout étincelant de ces éclats enfin rassemblés, aurait émergé de l'oubli *ad maiorem gentis Russicae gloriam*. Et, de ce moment, la *Zadonščina* et le *Skazanie* avec elle seraient réduits à l'office de repoussoirs attestant à la fois la platitude du plagiat et la beauté de l'œuvre plagiée en même temps que son ancienneté. La tradition manuscrite de ces textes, abondante et sans reproche, leurs rapports réels avec les *Chroniques* et les récits de guerre, les liens qui les rattachent à l'histoire de la Moscovie, leur autonomie séculaire, toutes ces évidences seraient mises hors de cause dès lors qu'elles risqueraient de s'opposer à une hypothèse devenue dogme et, comme telle, tenue pour intangible malgré son invraisemblance.

Le souci de la vraisemblance nous amène bon gré mal gré à l'hypothèse inverse : le *Slovo* pastiche de la *Zadonščina*. Si les éléments communs au *Slovo* qu'offre la *Zadonščina* ne sauraient être tenus pour une poussière de réminiscences dont la source serait le manuscrit-fantôme invisible durant cinq siècles, ne seraient-ils pas au contraire une partie, et la plus solide, de la matière dont est fait le *Slovo* ? Ne serait-ce pas dans la *Zadonščina* que l'auteur du *Slovo* aurait trouvé son modèle principal ?

Telle est bien, en effet, la réalité qui semble se dégager de la confrontation des textes : un *Slovo* suspendu pour ainsi dire à la *Zadonščina* tantôt par de larges parties, tantôt par de simples détails, le plus souvent réorganisant les ensembles, regroupant des motifs dispersés, mais aussi s'appropriant des formules isolées, ennoblissant telle expression rude. L'amplification est évidente dans le couplet ternaire sur les transformations de Bojan, le poète-devin, comme dans le développement du thrène de Jaroslavna ; le regroupement, dans la déclaration de Vsevolod, les

emprunts épars, en plusieurs endroits de la seconde partie, l'ennoblissement d'une expression, par exemple, dans la retouche *stjazi glagoljutû* (pour *stjazi revut*), et les prétendues citations de *Bojan* ne sont en réalité que des citations de la *Zadonščina* : *burja sokoly zanesse* . . . Le rapport des correspondances entre la *Zadonščina* et le *Slovo* est celui d'un modèle médiocre, mais sincère, à un pastiche habile et factice.

Il est vrai que l'on pourrait soupçonner là une interprétation subjective ou tendancieuse des textes. Mais un fait confirme l'emprunt dans la mesure même où il le date. ce n'est pas à la version primitive du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle (la *Pitié de la terre russe*) que répond à l'ordinaire le *Slovo*, mais le plus souvent, et dans bien des cas exclusivement, aux *Zadonščiny* secondaires des XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles (*Hist. 1, Hist. 2, Und. et Syn*) et parfois au *Skazanie*; c'est donc dans un texte de ce type tardif que l'auteur du *Slovo* a trouvé son modèle, un texte qui avait conservé le nom de *Bojan* sous sa forme correcte, à la différence des manuscrits qui nous sont parvenus, et qui présentait quelques traits communs au *Skazanie*. La version de la *Zadonščina*, si consciencieusement "reconstruite," que Mme Adrianova-Peretc<sup>7</sup> destine à mettre au plein jour l'étendue des larcins dont le *Slovo* aurait été l'objet, nous représente au contraire précisément ce qu'a pu être le modèle dont l'auteur du *Slovo* s'est inspiré : un modèle auquel il a ajouté ses ornements, un air de noblesse et le lustre d'un passé lointain, un peu trop lointain, auquel nous devons un paganisme inattendu à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et, dans la généalogie des princes russes, un évhémérisme sans précédent.

Ce n'est pas dire que la *Zadonščina*, ainsi réhabilitée, ne soulève plus de problèmes. Il reste à la libérer du "sottisier" dont une longue tradition l'a chargée, et que M. Gudzij et Mme Adrianova-Peretc se sont pu récemment à inventorier à nouveau.

Une bonne partie de l'inventaire tombe d'elle-même : les quelques incohérences de style relevées par Mme Adrianova Peretc (*Izvestija*, VI, 2, 1947, pp. 97-98) et les non-sens géographiques tels que la supplication chimérique au Don de ramener à Moscou le corps d'un époux que la veuve de Mikula lance au fleuve,—et aussi le paysage rocheux qu'elle impute au cours du Don, et dont on pourrait présenter la défense, s'il était raisonnable de prendre à la lettre un détail plus conventionnel que descriptif les *berezi charalužnyja* "rivages bleu d'acier" de *Kiv.*, auxquels *Hist. 1, Hist. 2, Und. et Syn.* ont substitué le cliché des *kamennyja gory*, peuvent correspondre aux formations calcaires de cette région du Don moyen décrites par Semenov (*Rossija*, II, Spb., 1902, pp. 25-26 et 541-542). Aussi bien ceux-là mêmes qui exigent le plus de la *Zadonščina* et trouvent absurde l'appel au grand-duc des femmes de Kolomna pour "barrer le Dnepr avec des avirons" ne font point tant de façons pour remplacer le *Danube* par le *Don* (*Dunaevn* = *Donovi*) dans le premier élan

<sup>7</sup> *Trudy otdela drevne-russkoj literatury*, V, M.-L., 1947, pp. 194-224, et compte-rendu dans le *Journal des savants*, janvier-juin 1948, pp. 23-25

du thrène de Jaroslavna (verset 168 du *Slovo*) et pour maintenir le *Danube* dans la proposition précédente qui ne contient rien de moins à leurs yeux que tout un chapitre d'histoire celui de l'expansion des Koumans dans la région danubienne (*kopiĭa poĭut na Dunav*).

Il n'est guère que deux points dont il vaille de parler. D'abord, l'appel des bêtes à la terre russe évoquant symboliquement le roi Salomon, patron tutélaire des monarques et avec eux du grand prince de Moscou Dmitrij, que son biographe louera plus tard d'avoir fait de la terre russe une terre florissante comme la Terre Promise à Israël. L'accord des textes, pour le fond sinon pour la forme, est rigoureux (*Kir., Hist. 2, Und, Syn.*), l'écho est évident d'un dit légendaire de la Russie médiévale (*Volot Volotovič et La Sainte Cité de Jérusalem*), et rien ne nous autorise à interposer entre cet écho et les lecteurs des XV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles la "colline" (*šelomen'*) inventée en 1823 par un commentateur ingénieux du *Slovo*. Puis le nom des *Polovises* dont l'application aux *Tatars* de Kulikovo trahirait un emprunt au *Slovo*, mais c'est le même nom (*so vseĭu sĭloĭu Totar'skoĭu i Poloveckoĭu*) qui figure dans la relation de Kulikovo suivant la *IV<sup>e</sup> Chronique de Novgorod* et aussi, d'après l'*Index* des Chroniques de la Commission archéographique, dans maint texte vieux-russe jusqu'au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Il faut convenir, cependant, que la réhabilitation de la *Zadonščina* ne sera complète qu'au prix d'un effort nouveau pour en éclairer certaines parties, et surtout la partie initiale. Le regretté Jan Frček<sup>8</sup> a mis à pied d'œuvre les textes sur lesquels doit porter cet effort, mais sans en discuter suffisamment l'interprétation, comme il convient de le faire à présent après Šambinago et Mme Adrianova-Peretc.

C'est le texte de la *Zadonščina* primitive qui, en dépit des lacunes et des fautes dont l'a grevé un copiste étourdi et peu intelligent, appelle d'abord notre attention. Son entrée en matière, où Mme Adrianova-Peretc, avec raison, reconnaît des souvenirs de la *Chronique*, est claire et de bonne venue, et la mention du chanteur *Bojan*, donnée sous une forme correcte et ne s'embarrassant d'aucune profession de foi littéraire, n'est pas plus surprenante après tout, en dépit des ornements dont elle s'accompagne, que la mention dans la *Chronique* de tel ou tel autre chanteur comme *Manulo* et *Mitusa* à qui la postérité n'a pas pris le souci de faire un sort. Sofonij de Rjazan', de qui le nom figure dans le titre du manuscrit, parle de Bojan comme d'un maître en son art ayant chanté la gloire des anciens princes, et à l'exemple de qui il se propose, lui, de chanter la gloire de Dmitrij Ivanovič et de Vladimir Andrejevič (*voschvaljaĭa* devant être corrigé en *voschvalju ja*).

Mais les *Zadonščiny* amplifiées ont ajouté au texte primitif une seconde partie, la *Louange* victorieuse qui rachète la lamentation de la première partie (la *Pitié de la terre russe*). La suture est visible, et l'auteur de cette rédaction nouvelle la dénonce lui-même en mentionnant comme une

<sup>8</sup> *Zadonščina, staroruský žaložpěv o boji Rusů s Tatarsy r. 1380*, v Praze, 1948, et compte-rendu dans le *Journal des savants*, janvier-juin 1948, pp 15-23.

tierce personne l'auteur de la *Pitié*, Sofonij de Rjazan " J'ai d'abord copié (*vospisachŭ*) la *Pitié de la terre russe* et la suite d'après les livres (*ot knich privodja*). Et ensuite j'ai écrit [*spisach*; *Syn napisachom*] la *Pitié et Louange* du grand prince Dmitrej Ivanovič et de son frère le prince Vladimer Ondreevič" (*Und*, la seconde phrase seule figure dans *Hist. 2* et *Syn.*). Le texte copié ne peut être que celui de la *Pitié* de Sofonij, complété par quelques formules venues des chroniques, tel qu'on le lit dans *Und. f. 170 r* et *v* (pp 179-81 de l'édition de Frček); et le texte nouveau est celui de la *Louange* qui commence à *Lud'čŭ bo nam, brate, načati povědati* . . (*Und., Hist. 2, Syn.*) C'est ici que l'auteur, qui n'est plus Sofonij, mais son continuateur, a voulu dire comment il entendait son œuvre, et s'est trouvé trahi par les copistes de telle manière que nous ne pouvons qu'entrevoir sa pensée à travers les leçons plus ou moins incorrectes des divers manuscrits il sied mieux, entendons-nous, de conter la louange du grand-prince et de son frère " en un autre langage" (*iněmi slovesy, Hist. 2, mymi slovesy, Und.*), d'où il suit que, si l'on a commencé le récit " suivant les faits et suivant le désastre" (*po dělom, po gybelju, Hist. 2*) ou " suivant les faits et les événements" (*po dělom, po bylinam, Und.*), nous allons, nous, " nous élancer par la pensée au-dessus des terres" et " rappeler les temps anciens" et " louer" l'habile chanteur de Kiev qui posait ses doigts sur les cordes vivantes et chantait la gloire des princes . . (*Hist. 2, Und. et, avec des déformations, Syn.*); mais " je rappellerai [aussi], moi, Sofonij de Rjazan', et je dirai dans mes chansons sur les *gusli* la gloire du grand prince de notre temps Dmitrej Ivanovič et de son frère le prince Vladimir Andreevič, arrière-petits neveux des princes d'autrefois . . ." (*Hist. 2, Und. et, pour une part, Syn.*). On ne saurait imaginer confession plus honnête : le poète connaît les récits de Kulikovo qui relatent " les faits, le désastre" (sans doute les récits des chroniqueurs, peut-être la *Pitié de la terre russe*), mais il prétend, lui, parler un autre langage, celui du fameux chanteur d'autrefois et, rappelant Sofonij de Rjazan' qui a écrit la *Pitié*, il dira en un langage poétique, à la suite de cette *Pitié*, la louange des princes de son temps, descendants des princes de jadis. Le continuateur inconnu à qui est due cette rédaction des *Zadonščiny* secondaires ne connaît même plus le nom de *Bojan*, et il recule le personnage sur un plan lointain : une perspective est ouverte vers le passé, où quelque lecteur ami des métaphores pourra plus tard faire apparaître le nouveau Bojan, poète et devin, planant comme un aigle ou bondissant comme un loup suivant sa fantaisie,—et cela sans que ce lecteur inventif ait besoin d'avoir jamais entendu parler du prince bulgare *Baranus*, qui était doué du pouvoir magique de se transformer en loup ou toute autre bête (ex homine fieri lupum et quamcumque vellet aliam cerneret feram), ainsi qu'un érudit pouvait le savoir, fût ce en Russie et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'après l'une de nombreuses éditions de l'*Antapodosis* de l'évêque Liutprand de Crémone ou, tout simplement, d'après les *Historiae Francorum Scriptores* d'André Du Chesne (tom III, 1641, p. 595), ou

la seconde partie de l'*Histoire de l'Empire Occident* de Louis Cousin, parue à Paris en 1684.<sup>9</sup>

Le contact est frappant sur ce point précis entre le *Slovo* et les *Zadonščiny* des XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Il n'est pas moins frappant dans d'autres cas typiques, notamment celui de l'oiseau de mauvais augure ou du génie diabolique (*div*, *divo*) dont le cri propage la nouvelle du désastre russe à travers les pays étrangers (*Hist. 2, Und Syn.*, *Slovo*, verset 29) et qui tombe précipité sur le sol au moment de la bataille (*Hist. 2 et Und.*, *Slovo*, verset 108) on ne peut qu'admirer l'imagination du commentateur de *La Geste* qui perçoit dans ce dernier trait la persistance de l'ancienne légende d'origine phrygienne suivant laquelle *Dios* "s'est précipité vers *Semele* en la foudroyant" (*La Geste*, p. 358). M. Henri Grégoire traduit sans hésiter le verset 108 "A présent, Div a fondu sur la terre."

#### 5°/ LIENS DU *Slovo* AVEC LE XVIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE

De la mythologie indo-européenne aux préoccupations d'un aristocrate collectionneur qui avait été Maître des cérémonies de la Cour de Catherine II avant de devenir Procureur du Saint-Synode—la chute est brutale. Mais, il faut pourtant le rappeler, le *Slovo* est lié au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle par des liens extérieurs que personne ne saurait contester. La copie solennellement remise à l'impératrice quelques mois avant sa mort apparaît comme le plus beau présent dans la masse des notes historiques rédigées à l'intention de la grande écolière curieuse de l'histoire de son Empire et rassemblées par Pypin dans le tome XI des documents annexes aux *Œuvres* de la souveraine (éd Pypin, Spb., 1906, pp. 427-53). Ce présent, il est vrai, n'a provoqué, de la part de celle-ci, aucun propos auguste qui en souligne le prix. Mais, dès alors, des lettrés patriotes se sont montrés émus de la découverte du chef d'œuvre inconnu, et Karamzin en faisait part à l'Europe, en octobre 1797, dans le *Spectateur du Nord* : ". . . On a déterré, il y a deux ans, dans nos archives, le fragment [*sic*] d'un poème intitulé le *Chant des guerriers d'Igor*, qui peut être mis à côté des plus beaux morceaux d'Ossian, et qui a été fait dans le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle par un auteur inconnu". Le manuscrit était enfin publié en 1800 par le comte Musin-Puškin, fortement assisté par le plus grand directeur des Archives de l'Empire, Bantyš-Kamenskij, et surtout par son adjoint le jeune Malinovskij. C'était le legs le plus précieux du siècle achevé au siècle nouveau. Nul document ne nous éclaire mieux sur le climat spirituel inspirant cette édition que la préface et les notes dont les éditeurs l'avaient munie : "Quiconque aime la littérature russe, écrivait Musin-Puškin, conviendra que cette œuvre, vestige des siècles passés, nous laisse apparaître l'esprit d'Ossian. Elle nous montre que nos héros anciens, eux aussi, ont eu des *Barbes* pour chanter leur gloire."

<sup>9</sup> *Luitprand Rerum gestarum per Europam . . . libri sex*, Parisius, 1514, liber III, cap. 8, folio xix, verso, —*Luitprand. . . Opera omnia quæ exstant*, Antverpiæ, 1640, p. 59 (cf. p. xxxi de la préface "Rerum ab Europæ Principibus gestarum, toties typis excusum"), —*Histoire de l'Empire d'Occident* de M. Cousin,



C'est bien là, pour le moins, l'avou d'un état d'esprit. Cependant il va de soi que le *Slovo* ne saurait être tenu pour un pastiche du seul fait qu'il apparaît au moment opportun, comme une trouvaille attendue destinée à devenir le plus bel ornement d'un passé jusqu'alors modestement meublé. Le texte n'accuse pas dans son ensemble la manière littéraire des écrivains de l'époque pseudo-classique, et les rares détails de cette époque que certains se sont risqués à relever peuvent être discutés. On peut même imaginer que l'ossianisme préromantique de quelques paysages ne soit qu'une illusion dont l'annonce de Karamzin et la préface de l'édition princeps porteraient la responsabilité.

Mais les grandes invraisemblances qui rendent le texte suspect sont toujours là : la carence de sa tradition manuscrite, le caractère douteux de ses liens apparents avec le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, ses rapports avec la *Zadonščina*, qui semblent être ceux d'un pastiche à l'égard de son modèle, l'anachronisme historique des survivances païennes et de son evhémérisme, son style enfin qui s'applique à être celui du " langage ancien " (*starymi slovesy*) et dont le moins qu'on puisse dire est qu'il n'a ni aisance ni clarté et semble factice au point de justifier de sérieuses réserves sur son authenticité. Les commentateurs les plus sages avouent leurs défaites, les plus intrépides inventent le texte qui se dérobe.

C'en est assez de ce fond étrange sur lequel le *Slovo* est apparu pour attirer et fixer quelques simples observations qui viennent spontanément à l'esprit le moins prévenu. La mention de Tmutarakan', venant à quatre reprises dans le texte et revenant six fois dans les notes de l'édition princeps, semble faite à la fois pour complaire à l'auteur du fameux mémoire de 1792, à qui le manuscrit a été vendu, et pour rappeler flatteusement à l'impératrice les titres vénérables des Russes sur la mer d'Azov. Comment se défendre de relier cette impression au souvenir de l'inscription si suspecte de " la pierre de Tmutarakan' " dont l'invention paraît revenir pour une large part au Cosaque madré Holovatyj et la fortune archéologique au comte Musin-Puškin lui-même ? La mystification de ce graffiti de contenu un peu ridicule peut être indépendante, mais elle s'accorde singulièrement, il faut le reconnaître, avec le manuscrit émergeant soudain de l'ombre : elle apporte à propos son témoignage archéologique, à peu près comme les grandes pierres d'origine norroise d'Orkney ont fourni à Macpherson, lecteur de Mallet, le *Loden* ou *Lodu* des poèmes d'Ossian.<sup>10</sup> Mais rassurons M. Georges Vernadsky, qui critique ma thèse sans en avoir pris exactement connaissance : loin de nous la pensée de soupçonner de mauvaise foi la très noble dupe à qui les deux trouvailles semblent avoir été destinées ; ce patriote dévot et désarmé n'est sans doute responsable que de la tentation qu'il offrait à un patriote plus habile et mieux armé. Il n'est pas déraisonnable d'apercevoir une intention " géopolitique " de ce même patriote derrière

President en la Cour des Monnoyes, 2 partie, Paris, 1684, p. 127 : " Il eut deux fils, Bayan et Pierre, qui provède encore aujourd'hui le royaume de Bulgarie. On dit que Bajan estoit si savant dans l'art magique qu'il se transformoit en loup, ou en tel autre animal qu'il lui plaisait "

<sup>10</sup> *The History of Scotland*, by Malcolm Laing, vol. IV, London, 1819, pp. 438-439.

la *Nemiga*, dont les berges ont vu de rudes batailles, et derrière l'épisode de Vseslav de Polock que l'on pourrait ne tenir que pour un hors d'œuvre si l'on n'y percevait le rappel des droits anciens que l'Empire a pu faire valoir pour réclamer sa part de cette région au moment où la Pologne était partagée par ses voisins. Il se peut que le hameau de *Duduiki* ne soit que l'invention de mauvais déchiffreurs. Mais il n'est pas contraire au bon sens de constater que, si les jeunes filles gothes (*gotskija děvy*) nous eussent surpris dans un texte russe de l'époque pré-mongole, elles ne pouvaient être que les bienvenues à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, auprès des contemporains de Johann Stritter (voir le tome I des *Memoriae populorum*) et de Mgr Siestrzencewicz de Bohusz qui préparait alors sa fameuse *Histoire de la Chersonèse Taurique*, si même il n'en avait publié une première esquisse dès 1775, comme le suppose Estreicher dans sa Bibliographie (tome XXVIII, 1930, p. 78).

Et si enfin le plus ardent instigateur de la publication du *Slovo* avant de devenir tout à la fois le plus réservé et peut-être le plus zélé des trois éditeurs de 1800, l'historien Bantyš-Kamenskij, devait quelque jour justifier les présomptions que l'on peut avoir de soupçonner en lui l'historien exalté qui aurait été capable de dresser l'in vraisemblable panoplie de souvenirs empruntés à la *Zadonščina* et aux *Chroniques* qu'est le *Slovo d'Igor*, comment ne serait-on pas tenté de retrouver dans "la terre de Trajan" et "la voie trajane" l'empreinte de ce grand Valaque formé par la société docte de Nežin et par l'Académie de Kiev ?

Quant à exiger de l'auteur du *Slovo* le génie que lui attribuait Puškin, l'œuvre, n'en déplaise à Vogué, ne mérite pas tant d'honneur. Senkovskij était plus fondé à imaginer simplement quelque clerc ardent farci de lectures savantes, de poésie populaire et d'ingéniosité, et ce serait faire injure aux Académies, aux monastères et aux archives de la vaste Russie d'affirmer que cette graine d'humanité savante était perdue au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La pratique continuelle des textes suppléait, pour la connaissance de la langue ancienne, aux grammaires encore absentes. Il suffisait à cet inconnu d'avoir à sa portée les ingrédients que l'on discerne dans sa pièce montée : une version secondaire de la *Zadonščina* plus ou moins contaminée par le *Skazanie*, les éditions imprimées des *Chroniques*, l'*Histoire de Russie* du prince Ščerbatov et surtout celle de Tatiščev, quelques manuscrits vieux-russes, notamment une version de la *Chronique* du type Hypatien,—et enfin les quelques textes de *Digenis*, d'*Akir*, du *Chronographe*, etc., dont l'orthographe coïncidant en gros avec celle du *Slovo* avait pu lui servir de guide.

Ce sont là des hypothèses qui resteront légitimes tant que persisteront les grandes invraisemblances qui nous mettent en garde contre le *Slovo*. Elles ne sont pas plus surprenantes et le sont même beaucoup moins que le *credo* qui, en 1795, a doté la littérature russe d'un chef d'œuvre douteux surgissant du fond du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et qui ne peut être accepté pour tel que par un acte de foi.

ANDRÉ MAZON.

Paris.

# MY MISSION TO LONDON

*Translated from the Rumanian of VASILE ALECSANDRI*  
by E. D. TAPPE

VASILE ALECSANDRI (1819-1890) is one of the outstanding figures of 19th-century Rumania. He is best known as a poet, but he did distinguished work in the political as well as the literary field. Born of a noble Moldavian family, he was sent at the age of thirteen as a student to Paris, where he seems to have devoted his time to literary pursuits rather than to academic studies. Soon after his return to Moldavia in 1839, he became director of the theatre at Jassy, and his life began to take on a characteristic pattern. Perhaps six main interests may be detected

(i) Writing pieces for the stage, many in a light vein, (ii) writing poetry, (iii) collecting ballads from peasants in the mountains, (iv) editing literary reviews, (v) travelling abroad, (vi) political activity.

Our present concern is with his political activity. He was by nature a man of the Centre, but as a young intellectual, trained in Western ideas, he took part in the unsuccessful liberal movement of 1848 and was exiled for a year. From about 1856 his political activity increased. He was Foreign Minister of Moldavia when, on 29 January 1859, he led a delegation to the meeting at Jassy which elected Cuza as Prince of the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. This led to the greatest of his political achievements, for in February he was sent by Cuza to persuade the Western powers to recognise the Union. This important diplomatic mission he successfully accomplished. Other minor missions followed later, and the last six years of his life were spent as Rumanian Minister in Paris.

The account here translated of Alecsandri's mission to London in 1859 is taken from his "Extract from the History of my Political Missions." This is a series of articles dealing with the missions to France, England and Italy in 1859; it was published in the review *Convorbiri Literare* from 1877 to 1879. His intention of completing his diplomatic memoirs was never carried out. It would be interesting to have Lord Malmesbury's account of his meeting with Alecsandri; but in *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* he makes no reference to it. Apparently the only papers in the Record Office connected with this interview are those making the appointment (F.O. 78), from which it is clear that it took place on 3 March.

Communications between Paris and London are very rapid nowadays. Ten hours are sufficient to take you from the capital of France to Calais, from Calais by sea to Dover, and from Dover by railway to the capital of England. The steamer was full of travellers returning from all the corners of the earth, and the most interesting of all in my eyes was a

short, thick John Bull with a face as red as a pomegranate and hair as red as a carrot, who was on a trip from Hong Kong. A trip of three months from China by way of India ! Lucky redhead !

On arriving in London I immediately wrote to Lord Malmesbury,<sup>1</sup> the Foreign Secretary, informing him that I was charged by Prince Cuza with the task of bringing him an autograph letter and asking him to be so kind as to grant me an audience. At the same time I sent two notes to Lord Clarendon<sup>1</sup> and Lord John Russell,<sup>1</sup> begging them for the favour of being received as Envoy Extraordinary of the Prince. I wished to make a similar request to be received by Lord Palmerston,<sup>2</sup> but the great man was not in London.

The desired replies reached me only after a long week of waiting ; an interval of which I took advantage to pay my visit to the French Ambassador, the Duke of Malakoff,<sup>3</sup> and to make excursions as an ordinary tourist to all quarters of the town.

The French Embassy is near the main gate of Hyde Park on Piccadilly. I presented myself on the day after my arrival in London, and was shown into a large apartment where I found the Duke of Malakoff. Marshal Pélissier, whose name was rendered famous by the taking of Sevastopol, is a man of small stature, but with broad, powerful shoulders ; his hair is grey and close-cut ; his energetic face reveals a will of iron. He is the typical French officer, burnt with the African sun and tempered in the fire of war.

When I entered the long spacious room, a Newfoundland dog which was sitting couched beside the Marshal with its head on his knees, rose ; it came towards me, lifted itself on its hind paws and rested its fore paws on my chest. The black brute was as big as a bear ! " Don't be afraid, Mr Alecsandri," said the Duke, in answer to my greeting. " I'm not frightened of dogs, sir," I replied, " I'm very fond of them " As if he had understood my words, the dog began to wag his tail under my caresses ; then, in obedience to his master's orders, he went quietly to the window and set himself to look at Hyde Park.

After the usual compliments the illustrious Marshal said to me : " Have you come to London to defend the occurrences in the Principalities ? Your task is difficult and indeed unpleasant ; the Queen's Ministers are strongly prejudiced against the action you have taken in the Parliaments at Jassy and Bucharest." " I know, sir, His Majesty the Emperor and Count Walewski<sup>4</sup> have made clear to me the difficulty of my mission, but I hope that through the guidance which you will so kindly give me I shall succeed in overcoming the prejudices of the English Cabinet." " It will be difficult. Your cause has been very dexterously misrepresented here by the Turkish Ambassador, Mr. Musuri." " I don't doubt that. Mr. Musuri is a Phanariot, and in all the misfortunes of my country, all the persecutions which the Rumanians have suffered, the most implacable agents have been the Phanariots." " But perhaps you had better not say so to the English Ministers. Here

sentiment has no place in policy. Speak to them realistically and try to show them that the interests of England are bound up with the present developments in the Principalities. Make them realise that you are practical men, and that you wish to respect the treaties that you have with the Ottoman Empire ; otherwise you will waste your time." " Thank you, sir, for this guidance, and I assure you that I shall profit by it."

The conversation continued for some time on this subject ; then it took flight to the shores of the Crimea, where I had first seen Marshal Pélissier, during the war. " Were you in the Crimea ? " asked the Marshal. " Yes, I was, after the taking of Sevastopol, and I stayed with Colonel de Vernon, at headquarters, next door to your Excellency's residence " " And why didn't you introduce yourself to me ? " " I didn't dare because I had a journalist for my companion " " Ah ! If that was the case . . . you were right," said Marshal Pélissier with a laugh , he could not bear journalists. He used to make out an indiscreet journalist could be as dangerous as a spy in the course of a campaign ; that is why as long as he commanded at the siege of Sevastopol, he had given orders that journalists should not be received on the shores of the Crimea occupied by the French army.

Taking my leave of the Duke of Malakoff, I went for a walk in Hyde Park. This park, extensive as an estate and green as emerald, was full of splendid equipages with two or four horses harnessed à la Daumont <sup>5</sup> with one or two footmen in powdered wigs , as for cabs, not one was to be seen. Hyde Park being an aristocratic promenade, cabs are forbidden to enter it , and in consequence any one who has no carriage of his own finds himself obliged to swell the throng of pedestrians who line the ride of the Amazons. Ravishing spectacle ! England's most beautiful daughters fly past on her most beautiful horses like visions of gracefulness. Their cheeks like rosebuds, the Amazons urge on their horses with tuneful voice, while the steeds, heated with galloping, are skittish, neigh, grow quiet beneath the caresses of white hands and the poor pedestrians stand in a comic sort of trance in the presence of this fascinating whirlpool of grace, youth and elegance.

Sundays in England are devoted to religion. The inhabitants employ themselves in bible reading in the bosom of the family , all business ceases, the shops all shut, all noisy entertainments are forbidden, so that the towns, from the smallest to the largest, become intolerably gloomy for a foreigner. On the first Sunday after my arrival in London I climbed on to an omnibus which was going to Richmond.

Richmond is a paradise of green. Its park is renowned among the finest in the world, but what pleased me even more than the park is the amphitheatre of hills crowned with country-houses which rises on the banks of the Thames. These houses, called " cottages," are of a varied and elegant architecture and form an enchanting picture. Their gardens come down to the river with groups of trees, beds of flowers

and green carpets of beautiful lawn like velvet. A swarm of narrow little boats was floating on the mirror of the Thames, cradling children with fair hair and rosy faces, others were steered by ravishing young "misses," veritable figures from a "Keepsake." A poetic sight which enchants the eye and makes one believe in the realisation of humanity's dream of perfection! He who sees it cannot help desiring to live and die in that peaceful spot, in the bosom of smiling nature.

I spent a great part of the day on the bank of the Thames (I could not tear myself away from that poetic view) and leaving for London towards evening, I visited in passing the botanical gardens called Kew, where the sights include a Chinese tower and several conservatories of iron and glass. In one of these I saw again the celebrated tropical plant *Victoria*,<sup>6</sup> whose leaves are as large and round as trays, as well as the gardener who is specially employed in its cultivation. This gardener lives with his pet plant in an atmosphere of thirty degrees centigrade, he broods on it with his eyes to see it coming into flower, and when the plant responds to his desire, he has the satisfaction of being visited by the entire population of London. The fact is that all the English come to admire the flower in bloom, but the gardener flatters himself that a great part of his countrymen's admiration is for himself, and so he feels himself the most contented man in the United Kingdom.

In the year 1851, when I was at the first Exhibition with my brother, the *Victoria* was in full bloom. My brother asked the gardener whether the plant always needed such intense heat. "Oh yes," replied the gardener, with the air of a professor of botany. "And you live continuously in this tropical atmosphere?" "Oh yes." "Take care, my friend, that you yourself don't grow with the plant, you're living in the same conditions. You may keep on growing all the year and wake up one day as big as a giant." The gardener, tiny as Ghemish<sup>7</sup> in the ballad, let out a guffaw which caused a veritable earthquake in the conservatory, and since then he tells all the visitors that he is shut up in the heat on purpose to attain gigantic proportions. However, far from growing, poor fellow, he does nothing but shrink, and if he goes on shrinking at the same rate, in a few years he will be the dwarfest dwarf in England.

Returning to Morley's Hotel, Trafalgar Square, where I was staying, by that endless chain of streets called Piccadilly, Regent Street, Oxford Street, Pall Mall, etc., I found a note from Lord Malmesbury's secretary, informing me that I should be received by His Excellency the Minister the next day at 1 p.m., but not in an official capacity, as the election of the Prince was still unrecognised, etc. This categorical note set me thinking, and in a way gave me the key to English policy with regard to the Principalities. The Emperor Napoleon had done me the honour to receive me as a minister; Lord Malmesbury would not even recognise my official capacity, but reduced me to the position of a mere private representative. My position had become very delicate, but there was

no room for retreat, I must go straight ahead and sacrifice my personal feelings in the interest of our common cause.

At last the day came and the hour struck of my appointment with Lord Malmesbury! I went to the Foreign Office, and the private secretary took me to His Excellency's office. I found myself in the presence of a tall, dignified and stern figure, to whom I addressed the following words: "My lord, I have been charged by His Highness Prince Cuza to bring you this letter which I beg you to accept." Lord Malmesbury, without taking the letter, observed that if he had granted me an audience, he had done so in my private capacity and not officially, since the title of Prince was not recognised as belonging to Colonel Cuza, that consequently he received the actual letter which I was presenting as from the mere Colonel and not from Prince Cuza. "Be so good," I replied, "as to receive it from Colonel Cuza, written upon the throne." "Excuse me," rejoined his lordship, "diplomatic proprieties do not permit me as yet to consider Colonel Cuza except as a mere colonel, nor to regard this letter except as the private letter of a colonel." "Very well," said I, "but be so kind as to accept it, so that I do not have to take it back to Moldavia." His Excellency took it, but did not open it in my presence, instead, he put it in a box, leaving a corner of the letter sticking out, and assured me that he would read it later with the utmost care.

After this operation he invited me to take a chair and seated himself in the armchair at his desk. There followed a short silence, after which his lordship began to speak in a very stern voice and said: "My dear sir, the recent events in the Principalities showed a tendency to disorder and contempt for the Convention<sup>8</sup> which surprised us on the part of a people that had invoked the protection of the western powers. Under the influence of a violent faction the votes of the Parliaments have strayed from the prescribed course and have raised the same Prince to the thrones of both Principalities, an act contrary to the Convention<sup>8</sup> which stipulates that each Principality shall have its own Prince or sovereign. This act cannot meet with the approval of the government of Her Britannic Majesty, for apart from its illegality it aims a blow at the interests of the Suzerain Court, it threatens the integrity of the Ottoman Empire by a secret revolutionary operation, which seeks to detach the Principalities from that empire. My dear sir, the Rumanians have made a great mistake of policy, through their impatience, through the desire for independence which dominates them, through the dream of conquest with which they delude themselves, so far from gaining anything, they will lose the sympathies of Europe. England, of whose good will the Principalities have had convincing proofs, finds herself today compelled to adopt an attitude of great reserve towards them, because they have overstepped the limits of the prerogatives granted to them, by electing a single Prince and by preparing, as far as I can see, to proclaim their Union once and for all. The reports

which I have received from Constantinople leave me no doubt as to the revolutionary spirit which animates the Rumanians, and I assure you, my dear sir, that England will not permit the growth of such a dangerous spirit in an allied state, that is why she is not disposed to recognise the election of Colonel Cuza as Prince in both provinces."

In the face of such a formal declaration inspired by the contents of reports slanderous to my country, I was filled with painful indignation. I raised my head and looking the Minister straight in the eyes, I replied with perfect calm. "My lord, the reports from Constantinople contain very serious charges against my nation, but I am not surprised, seeing that they come from Constantinople where the problem of the Principalities is much misunderstood. Allow me then to answer these accusations, which I should despise if they were not of such a nature as to deprive us of the sympathy and protection of the friendly government of England. Those whose interest it is to compromise our cause have spread exaggerated rumours, the better to secure belief, and have attributed to the Rumanians gigantic schemes which, fortunately for us, are such poor fabrications that they vanish into thin air at the breath of ridicule.

"They have said that we nourish ourselves on dreams of absolute independence, that we aim at the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire, that we plan great conquests, and the rest. To maintain such views, they must certainly suppose that we have no idea of our own interests, and that is just what shows the poverty of their imagination. All nations have an instinctive feeling for their own needs and for self-preservation. The Rumanians too have this protective sense and have long believed in the following political truth; namely that their fortunes are closely bound up with the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire, and that the integrity of their land depends on the integrity of Turkish territory. The rum which has threatened them hitherto does not come from beyond the Danube, and as a result of it they have always shown themselves faithful to the Suzerain Court. History itself proves this; in 1821, when Ipsilanti entered Moldavia to begin the Greek revolution at the command of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, did the Rumanians take up arms against the Turks? No, although Ipsilanti's proclamations were drafted in the name of religion and independence. On the contrary they rose against the Greeks, who under the flag of freedom were committing the most barbarous acts of pillage. Later, in 1828, when Russia declared war on Turkey, when her armies seized the Principalities, did the Rumanians take sides in that war against their suzerain? No; they suffered in silence all the evils of a seven years' occupation. Twenty years later, in 1848, when all Europe except England was shaken by the revolutionary convulsion, what was the character of the movement in the Principalities? The Rumanians burnt in the public square the '*Règlement Organique*'<sup>9</sup> imposed by Russia and shouted 'Down with the Muscovite protectorate! Long live the Sultan!' Did the



'Divan Ad Hoc' <sup>10</sup> at which the English Commissioner, Sir Henry Bulwer, was present, show any desire contrary to the interests of Turkey? Not at all, they demanded Union under a foreign Prince and the respecting of the treaties with the Sublime Porte. Finally now on the occasion of the Prince's election, what was the first act of the Parliaments? To ask for his investiture at Constantinople! What do all these acts prove? The revolutionary spirit of the Rumanians against the Sultan, or their desire to remain attached to the Ottoman Empire on the basis of the treaties? Let your Excellency judge for himself. If the Rumanians have dreams of independence, who can blame them? Is an intelligent nation forbidden to desire the improvement of its lot, and in so far as that nation behaves sensibly and does not attack anyone's interests, does it deserve to be punished? But that the Rumanians are dreaming of conquests is a fabrication so sublime that there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Conquests? With what resources? What conquests? Do they by any chance wish to incorporate Russia or Austria or European Turkey, by which they are surrounded like a dwarf between three giants? Perhaps they aim further? At the conquest of Paris or London? Who knows? Once embark on such absurdities, and no supposition is barred."

Lord Malmesbury began to smile and signed to me to continue, paying great attention to my words.

"To tell you the truth, my lord," I continued after a short pause, "there is a conquest to which we aspire with obvious ambition, especially since the year of the Irish famine; I mean the conquest of our territorial wealth, the conquest of full freedom to develop the working of our land, with the intention of exchanging the agricultural products of the Rumanian soil for the products of English manufacture. In 1846, when the Irish famine was relieved with the aid of corn from the Principalities, the British Parliament rang with the utterance of a great truth, it was said then that the Danube Principalities were England's store-houses of plenty. We wish to sanction this truth and to profit by the fruits of our soil to introduce to our country through the channels of commercial exchange the comforts of civilisation as represented by the wonderful products of English industry. If such an ambition, if such a desire for conquest are symptoms of revolution, then we deserve indeed to lose the sympathy and protection of Her Gracious Majesty's Government."

Lord Malmesbury had the kindness to reply that in so far as the Rumanians might occupy themselves with internal improvements and the development of their commerce, England would keep for them the regard merited by men of common sense; but he added: "How comes it that a nation inspired with wholesome ideas has been so misguided as to forget the respect due to an official European enactment, an enactment of the Convention, by electing a single Prince for both Principalities?" "My lord," I answered, "the election made by the Rumanians

is on the contrary the greatest sign of their respect for the Convention and for its high contrasting parties." "How is that?" asked the minister with a smile.

"Allow me to explain. That Convention might be either advantageous or disadvantageous to the interests of the Principalities, consequently the Rumanians have the right to apply it in their country or not to apply it, and in the latter eventuality a generous Europe would leave them to do as they wish; for in the present age laws are no longer imposed on nations by force. Until they were given the new Convention the Rumanians had the '*Règlement Organique*'; they were therefore able to choose between these two instruments, and, if they found the work of the Conferences of Paris inapplicable, to leave it on one side and continue to be governed under the old regime. If we had proceeded thus, we should certainly have shown a flagrant lack of respect towards the great powers who were good enough to interest themselves in our destiny, but what did we do? Full of gratitude to them, we received the Convention with enthusiasm and wished to apply it conscientiously, especially as it seemed to contain the elements of the realisation of our desires, namely of the Union. Well, my lord, I must tell you that from the very first steps on the path of our new regime we have realised, simple Danubian peasants though we are, that we have entered not upon a smooth highway but into the heart of a fearful labyrinth, a labyrinth from which I defy the ablest statesmen of England and France to find their way out. And indeed, my lord, what guarantee of good order and progress is presented by a regime of government which is dominated by the contrary influences of five independent forces: two Princes, two Parliaments and a Central Commission! How will the advance of the Principalities towards union be reconciled with the aims and dynastic interests of the two Princes, with the party spirit and struggles of two Parliaments, and with the legislative role and undefined powers of control belonging to the Central Commission? It is as if five horses had been harnessed to a carriage, three in front and two behind, which pull in opposite directions, breaking the harness and smashing the carriage.

"For all that, we are not discouraged, bent on showing good will on our part, and our respect for the official European enactment, we have tried to simplify the works of the machine of government so as to make it run more easily. We relied therefore on a maxim of the code of politics which states that what is not forbidden is permitted, and seeing that the Convention does not forbid us to elect the same Prince in both Principalities, we eased its application by reducing the number of constitutional forces in our new regime. Instead of the five, sir, which I have had the honour of enumerating to you, we have reduced them to four, in other words, instead of five ill-harnessed horses, we have left only four, which are all intended to pull forwards so as to move the waggon of state. The waggon is indeed heavy, the

road is unmade and full of stumbling-blocks, the horses are not yet well trained, but at any rate in this way we are not threatened with standing still; in this way we go forward, however slowly, to the application of the clauses of the Convention, and we show our respect for the wishes of the great powers."

Lord Malmesbury thought for a while and then said: "Perhaps the Convention may have certain defects, it is not easy to legislate for distant countries. But you must believe that the intentions of the powers were all in your favour." "We do believe it, my lord, that is why we have accepted the new legislation without showing signs of any dissatisfaction. But it is only right that the powers should believe us too."

After this the conversation turned on the age and character of "Colonel Cuza," as well as on the dissatisfaction which had been caused in the Principalities by his accession to the throne, according to the reports of the partisans of separatism, the Turks, Greeks and Austrians. I assured the Minister that the greatest calm prevailed in the country, that the enthusiasm of the Rumanian inhabitants was boundless, and that from Jan. 5th to 24th the Principalities, far from being in mourning, were keeping holiday, and were awaiting with complete confidence in the rectitude of the Great Powers the recognition of the patriotic act which they had accomplished.

At these words Lord Malmesbury rose, looked at me with a much gentler expression, and said: "Mr. Alecsandri, I am very gratified by your visit and by the information which you have given me about the occurrences in your country. England is the fatherland of freedom and consequently has no interest in opposing the development of other nations' happiness and freedom. If it is true, as you have assured me, that the aspirations of the Rumanians are not opposed to the interests of the Ottoman Empire, that they wish to preserve their connection with the Suzerain Court, that their intention is to respect the Convention and to occupy themselves, like wise and sensible men, with the improvement of their internal institutions, I can honestly say that Her Majesty's Government will give you the liveliest proofs of their esteem and good will. They will at the forthcoming conferences show themselves most favourably disposed in the matter of the election of Prince Cuza."

"Thank you, my lord, in the name of my fellow-countrymen," I replied with a bow, "and I add my personal thanks for the kindness with which you have listened to me, and especially for the graciousness with which you have just given Colonel Cuza the title of Prince." His Excellency smiled and gave me his hand, saying: "From today I shall give him no other title."

As I came out of Lord Malmesbury's office I was so light-hearted that I all but forgot my dignity as an envoy and began to sing "God save the Queen!" at the top of my voice. I sped in a trice to the hotel, reported to His Highness<sup>11</sup> the result of my interview with Queen

Victoria's Foreign Secretary, and left next day for Paris to report to the Emperor the happy result of my mission to England.

<sup>1</sup> The sequence of Foreign Secretaries had been as follows

Lord Malmesbury	.	.	1852 (Feb -Dec.)
Lord John Russell	.	.	1852-1853
Lord Clarendon	.	.	1853-1858
Lord Malmesbury	.	.	1858-1859

<sup>2</sup> Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister at this time

<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Malakoff was the title conferred on Marshal Pélissier (1794-1864) after his capture of Sevastopol.

<sup>4</sup> Count Walewski (1810-1868) was Foreign Minister of the Emperor Napoleon III.

<sup>5</sup> This style of equipage, a carriage and four with two postillions, was introduced by the Duc d'Aumont (1762-1831).

<sup>6</sup> The Victoria Regia, giant water-lily of the River Amazon.

<sup>7</sup> A dwarf of Rumanian folk-lore.

<sup>8</sup> The convention signed at Paris in August 1858 by the Great Powers, providing a single Central Commission and a single Court of Appeal for Moldavia and Wallachia

<sup>9</sup> The "Règlement Organique" by which Russia reorganised the Principalities was promulgated in Wallachia in 1831 and in Moldavia in 1832.

<sup>10</sup> The Treaty of Paris (March 1856) provided for the summoning in each Principality of an assembly with the title "Divan Ad Hoc" to discuss the question of union, and for the sending of an international commission of enquiry. Sir Henry Bulwer (1801-1872) was British Commissioner from July 1856 to May 1858.

<sup>11</sup> The Duke of Malakoff

# A BELINSKY CENTENARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

## AN ANNOTATED LIST OF 1948 PUBLICATIONS

*Compiled by* GLEB STRUVE

1948, besides being the centenary year of the 1848 Revolutions, marked also the centenary of the death of Vissarion Belinsky, the Russian literary critic whose personality and writings had such a great and lasting effect in 19th-century Russia. In the Soviet Union this centenary was regarded as something much more important than the centenary of the bourgeois Revolutions which swept Europe in 1848. No other single subject called forth so many special articles in the Soviet periodicals. There is little originality in these articles—all follow similar, if not exactly the same, lines. But their general trend is of considerable symptomatic interest, and the future student of Soviet ideology of 1948 vintage will turn to them with great profit. There is nothing either surprising or particularly novel in the general tendency to "sovietise" Belinsky, to trim him so as to fit in with the present-day Soviet ideology. Some attempts to do so are rather crude, others more subtle. Belinsky is shown as one of the precursors of "revolutionary social democracy," a Socialist above all, an out-and-out materialist and militant atheist, and, of course, a forerunner of Socialist Realism. Belinsky's early ideological vacillations, his doubts and seekings are conveniently slurred over, or simply dismissed, and the main stress is laid on the last period of his activity. This, in itself, is more or less justified, for, though this may be *incomplete* Belinsky, it is certainly the *essential* one. More interesting and symptomatic is the persistent effort to disassociate Belinsky from the liberal Westerners (one Soviet critic even suggests that the term "Westerner" is altogether a misnomer for Belinsky), to stress his "Russianness," his patriotism, to show him up as an implacable enemy of the "bourgeois" West. Belinsky's early debt to Schelling and Hegel is almost completely disregarded. Even in discussing Belinsky's materialism and atheism some writers (e.g. Baskakov) are at pains to demonstrate his superiority to Feuerbach. Those who, like Kirpotin, still speak of Belinsky as a Westerner, point out that while the majority of the Westerners, who were considered "progressive," advocated simple imitation of the West, Belinsky chose the difficult road of an "innovator," understood the limitations of "capitalist" civilisation and searched for "new ways" for Russia. They avoid, however, very carefully any possible identification of Belinsky with the Slavophiles. All this, of course, fits in perfectly with the dominant anti-Western bias of Soviet thought to-day, which has recently found its expression in various branches of learning.

genetics, physics, statistics, linguistics, science of literature and folklore have in turn come under the fire of the orthodox Soviet pundits who accused their colleagues (and these often included the best Soviet scholars) of "kow-towing" and "servility" towards the "West." This general tone of recent Soviet writings about Belinsky is at the same time in striking contrast with what was emphasised in Belinsky by earlier Russian Radicals and "Leftists," even though Soviet students of Belinsky make constant references to Lenin and quote profusely from his writings, especially from his polemical articles against the *Vekhi*.

The bibliographical list which follows does not claim to be complete and exhaustive: the difficulty of obtaining all Soviet publications made the compilation of such a complete list almost impossible. The conditions under which I worked made it also impossible for me to make use of publications in other Slavonic countries. But, as it stands, the list is sufficiently full and representative: all the important Soviet periodicals have been drawn upon. Articles on Belinsky published outside the Soviet Union, especially in England, France and the United States, were also included inasmuch as they came to my notice. The list has been divided into four main headings: i. Bibliographies (both in book form and in periodicals), ii. New editions of Belinsky's works, iii. Books and pamphlets about Belinsky published in 1948 (other than bibliographies), iv. Articles in periodicals and miscellaneous collections. All reviews of books are listed immediately after the title of the book itself and not recorded otherwise. In case of periodical articles the year is always understood to be 1948 and therefore not given, Roman figures indicating the issue or volume, and Arabic figures the pages. The system of transliteration used in the Bibliography itself, as distinct from this Note, is a combination of that used by the *American Slavic and East European Review* with the one used by the learned philological publications on the Continent. English versions of titles are given in brackets after the Russian title.\*

The following abbreviations have been used for titles of periodicals:

ASEER—*American Slavic and East European Review* (New York)

ASJ—*Anglo-Soviet Journal* (London)

B—*Bolševik* (Moscow)

Bibl—*Bibliotekar'* (Moscow)

IAN I & F—*Izvestia Akademii Nauk SSSR, Seriya Istorii i Filosofii* (Moscow)

LG—*Literaturnaja Gazeta* (Moscow)

LvŠk—*Literatura v Škole* (Moscow)

NiŽ—*Nauka i Žizn'* (Moscow)

NM—*Novyy Mir* (Moscow)

\* For a general examination of Soviet literature on Belinsky between 1917 and 1947 see Elizabeth Kresky's article "Soviet Scholarship on Belinsky" in the *American Slavic and East European Review*, VII, No 3 (October 1948).

*NRS*—*Novoe Russkoe Slovo* (New York)  
*NŠk*—*Načalnaja Škola* (Moscow)  
*NŽ*—*Novyj Žurnal* (New York)  
*Og*—*Ogonjok* (Moscow)  
*Okt*—*Oktjabr'* (Moscow)  
*RJuŠk*—*Russkij Jazyk v Škole* (Moscow)  
*SiŠk*—*Sem'ja i Škola* (Moscow)  
*SK*—*Sovetskaja Kniga* (Moscow)  
*SL*—*Soviet Literature* (Moscow)  
*Slav*—*Slavjane* (Moscow)  
*T*—*Teatr* (Moscow)  
*TLS*—*Times Literary Supplement* (London)  
*VI*—*Voprosy Istorii* (Moscow)  
*Zn*—*Znamja* (Moscow)  
*Zv*—*Zvezda* (Leningrad)

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- Dubovikov, A. N. Belinskij i ego rol' v razvitiu natural'noj školy. (Belinskij and His Part in the Evolution of the Natural School.) *LvŠk*, I, 21-30.  
 Belinskij as the critic, theoretician, leader and organiser of "Natural School" in Russian literature, which bore fruit in the work of great Russian classics of Realism and thus vindicated itself.
- Durylin, S. Belinskij i russkaja drama. (Belinskij and Russian Drama.) *T*, VI, 15-22.
- Efimov, A. I. Belinskij o jazyke i stile khudožestvennykh proizvedenij. (Belinskij on the Language and Style of Imaginative Literature.) *RjuŠk*, III, 1-10.
- Él'sberg, Ja. Nacional'naja gordost' velikikh russkikh revoljucionnykh demokratov (The National Pride of Great Russian Revolutionary Democrats.) *LvŠk*, IV, 9-20
- Naši bližajšie predšestvenniki. O nasledii revoljucionno-demokratičeskoj literatury. (Our Immediate Forerunners: On the Heritage of Revolutionary-Democratic Literature.) In *Problemy socialističeskogo realizma* (*Problems of Socialist Realism*), Moscow, 1948, pp. 309-46.  
 An article in a volume of essays edited by B. Bjalik and dealing with various aspects of Socialist Realism. Belinskij, Černyševskij, Herzen, Dobroljubov, Nekrasov, Saltykov and others are discussed as forerunners of Socialist Realism.
- Russkaja literatura v 40-kh godakh i problemy razvitiya nacional'noj kul'tury. (Russian Literature in the 1840's and the Problem of Development of National Culture.) In *Istoriko-literaturnyj sbornik* (*An Historical-Literary Miscellany*), ed. by S. Byčkov, Moscow, 1948, pp. 344-83.  
 Not written specially for Belinskij centenary, but devotes considerable space to Belinskij's part in the movement of ideas in the 1840's and his place among the progressive writers of the period. Characteristic of the new anti-Westernist approach to the problem of Russian national culture.
- Tradicii revoljucionno-demokratičeskoj éstetiki i sovsetskaja literatura. (Traditions of Revolutionary-Democratic Esthetics and Soviet Literature.) *LvŠk*, I, 11-20.  
 Discusses the views of Belinskij, Černyševskij and Lenin, and—in their light—some recent works of Soviet literature.
- Vissarion Belinsky. 1811-1848. *SL*, VI, 136-45.
- Fadeev, A. Belinskij i naša sovremennost'. (Belinskij and Our Times.) *Okb*, VII, 151-61.  
 A paper read at a solemn meeting in honour of Belinskij at the Moscow Bolšoj Theatre on 7 June 1948.

Fadeev, A. Belinsky and Our Times *SL*, VIII, 86-89.

"The Furious Vissarion" Belinsky and the Example of the West.  
*TLS*, 29 May, pp. 297-98

Grečišnikova, A. D. Belinskij v sovetsoj škole (Belinskij in Soviet Schools.) *LvŠk*, III, 23-35.

Gus, M. Belinskij i Rossija. (Belinskij and Russia.) *T*, VI, 7-14.

Deals mainly with Belinskij's attitude to the Slavophiles and the difference between their patriotism and Belinskij's.

Illerickij, V. Istoričeskie vzgljady V. G. Belinskogo (V. G. Belinskij's Historical Views.) *VI*, VII, 3-26

Iovčuk, M. T. V. G. Belinskij—klassik russoj filosofii. (V. G. Belinskij, a Classic of Russian Philosophy.) *IAN I & F*, V, 305-21.

A paper read at the joint meeting of the Section of History and Philosophy and Section of Literature and Language of the Soviet Academy of Sciences on 14 June 1948. Discusses Belinskij's philosophy on the assumption that, contrary to the traditional "bourgeois" view, he was an original philosopher.

— Mirovozzrenie V. G. Belinskogo K 100-letiju so dnja smerti. (V. G. Belinskij's World Outlook. For the Centenary of His Death) *B*, X, 25-41

Also discusses Belinskij's philosophy and shows him as "a pioneer of revolutionary democracy in Russia, a classic of Russian materialist philosophy and the founder of realist esthetics."

Ivanov, Sergej. Iz novykh materialov o Belinskom i Lermontove (Some New Material about Belinskij and Lermontov.) *Og*, 7 March, p. 25.

Describes A. Khrabrovickij's discovery, in the Penza Region, of some documents relating to a person who served Belinskij and Lermontov as a model for one of their characters (in *Dmitrij Kalinin* and *Strannyj čelovek* respectively).

Jakovlev, B. Vopreki istoričeskoj pravde. (Contrary to Historical Truth.) *LG*, 11 Aug., p. 2.

Criticises various centenary articles on Belinskij.

Jasnopol'skaja, A. Opyt izučeniya V. G. Belinskogo v škole. (An Experiment in Studying V. G. Belinskij in School.) *LvŠk*, I, 42-46.

A teacher in a Moscow school tells of her experience in studying Belinskij with her students.

Kholodov, Ef. Belinskij pišet o teatre (Belinskij Writes about the Theatre.) *T*, VI, 23-33.

Discusses Belinskij's dramatic criticism and shows its value for the historian of the Russian theatre.

Khrabrovickij, A. Belinskij i roman italjanskogo revolucjonera. (Belinskij and the Novel by an Italian Revolutionary.) *Og*, 1 Aug., p. 24; reprinted in *NRS*, 26 Sept., p. 8.

A note on the discovery of Belinskij's part in the anonymous

first Russian translation of Ugo Foscolo's novel *Ultime Lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, published in 1831.

Kirpotin, V. Vissarion Grigor'evič Belinskij. K stoletiju so dnja smerti. (Vissarion Grigor'evič Belinskij For the Centenary of His Death.) *Okt*, VI, 163-83.

Connects Belinskij with present-day Socialist Realism.

Krendel', R. Vissarion Grigor'evič Belinskij (Vissarion Grigor'evič Belinskij.) *Bibl*, III, 9-16.

A short general article, with some bibliographical data.

Kresky, Elizabeth. Soviet Scholarship on Belinskij. *ASEER*, VII (Oct. 1948).

A survey of Belinskij literature between 1917 and 1947.

Kružkov, V. Mirovozzrenie V. G. Belinskogo. (V. G. Belinskij's World Outlook) *Okt*, VII, 162-76

Deals mainly with Belinskij's contribution to esthetics.

Lavreckij, A. Belinskij o buržuaznom Zapade (Belinskij about the Bourgeois West.) *NM*, VI, 228-40.

In keeping with the present anti-Western bias in the USSR, the author tries to prove that Belinskij was proof against the temptations of Western bourgeois forms of life, that in the 'forties already he felt the tendency towards degradation in Western European culture and realised its threat to the culture of the Russian people, full of health and vitality. He realised that a higher type of culture was being evolved in Russia, and he hated the bourgeois West.

Lenin o nasledu Belinskogo Kratkij obzor vyskazyvanij. (Lenin on Belinskij's Heritage A Short Survey of His Utterances) *NM*, VI, 208-27.

A short commented anthology of Lenin's pronouncements about Belinskij.

Litvinov, V. V. V. G. Belinskij K 100-letiju so dnja smerti. (V. G. Belinskij. For the Centenary of His Death.) *NŠk*, V, 32-37.

Macuev, N. Poslednij god žizni Belinskogo: Sobytija i ljudi. (The Last Year of Belinskij's life Events and People) *Zn*, VI, 174-75.

A brief factual note.

Malnick, Bertha. Belinsky. A Storm Centre of Russian Thought. *ASJ*, IX, 17-20.

A general estimate of Belinskij and his place in Russian thought and literature.

Mordovčenko, N. Belinskij i russkaja literatura. (Belinskij and Russian Literature.) *Zv*, VI, 153-61.

— Belinskij—teoretik i organizator realističeskogo napravljenja. (Belinskij—the Theoretician and Organiser of the Realistic Current.) *Zn*, VI, 163-73.

Both articles deal with Belinskij as a critic of contemporary literature, with the stress on his later period.

Nečkina, M. Neistovyj Vissarion i ego épokha (The Furious Vissarion and His Age) *LG*, 5 June, p. 2.

Belinskij in the general framework of his period

Plotkin, L. Mirovye značenie éstetiki Belinskogo. (The Universal Significance of Belinskij's Esthetics) *LG*, 5 June, p. 3.

Sabaeva, M. F. Belinskij o pervonačal'nom vospitanii i obučenii detej. (Belinskij on the Early Upbringing and Education of Children.) *NŠk*, VII, 5-8.

Discusses briefly Belinskij's educational ideas

Tkhorževskij, Ivan. Neistovyj Vissarion K stoletiju so dnja smerti V. G. Belinskogo. (The Furious Vissarion For the Centenary of V. G. Belinskij's Death.) *RM*, 28 May, p. 5

A general estimate of Belinskij by the author of a recent two-volume survey of Russian literature, published in Paris.

Trunjav, N. Belinskij kak istorik russkogo jazyka. (Belinskij as an Historian of Russian Language.) *RjvŠk*, III, 11-20.

The author's object is to show that, although Belinskij did not deal specially with the history of the Russian language, in his critical articles he traced the main lines of its historical evolution.

Ždanov, V. Provozvestnik talantov. (Harbinger of Talents.) *Og*, 6 June, p. 4.

## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON RUSSIA, 1948

[THIS list is a continuation of that which appeared in the *Slavonic Review*, Vol. XXVI (1948), pp. 512-18. It covers the period January-December 1948, but includes a few items accidentally omitted from the 1947 list. Some of the works referred to in the section on *Foreign Relations* are not ostensibly concerned with Russia, but are included because they devote considerable attention to this country.]

### ART

- Dickinson, T., and De la Roche, C. *Soviet Cinema*. (National Cinema Series.) 136 pp. Falcon Press. 12s. 6d.
- Holt, R. *Medtner and his Music*. A Tribute to a Great Russian Composer. Ed. by F. Smith. 24 pp. Rimington. 1s. 6d.
- Karsavina, T. *Theatre Street*. Revised and enlarged edn. Illus. 302 pp. Constable. 21s.
- Magriel, P. (ed.) *Nijinsky*. (Illustrated Monographs on Dancers.) 81 pp. Black. 12s. 6d.
- *Pavlova*. (Illustrated Monographs on Dancers.) 78 pp. Black. 12s. 6d.
- Stanislavsky Produces Othello*. Transl. by H. Nowak. 243 pp. Bles. 21s.
- Stravinsky, I. *Poetics of Music*. In the Form of Six Lessons. Transl. by A. Knodel and I. Dahl. 142 pp. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.
- Vaganova, A. *Basic Principles of Classical Ballet*. Russian Ballet Technique. Intro. by Ninette de Valois. Illus. 139 pp. Black. 8s. 6d.

### AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

- Alexandrov, V. *Journey Through Chaos*. Foreword by Upton Sinclair. 372 pp. Routledge. 15s.
- Almedingen, E. M. *The Almond Tree*. 192 pp. Lane, 1947. 8s. 6d.
- Beausobre, I. de. *The Woman who could not Die*. Preface by Rebecca West. New edn. 252 pp. Gollancz. 12s. 6d.
- Gouzenko, I. *This was my Choice*. 323 pp. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 10s. 6d.
- Malaparte, C. *Kaputt*. Transl. from the Italian by C. Foligno. 360 pp. Alvin Redman. 12s. 6d.
- Wells, I. *Enough. No More*. Transl. from the German by Lord Sudley. 294 pp. Herbert Joseph. 15s.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS

- Karazin, N. *Cranes Flying South*. (Puffin Story Books.) Transl. by M. Pokrovsky. 143 pp. Penguin. 1s. 6d

ECONOMIC LIFE

- Dallin, D., and Nicolaevsky, B. I. *Forced Labour in Soviet Russia*. 331 pp. Hollis & Carter. 25s.  
Dobb, M. *Soviet Economic Development since 1917*. 474 pp. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 18s.  
McKitterick, T. E. M. *Russian Economic Policy in Eastern Europe*. 41 pp. Fabian Pubs. & Gollancz. 2s.

EDUCATION

- King, B. *Russia Goes to School*. A Guide to Soviet Education. 185 pp. Heinemann. 10s. 6d.  
Yesipov, B. P., and Goncharov, N. K. "I want to be like Stalin." From the Russian Text on Pedagogy. Transl. by G. S. Counts and N. P. Lodge. Intro. by G. S. Counts. 144 pp. Gollancz. 7s. 6d.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

- Charles, E. *One World or Two?* 20 pp. Magnificat Publications. 6d.  
Churchill, Winston S. *The Second World War*. Vol. I. The Gathering Storm. 640 pp. Cassell. 25s.  
Ciechanowski, J. *Defeat in Victory*. 415 pp. Gollancz. 18s  
Coates, W. P., and Coates, Z. K. *Six Centuries of Russo-Polish Relations*. 235 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. 21s.  
*Contact Book: The Struggle for Europe*. xl + 82 pp. Contact Publications. 5s.  
Dean, V. M. *The United States and Russia*. (American Foreign Policy Library.) xiv + 321 pp. Oxford University Press (Harvard U.P.). 12s. 6d.  
Degras, J. (compiler). *Calendar of Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy, 1917-1941*. (Royal Institute of International Affairs.) 248 pp. Oxford University Press. 18s.  
Diamond, W. *Czechoslovakia Between East and West*. xii + 257 pp. Stevens. 12s. 6d.  
*Documents and Materials relating to the Eve of the Second World War*. From the Archives of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Vol. I. 314 pp. Vol. II. 243 pp. Collet's Holdings (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publ. House). 2s. 6d. each.  
*Falsifiers of History*. 64 pp. "Soviet News." 6d.  
Gafencu, G. *The Last Days of Europe*. A Diplomatic Journey in 1939. Transl. by F. Allen. 188 pp. Muller. 21s.



- Greek Question (The)*. Speeches of A. Y. Vyshinsky, . . . A. A. Gromyko, . . . and D. Z. Manuilsky, [at the] U.N. General Assembly, Sept.-Oct. 1947. 96 pp. "Soviet News," 1947. 1s.
- Jackson, J. Hampden *Estonia*. 2nd edn. 272 pp. Allen & Unwin. 12s 6d.
- Laski, H. *Russia and the West—Policy for Britain* (Peace Aims Pamphlet.) National Peace Council 6d.
- Mikolajczyk, S. *The Pattern of Soviet Domination*. 353 pp. Sampson Low. 15s.
- Miksche, F. O., and Combaux, E. *War between Continents*. 211 pp. Faber. 15s
- Molotov, V. M. *The Results of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers* Statement to Soviet Press Representatives, Dec. 31, 1947 12 pp "Soviet News." 3d.
- Namier, L. B. *Diplomatic Prelude, 1938-39* xviii + 503 pp. Macmillan. 18s.
- Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-41* Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office as released by the Department of State. Edited by R. J. Sontag and J. S. Beddie xiv + 362 pp. Washington Didier Publ. \$3 00
- Newman, B. *Baltic Background* 280 pp. Hale 16s.
- *The Captured Archives*. The Story of the Nazi-Soviet Documents 222 pp. Latimer House. 8s. 6d
- Norborg, C. *Operation Moscow*. 285 pp. Latimer House. 15s
- Oras, A. *Baltic Eclipse* 307 pp. Gollancz 15s
- Peasant Europe*. No. 1. *The Background*. No. 2. *Who is to be Master of it?* 25 pp. Gill. 6d. each.
- Russian Review*, No. 4 138 pp. Penguin 1s. 6d
- Sayers, N., and Kahn, A. E. *The Great Conspiracy against Russia*. Introd. by Senator C. Pepper. 154 pp. Collet's Holdings (New York Boni & Gaer). 2s. 6d.
- Sokolovsky, Marshal V. D. *Demilitarisation and Democratisation of Germany*. Statement . . . at the meeting of the Control Council in Berlin, Nov. 21, 1947. 19 pp. "Soviet News," 1947. 3d.
- Sternberg, F. *How to Stop the Russians—Without War* Transl. from the German by R. Mannheim. 159 pp. Boardman. 7s. 6d.
- Sumner, B. H. *Anglo-Russian Relations*. (Sixth Montague Burton Lecture on International Relations) 20 pp. Leeds University. 6d.
- Tyler, J. E. *Great Britain, the United States and the Future*. (Institute of World Affairs.) xii + 130 pp. Stevens. 8s.
- Vansittart, Lord. *Events and Shadows*. A Policy for the Remnants of a Century. 196 pp. Hutchinson 10s 6d.
- Vyshinsky, A. Y. *For Peace and Friendship of the Peoples—Against the Incendiaries of a New Year*. Speech . . . to U.N.O. General Assembly on Sept. 18, 1947. 28 pp. "Soviet News," 1947. 3d.

- Ward, B. *The West At Bay* 234 pp. Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.  
*What Happened in Czechoslovakia.* 93 pp. Central Books. 2s. 6d.  
 Wheeler-Bennett, J. W. *Munich. Prologue to Tragedy.* xiii + 507 pp.  
 Macmillan. 25s  
 Wilder, J. A. *The Polish Regained Provinces.* 109 pp. Hodge. 5s.

### GENERAL WORKS

- Evans, S. *Soviet Story.* The U.S.S.R. through Thirty Years 24 pp.  
 "British Soviet Society." 6d.  
 Fischer, L. *Gandhi and Stalin: Two Signs at the World's Crossroads.*  
 163 pp Gollancz. 10s. 6d.  
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 Kulischer, E. M. *Europe on the Move.* War and Population Changes,  
 1917-1947. 377 pp. Oxford University Press (Columbia U.P.).  
 27s. 6d  
 Lovell, M. *The Soviet Way of Life. An Examination.* (Home Study  
 Books) vi + 213 pp. Methuen. 4s. 6d.  
 Paul, L. *The Soviet Union.* (Ashridge Reading Guides, No. 1.) 16 pp.  
 Ashridge, Berkhamsted. 1s.  
 Schuman, F. L. *Soviet Politics. At Home and Abroad* 663 pp Hale.  
 21s.  
 Winterton, P. *Inquest on an Ally.* 288 pp Cresset Press 12s. 6d.

### GEOGRAPHY

- Goodall, G. (ed.). *Soviet Union in Maps: Its Origins and Development.*  
 32 pp. G. Philip. 3s.

### HISTORY

- Aretz, G. *The Empress Catherine.* 244 pp. Godfrey & Stevens.  
 12s. 6d.  
 Cross, S. H. *Slavic Civilization through the Ages* Edited with a Fore-  
 word by L I Strakhovsky. vi + 195 pp. Oxford University  
 Press (Harvard U.P.). 20s  
 Crowson, P. *A History of the Russian People.* xiv + 226 pp Edward  
 Arnold. 5s  
 Hecht, D. *Russian Radicals look to America, 1825-1894.* 242 pp.  
 Oxford University Press (Harvard U.P.) 22s.  
 Pankratova, A. M. (ed.). *A History of the U.S.S.R.* Vol. I. 255 pp.  
 Vol. II. 300 pp Vol. III. [ ? ] pp Collet's Holdings (Moscow :  
 Foreign Languages Publ. House). 4s. each vol.  
 Pope-Hennessy, U. *A Czarina's Story.* Being an Account of the  
 Early Married Life of the Emperor Nicholas I of Russia written  
 by his wife. Transl. from the French and provided with Prologue  
 and Epilogue by Una Pope-Hennessy. 59 pp Nicholson &  
 Watson 8s. 6d.

- Sumner, B. H. *Survey of Russian History*. 2nd edn. 506 pp. Duckworth. 18s.
- Thomson, J. *Russia: the Old and the New*. 187 pp. Murray. 8s. 6d.
- Vernadsky, G. *History of Russia* Vol. II *Kievan Russia* xii + 412 pp. Oxford University Press (Yale U.P.) 27s. 6d.

## LANGUAGE

- Bondar, D. (ed.). *Russian Stories for Beginners, with English Translation*. No. 1. *Кот в сапогах, or Puss in Boots*. 2nd edn. 15 pp. No. 2. *Синдерелла, or Cinderella* 2nd edn. 15 pp. No. 3. *Спящая красавица, or the Sleeping Beauty*. 2nd edn. 15 pp. Pitman, 1947.
- Pushkin, A. S. *Tales of the Late Ivan Petrovich Belkin* Ed. by B. O. Unbegaun. (Blackwell's Russian Texts.) xxx + 103 pp. Blackwell. 7s. 6d.
- Segal, L. *New Complete English-Russian Dictionary*. xviii + 1111 pp. L. Humphries. 42s

## LITERATURE

(See also under *Translations*)

- Bruford, W. H. *Chekhov and his Russia*. A Sociological Study. (International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.) ix + 233 pp. Kegan Paul. 16s.
- Kuzminskaya, T. A. *Tolstoy as I knew him*. 439 pp. Macmillan. 25s.
- Lavrin, J. *From Pushkin to Mayakovsky*. A Study in the Evolution of a Literature. 309 pp. Sylvan Press. 12s. 6d.
- Mackiewicz, S. *Dostoyevsky*. 203 pp. Orbis 12s. 6d.
- Oxford Book of Russian Verse*. Chosen by Hon. Maurice Baring. 2nd edn. supplemented by D. P. Costello. 311 pp. Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.
- Soviet Writers' Reply to English Writers' Questions*. Foreword by J. B. Priestley. Preface by K. Simonov. 68 pp. "Society for Cultural Relations." 2s.
- Zander, L. A. *Dostoevsky*. Transl. by N. Duddington. 140 pp. S.C.M. Press. 10s.
- Zhitova, V. *The Turgenev Family*. Transl. by A. S. Mills. Intro. by A. Meyendorff. 179 pp. Harvill Press. 7s. 6d.

## NOVELS ABOUT RUSSIA

- Aldanov, M. *Before the Deluge*. Transl. by C. Routsky. 519 pp. Cape. 12s. 6d.
- Brown, Alec. *An English Summer*. 343 pp. Alan Wingate. 10s. 6d.

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Plievier, T. *Stalingrad. The Death of an Army.* Transl. from the German by H. Langmead Robinson. 411 pp. Athenæum Press. 18s.

### PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS

- Lenin, V. I. *Materialism and Empiro-Criticism.* Transl. by A. Fineberg. 391 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. 6s.
- Molotov, V. M. *30th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution.* Speech . . . delivered at the Celebration Meeting of the Moscow Soviet on November 6, 1947. 20 pp. "Soviet News," 1947 3d.
- Plamenatz, J. *What is Communism?* Intro by S. King-Hall. 120 pp. "National News-Letter." 6s.
- Plekhanov, G. V. *In Defence of Materialism.* The Development of the Monist View of History. Transl. by A. Rothstein. 303 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. 18s.
- Towster, J. *Political Power in the U.S.S.R., 1917-1947.* The Theory and Structure of Government in the Soviet State. Intro. by Q. Wright. xvii + 443 pp. Oxford University Press. 30s.
- Vyshinsky, A. Y. *The Teachings of Lenin and Stalin on Proletarian Revolution and the State* Transl. by A. Rothstein. 120 pp. "Soviet News." 2s

### RELIGION

- Manhattan, A. *Religion in Russia.* 50 pp. Watts. 1s.
- Solovyev, N. V. *Lectures on Godmanhood* Transl. with an Intro. by P. Zouboff. 207 pp. Dennis Dobson. 18s.
- *Russia and the Universal Church.* 214 pp. Bles. 15s.
- Zvegintzov, C. *Our Mother Church: Her Worship and Offices.* 126 pp. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

### SCIENCE

- Lysenko, T. D. *Soviet Biology.* Report to the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences 51 pp. Birch Books. 2s. 6d.
- Vevers, G. M. *Animals of the U.S.S.R.* Illus. by E. Pinner. xiv + 95 pp. Heinemann. 21s.

### TRANSLATIONS

- Andreyev, L. *The Seven Who Were Hanged* Transl. by E. Schimanskaya and M. E. Gow. (Russian Literature Library Series, No. 9.) 106 pp. L. Drummond, 1947 5s
- Bowra, C. M. (ed.). *A Second Book of Russian Verse.* Transl. into English by various hands. 152 pp. Macmillan 10s. 6d.
- Dostoevsky, F. *Crime and Punishment.* Dramatised by R. Ackland. xiii + 111 pp. Sampson Low. 7s. 6d.

- Dostoevsky, F. *The House of the Dead*. Transl by C. Garnett. 277 pp. Heinemann. 8s. 6d.
- *The Insulted and Injured*. Transl. by C. Garnett 334 pp. Heinemann. 8s. 6d.
- Gorki, M. *The Artamanov Business*. Transl by A. Brown. 344 pp. H. Hamilton. 6s.
- Guerney, B. G. (ed.). *A Treasury of Russian Literature*. xx + 103 pp. Bodley Head. 15s.
- Ostrovsky, A. N. *The Diary of a Scoundrel*. Adapted by R. Ackland. 82 pp. Sampson Low. 6s
- Ouspensky, P. D. *Strange Life of Ivan Osokin*. 204 pp. Faber. 8s. 6d
- Pasternak, B. *Collected Prose Works* Arranged by S. Schimanski. 213 pp. Drummond. 10s. 6d.

## TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

- Bigland, E. *Understanding the Russians*. 119 pp. People's Universities Press. 6s.
- King, F. *Footloose in the Soviet Union* 144 pp. Valiant Publications. 10s. 6d.
- Price, M. Philips. *Russia, Red or White* A Record of a Visit to Russia after 27 Years. vii + 120 pp. Sampson Low. 7s. 6d.

PHILIP GRIERSON.

Cambridge.

# THE MOSCOW ART THEATRÉ

A JUBILEE—1898-1948

IF in the 19th century Russia's chief contribution to the arts was the Russian novel, in the 20th century it is to be found in the more ephemeral arts of the ballet and the theatre. Despite the obvious limitations of spectacle which cannot be detached from the confines of time, place and audience, despite the difficulties of transporting or even describing a complicated and delicate organism compounded of the human and mechanical, the tradition of Russian ballet and the theatre has invaded the theatres of Europe and America, and left a mark that can be instantly recognised. Of the Russian influences that have contributed to the history of the theatre in the past fifty years, none has exercised so wide and enduring an influence as the Moscow Art Theatre. Now, on the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, it is pertinent to remember how it came into being, and how difficult was the evolution that led to its pre-eminence.

The Moscow Art Theatre was not born fully fledged, nor was it created in a vacuum. Even at its inception it owed much to a tradition of great acting that had flourished inside Russia from the first establishment of an Imperial Theatre in St. Petersburg in 1756. The establishment of an Imperial theatrical company in Moscow in 1805, added to that already established in St. Petersburg, gave the government control of the theatre in both capitals until the abolition of the Imperial monopoly in 1882. This had its advantages and disadvantages. It gave the theatre some financial security and an opportunity to establish the schools, which from the very first had been such an important feature of the Imperial Theatre in St. Petersburg. It also, unhappily, gave the direction of the Imperial Theatres to officials who frequently knew little or nothing of the arts involved, made the repertoire subservient to government policy and censorship, and the actors subject to official favour or disfavour. These restrictions served to concentrate the attention of all on the art of the individual actor. It was the actor who triumphed over trivial plays, stupid censorship and incompetent direction.

But even by the middle of the 19th century, a few native dramatists, a new audience, and a growing number of talented actors had undermined the spirit of the government monopoly. The plays of Gogol, Griboyedov, later of Ostrovsky, appealed to the middle classes, merchant and professional, who could no longer be confined to the insignificant place in society imposed on them by autocratic government and aristocratic tradition. From a court diversion, the Russian theatre became a mirror for the life of the Russian people, and the greatest actors of the 19th century played no mean part in the movement towards self-discovery and self-knowledge that produced the intellectual awakening of the

reign of Nicholas I. The greatest of these actors was Mikhail Shchepkin, a serf by origin, who first introduced that element of analysis and conscious discipline into his art that made him not only the teacher of a succeeding generation of great actors at the Imperial Maly Theatre, but also the spiritual forebear of Stanislavsky. Shchepkin's contemporaries were quick to seize upon the element that distinguished him from the other great actor of his time, the romantic tragedian, Mochalov, who relied on inspiration alone, and who could be magnificent in one part or performance and mediocre in another. Herzen saw that Shchepkin had brought intellect to discipline his art as well as emotion to inspire it. He said of Shchepkin that "He created truth on the Russian stage: he was the first actor to abandon theatricality in the theatre. His acting was absolutely free from over-emphasis, affectation, and caricature. Gifted with extraordinary sensibility and a most subtle understanding of all the light and shade of his parts, Shchepkin worked very hard to achieve perfection and left nothing to the inspiration of the moment."<sup>1</sup> Belinsky, an ardent and discerning theatregoer, who by his analysis of Mochalov in the part of Hamlet did more than anyone to establish a high standard of theatrical criticism in Russia, had a great admiration for the more versatile and workmanlike art of Shchepkin. "For him," he wrote, "learning a part did not end with repeating the same performance. Every repetition is a new study of the character"<sup>2</sup> Sergei Aksakov recorded that in a wildly enthusiastic house, Shchepkin himself was the only person dissatisfied with his performance.<sup>3</sup>

It was this tradition of acting, native vigour and temperament controlled and developed by self-criticism and unremitting discipline, that Shchepkin handed on to his pupils and disciples. It posed problems that lay beyond the stereotyped traditions of the Imperial Theatres. Here even the most accomplished actors had been hampered by slipshod production and corrupted by a star system that pandered to their individual egoism without imposing the patient discipline necessary for the development of the individual actor's art, or encouraging that collaboration between actors which is the basis of a good performance. Nor had any attempt been made to establish amicable relations between actor, producer and scenic artist. By the 'sixties and 'seventies, therefore, attempts were made to by-pass the limitations of Imperial Theatres by forming amateur groups or founding club theatres which could experiment freely outside their jurisdiction. Abolition of the Imperial monopoly in 1882 gave a new impetus to the search for new methods, infecting both the amateur groups and the professional schools. The most important of the amateur societies was the Society of Art and Literature founded by the merchant Alekseev, later known as Stanislavsky, in 1888; the most progressive of the Schools was the Dramatic

<sup>1</sup> А. Герцен, *Былое и Думы*, II, 1946, стр. 774-75

<sup>2</sup> Г. Белинский, *Петровский Театр*, 1838. Сочинения, М., 1888, стр. 600

<sup>3</sup> М. С. Щепкин, 1788-1863. М. А. Щепкин, *СИВ*, 1914, стр. 287.

School of the Moscow Philharmonic under the direction of Nemirovich-Danchenko. When the two men finally came together in 1897, in a conversation that lasted through an afternoon and the whole of the following night, a new theatre was born.

They were an ideal combination. Stanislavsky was primarily and passionately interested in the art of transmission, that moment of creation by the actor, which by way of revelation evokes a response from the audience. This in Stanislavsky's view could be achieved only by the development of the actor to the utmost limit of physical, mental and spiritual capacity, and by fully supporting the actor with all the æsthetic aids and mechanical devices of stage, scenery, properties, costumes, lighting. To this understanding of the potentialities of actor and theatre, Nemirovich-Danchenko, successful playwright and born administrator, added a literary knowledge and taste that could reveal the enduring significance of great drama to the workshop of the theatre. As an administrator, moreover, he had the all-important task of establishing smooth relations inside the theatre itself and between a new type of theatre and a critical outside world.

Both men in their memoirs have given highly diverting and moving accounts of their collaboration. As their personalities dovetailed, so their accounts complement each other. Stanislavsky stresses the infinite experiment, from childhood onwards, that prefaced his later work both as actor and as producer, Nemirovich-Danchenko pays more attention to the writers who provided a new repertoire. Though Stanislavsky pays generous tribute to the example of the Meiningen players who visited Moscow in 1895 and 1890, and taught the young Russian enthusiast the principles of a stage direction that could integrate play, actors and setting into a harmonious whole, it is significant that, even at this early stage, the actor in Stanislavsky rebelled against what he considered too great a domination of the actor by the producer. By the end of his life the circle had closed with its beginning, for after the most varied experiments in stagecraft, Stanislavsky came, sobered, to the conclusion that the creative core of the theatre is and must be the actor himself, and that any attempt to subordinate him either to the dictates of the producer or the ingenuity of the stage designer must inevitably rob the theatre of the compelling power over the audience that is the other half of its being. In the final exposition of his *credo*, Stanislavsky the producer is a logical extension of Stanislavsky the actor, brooding, inventing, devising and finally expounding the system whereby the actor may be brought to perfection as the most subtle and sensitive of mediums, in that organic creation of life by artificial means. It is still Shchepkin's subjective realism that mirrors "the inner movement of a man's soul"<sup>4</sup> that Stanislavsky sees as the goal of the actor, but where Shchepkin was largely intuitive, Stanislavsky

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, стр. 376



is reasoned and articulate.<sup>5</sup> And it is this reasoned analysis and definition that informs the "system" which bears Stanislavsky's name and made him such an inspired teacher. What is the essence of the "system"? Briefly, it is a detailed analysis in psychological and physiological terms of the actor's technique of communication. To live the part as conceived by the dramatist, and project that life by the most delicate instrumentation and interplay of physical faculties, movement, gesture, facial expression, above all, the complete range of the human voice, that is the art of the individual actor which must be constantly perfected and is never perfect. Russian critics have again and again emphasised that in plays given over a period of years, the great actor is constantly perfecting his part. Thus the critic Durylin in 1940:

"Those elderly spectators, who remember the Art Theatre over a period of 40 years, know very well that in 1906 Stanislavsky played the part of Famusov one way, and in 1925 quite differently, giving a performance incomparably more profound, incomparably more finished. They know also that the difference did not come all at once, but by a gradual enrichment of the image. Those who remember the evolution of the part of Tzar Fyodor as played by Moskvín over a period of 40 years know very well that the Fyodor of the Jubilee performance in October 1938 was quite different from the original Fyodor of the first performance 40 years ago. . . . In order to give a real idea of Moskvín in the part of Fyodor, or, more accurately, Fyodor in the performance of Moskvín, one must follow the creative life and evolution of the actor in his favourite part and not limit oneself to a single snapshot at any given time, made once and for all."<sup>6</sup>

So, too, the task of the producer is to produce a comparable depth, mobility and gradual enrichment of the relationship between actors, of the collaboration between the actors and other men of the theatre in a production. Hence the most meticulous attention to the auxiliary arts in the theatre. Hence also a study of the audience which will make the relation between stage and spectator a lasting and growing friendship.

<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless it is worth remembering that Shchepkin outlined the basis of his art in a letter to the actor Shumsky which reads like a preface to Stanislavsky's "system"

"Work hard, use every opportunity to develop the talent given you by God to the best of your ability. Do not reject criticism, but think it over carefully, and use nature as the test of both yourself and others' advice. Get into the skin of your part, study his environment, his education, his particular ideas, if he has any; do not even neglect his past. When you have studied all this, no matter what it is in the play that has been taken from life, your interpretation will ring true. You may sometimes give a weaker performance, sometimes a more satisfactory one, but it will always be a true one. . . . For Heaven's sake don't try to make the public laugh, both the comic and the serious emerge from a true approach to your material. Believe me, if you follow this course, after two or three years you will see a difference in your work, every year your acting will become richer and more natural."

*Ibid.*, стр. 176

<sup>6</sup> O Tearpe, M.-II., 1940, стр. 97.

Stanislavsky has admitted and Nemirovich-Danchenko emphasised how fortunate the new theatre was in finding two major dramatists who not only profoundly reflected the crisis of their time, but also portrayed human beings in terms which have lasting validity. It was Chekhov's "inspired combination of simple, living, workaday truth with profound lyricism"<sup>7</sup> which furnished the material sympathetic to the development of a new style of psychological realism. To the muted undertones of Chekhov, Gorky added a more vigorous note taken from the life of the people, and his plays both reflected and helped to create the mood that found expression in the revolution of 1905. With the death of Chekhov in 1904 and the emigration of Gorky at the beginning of 1906, this fruitful union of dramatist, producers and actors was replaced by a more routine search for a repertoire among Russian and foreign classics, and experiments away from realism suggested by the plays of Russian writers like Andreev, and celebrated foreign dramatists breaking new ground, Knut Hamsen, Ibsen, Maeterlinck and Hauptmann. Paradoxically, however, it was these essays in symbolism, expressionism and fantasy which led Stanislavsky back to his basic conviction that the living actor is a more subtle and expressive medium than any theatrical abstraction, symbol or group of symbols. Therefore the work of the producer must inevitably centre on the actor as he is, and neither constrain nor distort him by theatrical stylisation.

In Europe the personality of Stanislavsky has overshadowed that of his collaborator, Nemirovich-Danchenko. Before joining Stanislavsky, Nemirovich-Danchenko had acquired invaluable experience from the production of his own plays by outstanding actors of the Maly Theatre. Dissatisfied with routine production by the early 'nineties, he was already urging the Maly Theatre to adopt many reforms that later became basic tenets in the programme of the Art Theatre. It is, clearly, Nemirovich-Danchenko, the man of letters, who first fully understood the scenic possibilities of Chekhov's dramatic lyricism, who encouraged the despondent author, after the first miserable failure of the *Sea Gull* at the Alexandrinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg, who felt and acclaimed the freshness and force of Gorky. The early joint productions of Chekhov and Gorky that established the Art Theatre's fame, owed as much to Nemirovich-Danchenko's literary perception as Stanislavsky's theatrical sense. He was the moving spirit in a series of Ibsen productions that did much to popularise Ibsen on the Russian stage. It was this same appreciation of literary quality which made possible the production of Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov* (1910-1911) and much later inspired dramatic versions of Tolstoy's *Resurrection* (1929-1930) and *Anna Karenina* (1937), two of the most moving and profoundly satisfying productions in the Art Theatre's repertoire.

Both men excelled as teachers. The urge to expound and instruct soon produced many offshoots from the parent tree in the form of work-

<sup>7</sup> Nemirovich-Danchenko, *My Life in the Russian Theatre*, London, 1937, p. 14.

shop studios, some of which blossomed into independent theatres. Both men applied their ideas to the special problem of opera, and in addition to bringing fresh air into the home of opera itself, the Bolshoi Theatre, their work finally crystallised into two separate theatres, bearing their names, where opera is acted as well as sung.

Their method of production, with its intelligent subordination of each part to the harmony of the whole, exercised immeasurable influence both inside Russia and elsewhere. Their predominating, realistic style produced rebels as well as disciples amongst their pupils, notably Meierhold in violent opposition, and, in divergence rather than antagonism, the brilliant but, unhappily, short-lived genius of Vakhtangov. Outside Russia their ideas have travelled so far that it is sometimes difficult to remember their origin. At home their palpable achievement remains a galaxy of actors unchallenged in profundity of feeling and virtuosity of execution, and a series of productions that have remained classic examples of the integrating power of a great producer. One has only to recall the richness and variety of character actors like Moskvín and Tarkhanov, Kachalov's command over the human voice, the subtle humanity of Knipper-Chekhova; in the second generation, Khmelyov's all-penetrating intelligence, Yelanskaya's haunting pathos, in the third, Livanov's infectious vitality, to give the lie to the contention that greater authority for the producer must inevitably diminish the brilliance of the individual actor. Any citation is invidious, since it can single out only a few personal favourites from an accomplished many, but the very diversity of talent which strikes even a superficial observer is the best argument that the authority of the producer, if it is used wisely, in collaboration with the actor, evokes powers of which he himself may be only partly conscious.

How did these standards, implanted in the theatre at the beginning of the 20th century, fare in the stormy years that followed? The October Revolution brought a new audience into the theatre. If the new audience made urgent and exacting demands on the theatre, it is equally true that the theatre, in its turn, made demands on the audience. In time, new plays were introduced into the repertoire, plays which reflected either the conflicts or emotional undertones of transition, or the problems of creating a new society. Some of these productions were memorable and won lasting popularity with a critical audience, Ivanov's *Armoured Train*, Bulgakov's *Days of the Turbins*, Trenyov's *Lyubov Yarovaya*. In its turn, the theatre brought to life, for an audience far larger and more varied than has ever entered the theatre before, the best of European as well as Russian classical drama. By the 'thirties, when the theatre was once more stabilised into its full powers, its repertoire showed a judicious blending of old and new, with a predilection for the classics. Topical new plays are introduced from time to time, and some of them find an enthusiastic response in the audience. Such an immediate success was recently achieved by Pogodin's *Kremlin Chimes*. But

the new plays cannot be said seriously to have challenged the old, and the reason is undoubtedly the one Stanislavsky himself gave in his memoirs, written more than twenty years ago "The tragedy of our present theatrical revolution, both vaster and more complicated than the earlier one, is that its dramatist has not yet been born"<sup>8</sup> This is not only a Russian dilemma. The pace and complexity of events between the two world wars, the change in social and human relations, has yet to find adequate reflection on the stage elsewhere. Nowhere has it been as swift or complex as in Russia. Russian dramatists have, at least, accepted a challenge which many talented writers elsewhere have thought it prudent to evade.

Despite new relations between theatre and audience, despite the emergence and consolidation of many new and younger theatres, the popularity of the Art Theatre with changing audiences over a period of fifty years has never wavered. Indeed its authority probably stands higher today than ever before. What is the secret of its enduring success? It is, I think, to be found in a combination of profound humanity and professional integrity. Historically, the Art Theatre is a bridge between the present and past, because it fosters that love of great acting, which from the very beginning of the Russian theatre bred discernment in the audience as well as craftsmanship in the actor. Nowhere are theatrical audiences so critical and yet so appreciative as in Russia. Nowhere do they take the theatre more seriously. As Stanislavsky was quick to observe, the Russian "more than anyone is infected with the passion for spectacles. And the more they move, and take possession of the soul, the more he likes them."<sup>9</sup> Therefore a Russian audience will be completely satisfied only by plays and acting which evoke responsive emotion from the depths and breadth of his own experience. And, indeed, in both repertoire and performance the Art Theatre has adhered unwaveringly to this criterion. Where other theatres have chosen to divert, instruct, startle or amuse and have often succeeded in engaging the mind or fancy of the audience for a time, the Art Theatre has deliberately chosen to base its work on a sober study of human beings, a subtle analysis, re-creation and projection of those qualities which exist alike in dramatist, actor and audience and which bind them together in common humanity. That is why its appeal endures.

No exhibition of photographs can hope to do justice to the infectious life of an actual performance in the theatre itself. Nevertheless, the collection of superb photographs, recently exhibited in London,<sup>10</sup> mounted with taste and restraint on grey canvas screens, does, in unexpected fashion, communicate something of the essential quality of the Art Theatre. The immense vitality of the actors gives their photographs a third dimension, and their extraordinary versatility emerges as one moves from screen to screen comparing the same actor in completely

<sup>8</sup> К. Станиславский, *Моя жизнь в искусстве*, М.-Л., 1941, стр. 503

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, стр. 478

<sup>10</sup> At the S.C.R. club-rooms

different parts Not only is the face transformed, but each new character sets a different mark on every limb, producing a new posture and gesture ; these different photographs even seem to breathe differently. Perhaps the most revealing of the photographs is that of the trio from *Dead Souls*, Moskvín, Tarkhanov, and Leonídov, as Nozdrev, Sobakevich and Plyushkin. This is an incarnation of character deserving of the most detailed study by every student of the theatre. Imperfect and inadequate as this collection must necessarily be, it is the best visual record of the Art Theatre's work that has been shown in the West, and our own young theatrical schools could do no better than add to the published works of Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko, this illustrated guide to their achievements. Let them add a complete set of reproductions of these photographs to their libraries for record, reference, and the patient study that is the foundation of all great acting.

BERTHA MALNICK:

# THE POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

1873-1948 \*

ON the days from 24 to 27 October 1948 the Polish Academy of Sciences celebrated the 75th anniversary of its origin, more exactly of its first public session, which took place on 3 May 1873. The time is therefore a fitting one for a consideration of the organisation of the Academy, its achievement up to the present, and the place it has occupied in the national life.

The Academy came into being in the year 1872, as a child of the Scientific Society which was linked with the university of Cracow. Until 1930 it was divided into three Sections : philology, history and philosophy, and mathematics and natural science. In that year with the inclusion of the Academy of Medical Science, there was added a fourth Section—Medicine. To each section there have belonged four kinds of members :

1. Home Members, with full rights of membership, of whom there were 27 in each Section ;

2. Corresponding Home Members, with the right to take part in all meetings both scientific and administrative, of whom there are 26 in each Section ;

3. Active Foreign Members, of whom each Section has 27 ,

4. Corresponding Foreign Members, of whom each Section has 14.

In each case the rights of the last two groups of members correspond roughly with those of Polish birth and citizenship.

The supreme authority rests with the General Assembly, composed of those belonging to Group 1. This body makes all important decisions, chooses the chief officers and awards prizes. The work of the administration is not only managerial but also scientific, whenever something is to be done which does not belong to the province of one of the Sections. Under it are ranged certain Commissions of a general character, e.g. those for Prehistory, Ethnography, the History of Education, the Polish Encyclopedia, the Polish Dictionary of Biography

Each Section has its Director and its deputy-Director. Current affairs are dealt with by the Section secretary. Each Section has its own Commissions and Committees, formed for research and for special activities. In the Philology Section there are Commissions for : the History of Art, Languages, History of Polish Literature, General Philology, Oriental Studies, and Western European Philology ; as well as Committees for the Old Polish Dictionary, and for the publishing of the writings of St Gregory of Nazianz. To the Section for History and Philology belong Commissions for History, Law, the History of Polish Philosophy, Polish

\* The Editors of the *Review* are glad to print this brief sketch, taken from *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 24 Oct 1948.

Military History, the Polish Historical Atlas and Sociology, and there are Committees for publishing source materials on the intellectual life of Poland, and for the Philosophical Quarterly. These two Sections have joint Committees for the following projects: the Dictionary of Mediæval Latin in Poland and the Library of Polish Authors.

The Section for Mathematics and Natural Science has the following Committees: one for the publishing of *Starun*, one for Physiographic Investigation in Poland; while in common with the Section for Medicine it has a Commission for the History of Medicine and one for Mathematico-Physical Studies. To the Section for Medicine belongs an Anthropological Commission.

\* \* \*

The task of the Academy of Sciences is the promotion of creative scientific work in Poland: to support and facilitate the same, to encourage those undertaking it, where possible to co-ordinate, and where necessary to guide such effort; finally to provide prizes for what is achieved. This programme is concentrated on three fundamental points—organisation, publication and representation of Polish learning abroad.

1. This involves not only the internal work of the Academy—its Sections and their Commissions and Committees, but also the initiation and execution in collaboration with other Polish institutions of such enterprises in the field of learning as should be carried on by the united efforts of Polish scholars.

2. This involves a large-scale programme of publication, in some cases with an eye on the years ahead, as for example the production of Polish Bibliography, the Polish Encyclopedia, the Dictionary of National Biography, the Mediæval Latin Dictionary, the Dictionary of Old Polish, the Historical Atlas and a series of other works whose publication has either been begun already, or is on the point of beginning. The total harvest of publications of the Academy is truly imposing. It suffices to name only the more extensive series such as the Proceedings of the Philological Section—67 volumes, of that for History and Philosophy—73 volumes, of that for Mathematics and Natural Science—72 volumes; while Reports and Monographs on the History of Art number 16, on Languages number 31, on the Archives of Philology 20, on Oriental Studies 35, the Library of Polish Authors 86, the Archive for Literature 19, *Acta Historica* 12, *Scriptures rerum polonicarum* 22, the Historical Commission 14, the Monuments of Older Polish Law 12, the Law Commission 11, Economics 12, Agriculture and Forestry 37, Physiographical Reports 73, Silesian publications 25.

3. The representation of Polish learning in the field of international relations was entrusted by the Government to the Academy of Sciences when Poland recovered her independence in 1918. This work follows three main lines.

i. The accurate informing of the world of learning in general as to the state, progress and results of Polish scientific endeavour. This end

is served by the bulletins published by all sections in foreign languages, and the *comptes rendus* of the Sections for Mathematics and Natural Science and Medicine. In them are given *résumés* of the papers read at Section or Commission meetings, with bibliographies.

11. A similar mission is fulfilled by two scientific stations maintained abroad—that in Rome and the *Bibl polonaise* in Paris. These stations not only inform the world of work going on in Poland but also, thanks to their library and archive resources, provide the basis for serious work on Polish themes by foreign scholars.

11. A third activity is the representing of Poland at international congresses of learning or science, in particular in the most important centres of international learning—the *Union Académique Internationale*, the *Conseil International des Unions Scientifiques*, and on various international bodies. This activity is carried further when the Academy represents Poland at specially organised international meetings, e.g. jubilees, congresses of particular branches of study, or meetings for the discussion of special problems.

Not less important is the moral position of the Polish Academy of Sciences, one which it has earned both among the learned and in society as a whole. Expressions of this have been, above all, the generous, even princely, gifts that have been made to it during the years literally from all classes of the nation. It suffices to recall that, having very modest endowment when it came into being, in the year 1914 it disposed already of ten million crowns (Austrian)—an enormous sum. This fortune was completely ruined by the war of 1914–1918, but new and generous help made possible for the Academy a firm material basis for work, which permitted the raising of the level of research to a higher point than ever before.

The catastrophe of September 1939 and the succeeding Nazi occupation brought total ruin. The occupants were resolved to erase the Academy from the land of the living. It had to go underground, and carry on such activities as circumstances permitted. The liberation of Cracow on 18 January 1945 by the Soviet army was also the hour of liberation for the Academy. At once, after the retreat of the Germans, it began again, in spite of fearful gaps in its membership and the complete ruin of its resources, the work of reconstruction. Eight days later there was held the first meeting of the Committee of Management, and nine days later the first scientific meeting. Thanks to the enormous effort of its members and, even more, to the deeply sympathetic attitude of the Polish government, the institution has succeeded in rising quickly from its ruins.

There can be no doubt that the Polish Academy of Sciences has put itself in the forefront of all national learned societies—by its age, its range of activities and the extent of its achievements. Two reasons for this may be noted: the well-thought-out and strenuous work done by those inside, and the esteem in which learning and the status of the



Academy are held by the state and by the widest circles of society. Celebrating its 75th anniversary, it can not only look calmly backward conscious of duty well done toward the state and society, but can also look forward with confidence that it will perform worthily whatever tasks are entrusted to it.

JULYAN BUYNO.

*English by* W. J. R.

## OBITUARIES

### PROFESSOR M. V. TROFIMOV

RUSSIAN studies in this country are the poorer by the loss of Professor Emeritus Mikhail Vasilyevich Trofimov, who died in London on 24 Oct. 1948, after a long and exhausting illness.

Professor Trofimov came to England several years before the First World War as a graduate of St. Petersburg University, where he had been a pupil of A. I. Sobolevsky and Jean Baudouin de Courtenay. His career as a university teacher began at the School of Russian Studies, University of Liverpool, in 1910. After the outbreak of war he transferred to the University of London as Reader in Russian at the School of Slavonic Studies (then a department of King's College), and in 1919 was elected Sir William Mather Professor of Russian at the University of Manchester, where he was to spend over a quarter of a century.

An entire generation of students will remember his admirable practical teaching, in which he made use of the then popular "direct method," no less than his stimulating lectures and tutorials in Slavonic philology, Old Russian, and Russian phonetics, dialectology, folklore, literature, and history, in all of which he was proficient. They will also remember with gratitude his friendly interest and encouragement, his helpful advice, and the generosity with which he placed his own library at their disposal.

Professor Trofimov's contributions to Russian scholarship comprise a small number of books, all of which have an eminently practical purpose. They fall into two series, separated by a considerable lapse of years. The earlier includes the charming *Elementary Russian Reader* (1917), with its well-chosen material representing a markedly personal taste, *Handbook of Russian I* (1918), written with J. P. Scott and characteristically dedicated to that Anglo-Russian *soglasie* (harmony) which Professor Trofimov was anxious to foster, and *The Pronunciation of Russian* (1923), in writing which he was assisted by the experience of Professor Daniel Jones. The last two books are a tribute to Professor Trofimov's mastery of Russian phonetics, and the last-mentioned offers a conscientious and abundantly illustrated analysis of a St. Petersburg (Leningrad) pronunciation of Literary Russian. The low-water mark of Russian studies in England was reached in the 1920's, between the two series of Professor Trofimov's publications. With the revival of interest in Russian in the thirties he published his most scholarly work, *Handbook of Russian II* (1939), a systematic survey of morphology and syntax, and the unique *Primer of Russian* (1940), a summary of the direct method as applied to Russian, which he had practised and elaborated for over thirty years, and at the same time a personal document, in which the adept can read the "autobiography" of a delightful mind.

This book is, fortunately, illustrated with an absurd and amusing photograph of Professor Trofimov, which his lively sense of humour must have rejoiced in.

Professor Trofimov's last publication reveals him to us not only as a gifted and experienced teacher, but as a lovable man. His human kindness and those buoyant spirits which alas! were damped latterly by suffering easily commanded regard and affection, and it is the present memory of those qualities that makes his loss bitter to the friends who loved him.

W K. MATTHEWS

### TADEUSZ KOWALSKI

1889-1948

WITH the death from cancer, after a painful illness, of Tadeusz Kowalski, Professor of Oriental Studies in the university of Cracow, Europe has lost a distinguished scholar and Poland one of her nobler sons. His record of nearly forty-five years of service to his profession, though broken by two major wars, is so impressive as to deserve the widest recognition; for of him it could be truly said that he was *in utrumque paratus*. Both as a master of research and as a wise and tireless teacher he held a place among the best. But he was also an able administrator, and this accounts for his being chosen in 1945 to succeed the late Stanisław Kutrzeba as Secretary-General of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The critical appreciation of his latest published work, from the pen of Dr. Leon Koczy, which appeared in No. 68 of the *Review*, is sufficient proof of his scholarship: what follows here will only serve as a general background for the picture

Born in France in 1889, he took his Doctor's degree in Vienna, and became a *docent* of the Jagiellonian university in 1914, on the eve of the first World War. In that year there appeared in German his first notable work *Der Diwan des Kais ibn al-Hatim*, a study of the Medina poet of the days immediately preceding the rise of Mahomet and the founding of the faith of Islam. He followed this up later on with a study in Polish on Ancient Arabian Poetry, thus securing his place as an authority on the oldest period of that civilisation. His election to the Chair in Cracow came in 1919, and from that time on until the end he acted as editor of the Proceedings of the Commission for Oriental Studies of the Academy. His election to Membership took place in 1927.

Very early in his career he was turning his attention almost furiously to Turkish culture—language, literature and folklore. He used every opportunity afforded by the comradeship-in-arms of wartime, in particular the presence of invalids or even prisoners of war in the Monarchy, to investigate folk usage and dialects. Out of these contacts came in 1919 *Zagadki ludowe tureckie*, and in 1922 *Ze studiów nad formą poezji*

*ludów tureckich*, to be followed in turn the next year by *Arabowie in Turcyi w świetle źródeł* and in 1925 by *Turcja powojenna*. Two expeditions to the Near East in the early twenties, one of them deep into Anatolia, helped notably with this production. Apart from these undertakings he found right at home useful materials to work on in the living speech of the Karaim sect. Only ten years later did there come his last pre-war volume *Na szlakach Islamu*. But during all these years he was occupied with a critical edition of the poems of Kab ibn Zuhair, and he insisted on seeing some of the proofs of this work even on his sick-bed, when pain tortured his body. Even so, the task was left unfinished.

But not even the two rich fields of labour mentioned sufficed to satisfy Kowalski's ambition. The wide and attractive domain of Persian studies was right next door, and he turned in particular to the works of the two eminent poets of the risorgimento days that marked the recovery from the Islamic conquest—the philosopher Firdausi and, of course, Omar Khayyám. During the 'second World War, after surviving the horrors of the Nazi concentration camp in Sachsenhausen, he occupied himself chiefly with the former of these two artists, and the resulting study, though in an advanced stage, is still unpublished. It was a keen disappointment to him to be passed over in 1934 when a Polish delegation was sent to the millennial celebrations in Teheran.

The spirit in which Kowalski worked, and some idea of the significance he attached to his chosen field, had been set out in a masterly way already in the first volume of *Nauka polska* (1919), in which various experts were asked to write about the nature and demands of their subjects. He started off by saying, rather whimsically, that while his colleagues could write of the *needs* in their chosen field, he was constrained rather to emphasise the need for Oriental studies as such in a country that was now free, whose sons had made quite considerable contributions as amateurs during the 19th century. He wanted them put on a scientific and corporate footing, and he sought the highest backing for something that seemed to him to be of the highest importance.

“The discoveries made in the East have broadened our historical horizon to an extent never yet experienced. They may boldly be placed on the same footing with the extension of our geographical horizon following the discovery of America.”

The undersigned remembers well how, in the early twenties, he used to see the active figure of the “professor of Turkish,” with one of the few beards to be seen about the university of Cracow, and how the bearer of it took a keen interest in social and national affairs, without however lending his help unless expressly invited. He had the good fortune to correspond with him since the second war, and to have a few minutes' chat in Cracow in the spring of 1947. Kowalski was actually invited to come to London as a university lecturer the following year, but illness and death intervened.

W. J. R.

## DOROTHEA PRALL RADIN

DOROTHEA PRALL was born at Sagmaw, Michigan, on 19 January 1889. In 1910 she graduated from the University of Michigan. In 1916 her family removed to California, and in August of that year she enrolled as a graduate student in the University of California (Berkeley), where she continued her studies through 1921, taking work almost exclusively in Russian and Polish topics. In December 1918 she received a master's degree, with a dissertation on *Nekrasov's Poems of Peasant Life*. On 30 June 1922, she married Max Radin, Professor of Law in the University of California. On 13 September 1948 she suffered an attack of coronary thrombosis, and died on 15 October

Mrs. Radin had fine poetic talent, but she published few original poems. She gained most distinction as a translator from the great Russian, Bohemian, and Polish poets Nekrasov (short poems), Pushkin (*Eugene Onegin*), Kvapil (part of *The Princess Pampelishka*), Kochanowski (*Laments*), Mickiewicz (*Forefathers' Eve, Part II*; *The Books of the Polish Nation and of the Polish Pilgrims*; portions of *Grażyna*, *Konrad Wallenrod*, and *Forefathers' Eve, Part III*; and short poems), and Słowacki (*Anielli*). These translations she began in 1917 and continued almost to the close of her life. Many of them were first published in periodicals, notably the *Slavonic Review*. Her work is remarkably versatile: from Mickiewicz, for instance, she renders with equal sympathy the grotesque humour of *Twardowski's Wife* and the passionate, soaring defiance of the great Improvisation in *Forefathers' Eve, Part III*. On the whole her most important translation is her complete rendering of *Eugene Onegin*, a poem that alternates between graceful, jesting society verse and passages full of tragic pathos. But to my mind her masterpiece is her version of the *Laments* of Kochanowski, a well-nigh perfect reproduction of the Renaissance original, in which stiff classical dignity passes into poignant personal emotion.

The spontaneous, unstudied tone of Mrs. Radin's finished translations gives no hint of the methods by which she secured it. She first absorbed the atmosphere of the original and decided what effects she wished to attain. Then, with infinite patience and industry, she set out to attain them, in much the same way that she would set out to solve a crossword puzzle, using three tools, Walker's *Rhyming Dictionary*, Soule's *Dictionary of English Synonyms*, and (to a smaller extent) Roget's *Thesaurus*. Hers was a *curiosa felicitas*, a felicity gained by care. Totally free from literary vanity, so that she was loth to give copies of her work even to intimate friends, she was nevertheless aware of her own discriminating literary taste. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Oliver Elton in England and Dorothea Radin in America seem to me the most gifted English translators of the Slavic poets.—Of Mrs. Radin's personal qualities: of her twinkling humour hidden beneath a shy, repressed manner, and of her kindness, gentleness, and sincerity, I must not try to speak.

G. R. NOYES.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### THE CONFLICT BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

#### *A Philosophical and Historical Approach* \*

IN the present international situation we are faced with a recrudescence of the old theories of the separation of West and East—western and eastern historical development, western and eastern ways of thought and life, etc. This should give increased interest to a work which seeks to trace the spiritual origins of the conflict in a scientific manner, of what the author of this book considers a peculiarity of the Russian philosophy of history as opposed to that of Western Europe (he includes Germany in Western Europe). It is a pity that the author has not avoided the temptation to enter deeply into present-day political controversy, and this gives one the impression that his political views have coloured his historical enquiries.

The main subject of Herr von Schelting's study is the literary controversy in Russia of the 1830's to the 1850's between the so-called slavophiles and westerners. But he goes beyond this limit—in fact right up to our own days. "By this means," he writes, "it can be indicated how certain fundamental *motifs* in Russian historical consciousness, which were already fully apparent by the middle of the century when they reached their highest level, later persisted and finally joined hands with spiritual and political tendencies fed from new socialist and even Marxist sources. As the connecting link between the two epochs of Russian philosophico-historical theory there appears the spiritual personage of Alexander Herzen, the revolutionary socialist of the early days of the Russian 'Freedom Movement' who is still celebrated in Russia to-day. While consideration of Herzen's historico-philosophical views teaches us how socialism and panslavism concluded a long-standing alliance and are in no way mutually exclusive, an examination of Danilevsky shows us how the universalist, Messianism of the Russian philosophy of history goes beyond the point of claiming a national mission—that is to say, beyond the limit which that philosophy set for itself. . . . Both Herzen the socialist and Danilevsky the political conservative and theorist of cultural-historical types are revealed as representatives of that national expansionism which oversteps the aims of panslavism" (p. 8).

Thus, according to von Schelting, all the intellectual and political movements in Russia of the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century "allied themselves" with panslavism and expansionism to end in the communism of our days. This gives rather a sensational tone to his book. Let us see, however, how he copes with his theme.

\* Alexander von Schelting. *Russland und Europa*. A. Francke Verlag. Bern 1848 Pp. 404

In the forefront of his account of the above-mentioned controversy appears the philosopher Chaadayev who, as the author puts it, was his "guide" through all the "jungle" of that controversy. Thereafter he proceeds to an account of individual slavophiles and westerners. So far as the period 1830 to 1850 is concerned, the author's choice of a "guide" may be warranted, since it was Chaadayev who started the controversy and pointed out to those who later became slavophiles the general continuity of the ideas of Christian historical philosophy, a continuity in which Orthodox Christianity could be interpreted by the slavophiles as having universal historical significance. Von Schelting's presentation of Chaadayev's ideas is a fair one; but there was nothing new to be said of Chaadayev after the sound and reliable works of M. Gershenson and Ch. Quénet. As regards the other participants in the controversy, von Schelting's account is lacking in a sense of proportion. He pays markedly little attention to the westerners, as regards the slavophiles, he devotes considerable space to Gogol and Tyutchev whose writings certainly do not contain what we should regard as philosophy of history, and he pays much too little attention to Ivan Kireevsky who certainly was the best philosophical thinker of the slavophiles. Had he devoted more attention to Kireevsky, he might have avoided the fundamental defect which greatly impairs the whole of his work. Had he investigated the spiritual roots of slavophilism, his work might have acquired the sense of historical perspective in which it is lacking.

Had von Schelting studied Kireevsky, he could not possibly have failed to see that slavophilism as a theory originated from—and later again joined with—clearly visible and then influential currents in European philosophy and literature. This was the time when the idea was propagated that cognition should not confine itself within the limits of reason but should extend into the domain of feeling; hence romanticism, the historical school of law, and the study of national psychology. Kireevsky himself acknowledged the fact that his negative attitude with regard to rationalist philosophy was based on contemporary German philosophy, and not only his works but also his letters show clearly how powerfully he was influenced by Schelling. It was *from the West* that Kireevsky—and with him the whole slavophil school—took the view that western civilisation contains too large an element of one-sided, and therefore narrow, rationalism. Russia, they thought, possessed in the simple religious faith of her people the essential element which was lacking in Western Europe. The Russian people's life, they thought, reveals the singleness of its spiritual sources and demands unity of intellect, feeling and will—this singleness being the basis of Orthodox Christianity. Hence the belief that the future of civilisation required that it should develop under Orthodox Christian influence. The idea that nations succeed one another in cultural leadership and the advancement of civilisation was taken mainly from Hegel but partly also from Schelling: and it was from that starting-point that Kireevsky outlined

his theory of the part which Providence has destined Russia to play in the general development of universal civilisation. As Paul Vinogradoff, the pupil of Granovsky and a witness of the controversy, puts it, the slavophil doctrine was but "a branch to the trunk" of the tree of Western philosophy.<sup>1</sup> However right or wrong slavophil theories may seem, they belonged to the general European—and not specifically Russian—world of ideas. Paradoxical as it may seem, the slavophiles took from the West, if not more, at any rate not less than the westerners.<sup>2</sup>

It was not surprising, therefore, that when the Crimean war laid open Russia's backwardness and the corruption of her régime, the slavophiles did not lag behind the westerners in condemning Nicholas I's rule and in demanding reforms on Western lines. They took, in fact, a most active part in bringing about these reforms. They were as faithful to the rights of personality, i.e. to the main principle of Western civilisation, as were the westerners. Von Schelting errs in over-dramatising the controversy. Professor B. H. Sumner is much nearer to historical truth when he says of this controversy that it "was ultimately due less to divergence of historical or political views than to differences of temperament and divergent psychological approaches—the one religious, the other rationalistic."<sup>3</sup>

The presentation of the facts in von Schelting's book does not call for any fundamental criticism until he approaches the Crimean war. But when he does, there is much to object to. Here his statements are more often than not exaggerated and sometimes not in accordance with facts.

To begin with, von Schelting's ideas of the origin and of the character of the Crimean war are strangely wrong. At this distance we can see how unwarranted the Crimean war was by the reasons then produced to justify it. Probably not all historians will subscribe to the view of Professor G. M. Trevelyan that for Britain's part the Crimean war "was merely a foolish expedition to the Black Sea, made for no sufficient reason, because the English people were bored by peace";<sup>4</sup> but no English historian describes now that war as a major tragedy. As regards France, it is almost universally agreed that for Napoleon III the war was merely the first opportunity to win military prestige, an opportunity which he seized the more eagerly as he was very anxious to satisfy the wishes of the Catholic party of whose support he stood in need. As for Russia, Nicholas I made great and fatal blunders; but it is wrong to suggest, as von Schelting does, that he simply dropped his hitherto conservative and legitimist views and took to a policy of conquest on

<sup>1</sup> See P. Vinogradoff's article on Kireevsky in *Voprosy Filosofii i Psichologii*, 1892, issue II, p. 119 sq.

<sup>2</sup> For the origins of the views of the westerners see the article of Paul Vinogradoff on the historian Granovsky in *Russkaya Mysl*, 1893, and the lecture by Professor N. I. Kareev, "Istoricheskoye Mirosozertsanie Granovskago," 1896.

<sup>3</sup> B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans*, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, p. 548.



the pretext of a proclaimed wish to liberate the Balkan Slavs (p. 188 sq.). That suggestion is not justified by the facts as we now know them, and G. H. Bolsover is quite correct when he states, on the basis of partly new documentary evidence, that it was Nicholas I's tragedy that his reign "ended in a war over the Turkish problem which he had worked for so long to solve by peaceful and negotiated agreement."<sup>5</sup>

Von Schelting sees the Crimean war in quite a different light. In his view, the participants all looked at the war as the "tearing asunder of two naturally inharmonious worlds which rejected each other and were therefore in mortal combat" (p. 196)—a formula which he repeats several times. He produces no evidence concerning England. As regards France, he quotes Mgr. Sibour, the then Archbishop of Paris, and the Marquis de Custine from whose book—published, by the way, more than ten years before the war—he extracts whole pages. As regards Russia, he refers to the poet Tyutchev who saw in the Crimean war "the labour-pains of a new world," "the universal rebirth" and the like. In order to give added importance to these quotations, von Schelting calls Tyutchev a "poet, philosopher and statesman" and asserts that "during the period between 1848 and 1854, i.e. until the end of the first phase of the war, he exercised an immense influence on Russian intellectual circles," "was the real ideologist of that spiritual attitude with which Russia started her first war with Europe," "was the herald of all those visionary hopes which a large part of thinking Russia attached to that historical event" and "brought slavophilism to completion" (p. 185). With all due respect to the poet, this estimate is enormously exaggerated. In point of fact, Tyutchev was little known at that time, even as a poet. He was not a statesman but a modest civil servant in the censorship department. True, he sent a memorandum to the Emperor, but there is no evidence that the Emperor read it. His fantastic projects—the creation of a Greek-Russian Eastern Empire which should absorb Austria, the Balkans and Constantinople, a protectorate by that Empire over Italy, the union of the Churches with an Orthodox Pope in Rome—could not and did not find any response whatsoever. No evidence exists that he exercised the influence which von Schelting attributes to him. In fact, he was known mainly in a few St. Petersburg salons, and there is no evidence that even there he had any real influence. His few articles and memoranda, as well as his letters to Gorchakov, the Chancellor of the post-Crimean period, were not widely known until they were unearthed much later. Von Schelting is quite wrong in stating that slavophil ideas were then widespread in Russia; the letters of Ivan Aksakov written when travelling in Russia bear witness to the contrary.

<sup>5</sup> G. H. Bolsover, "Nicholas I and the Partition of Turkey," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. XXVII, No. 68, p. 144. Von Schelting's statement that the change in Nicholas I's views found its expression in the dismissal of Nesselrode because of the latter's Lutheranism and pro-European tendencies (p. 372) is incorrect. Nesselrode did not retire till 1856, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris.

Contrary to what von Schelting says, there was really nothing ideological in the Crimean war. Like every other war, it was at first accompanied by the expression of far-reaching political aims and by noisy encouragement from the press. But passions gradually cooled down. The coalition, in spite of notable successes in the war, showed signs of a split. The futility of the war became apparent and the belligerents felt they had enough of it. Even during the hostilities the enemies held a formal conference which prepared the way for the conclusion of peace. Russia lost undoubtedly some prestige by the resulting Treaty of Paris, yet France immediately started sounding her with a view to an alliance. Von Schelting's "mortal combat" and "breaking asunder of the worlds" ended without any important consequences to the map of Europe.

How did Russian public opinion react to the Crimean war? Here again we find in von Schelting's book statements which are not in accordance with known facts. He says that the war was popular in Russia. "Even among those who objected to the régime of Nicholas I in home politics and, particularly since 1848, to its spiritual paternalism and absence of freedom, even among those people the *foreign* policy of the government, at least its general spirit, enjoyed . . . pretty general assent" (p. 190). On the very next page the reference to "pretty general assent" undergoes some modification. There were, says the author, westerners who were not susceptible to the vision of "universal rebirth" and not imbued with patriotic excitement, there were among them such who wished the defeat of Russia; but although the author admits this, he thinks that such people were rare exceptions.

The known facts bear witness to the contrary of what von Schelting says. The war was not popular. The widespread feeling was that it would reveal the incapacity of Nicholas I's rule, and already in 1853 men felt that changes were imminent in Russia. "It seemed," the well-known slavophil Koshelyov wrote in his memoirs, "as if we were emerging out of a dark and gloomy dungeon, if not into God's daylight at least into an antechamber where we could breathe refreshing air. The landing of the Allies in the Crimea in 1854, the ensuing battles of Alma and Inkerman and the siege of Sebastopol did not cause us too much grief because we were convinced that even the defeat of Russia would be more tolerable and actually healthier for her than her condition in recent years." Khomyakov, the leading personality of the slavophiles, was then writing his vigorous poems breathing forth religious denunciation of Nicholas I's government. "At the time of siege of Sebastopol," Samarin, the prominent slavophil, wrote in his foreword to Khomyakov's works, "at that solemn period which was so acutely painful to our self-esteem, Khomyakov was at a party among friends and was particularly cheerful and unconcerned. When asked by a puzzled friend how he could laugh at such a time, Khomyakov replied: 'For thirty years I have been crying to myself while everyone round me laughed; now that I can see

salvation coming through general tears I can afford to be gay.' " The frame of mind of the slavophiles was essentially the same as that of the westerners—hatred of the régime of Nicholas I and of his policy. So who was there left to support Nicholas I's foreign policy?

To prove his unwarranted statement that this policy received " pretty general assent " von Schelting has recourse to a most startling argument. He refers us to—Herzen, who then serves him as a starting-point for further theories and statements about Russia after the Crimean war and up to the present. For Herzen was one of the founders of the freedom movement in Russia which von Schelting dislikes.

Von Schelting has no love for Herzen—and this perhaps explains why he has studied him so surprisingly little,<sup>6</sup> as will be shown below.

The stages by which Herzen's ideas developed are well known. He left Russia an enthusiastic believer in an almost immediate triumph of socialism in Western Europe. The realities which he saw, the events of 1848, Napoleon III's *coup d'état* in France, the weakness of the working class and the steadiness of what he called " the Old World " disilluminated him. The appearance at that time of Haxthausen's famous book in which for the first time the Russian land commune was described and analysed caused Herzen the more readily to turn his eyes again to Russia. Haxthausen's book seemed to confirm the view that Russian agrarian conditions were imbued with socialism, and it is not surprising that this made a great impression on Herzen, as it did on many socialists of that period, Russian and non-Russian. There also existed in Russia, as Herzen knew, the so-called " artels," i.e. associations of craftsmen. Nor was this all. The land commune was also in existence then in Serbia. The ardent socialist, disillusioned by Western Europe, could not resist the temptation to snatch at the belief that it was the Russians and the Slavs generally who were destined to be the first to realise socialism. This belief seemed to be well grounded since the Russians were not, like the western Europeans, bound hand and foot by bourgeois prejudices. In this connection Herzen thought of a federation of the Slavs—a federation in the sense in which Bakunin and particularly Proudhon used the term. To attach, as von Schelting does, to Herzen's use of the concept of federation its contemporary and even imperialistic meaning is quite unjustifiable. For many socialists of a century ago, particularly for Proudhon—and it should not be forgotten that Herzen was for some time closely associated with Proudhon—the idea of federation meant the foundation of a nucleus of socialism.

The mere vague idea of a federation of the Russians with other Slavs on the common foundation of socialism is the material which von Schelting uses to represent Herzen as a panslavist and an instigator of Russian

<sup>6</sup> It is hardly right to deal with a writer of Herzen's calibre on the strength of information derived from an abridged edition which, mutilated by the censorship, was published in 5 volumes in Russia before the revolution. There has existed for about 30 years a more or less complete edition of Herzen's works in 22 volumes

expansionism. According to von Schelting, Herzen "was prepared to welcome the prospect of the Crescent on Hagia-Sophia disappearing and being replaced by the symbols of Eastern Slav Christianity. Indeed, his arguments at that time read like a historic vindication of the aggressive panslavist and panorthodox Russian foreign policy of the middle of the 19th century. . . . His fundamental idea appears pretty clear: Russia's Slav mission is within sight of fulfilment. Herzen even charges the Russian government with not being sufficiently conscious of that mission. Russia cannot do other than help the nations which are related to her by race and by religion, mentally and spiritually, linguistically and also *socially*, in their endeavours to achieve national emancipation, and must aspire to bring about their union" (p. 193).

As evidence for his statement that Herzen was a panslavist who coveted Constantinople and the Balkans for Russia, von Schelting refers to a number of passages in Herzen's works. These, when examined, show Herzen's disillusionment in Western Europe of which we spoke above, his considering Western Europe as being steeped in the prejudices of a bourgeois world—a frame of mind not unfamiliar to many Western socialists of that time, or his belief that Russia was not necessarily bound to pass through the same stages of development as Western Europe—this last idea being shared by Karl Marx, who hated Herzen. There is, however, one reference to some sentences in which Herzen hints that in their struggle for national emancipation the Slavs may achieve their union and then gravitate towards Constantinople as their centre. This reference requires examination, especially as Herzen's words as quoted by von Schelting in their Russian translation from the English original are admittedly rather vague and have also misled such a sound writer as the late T. G. Masaryk.<sup>7</sup> Let us, therefore, see what Herzen really wrote and then analyse the meaning of his words in the light of his literary and political activities.

Herzen was then living in London. In 1853 or 1854, W. J. Linton, the editor of *The English Republic*, approached him with a request to write for his journal on Russia's future. Herzen wrote three articles in the form of letters addressed to Linton, which appeared in that journal. Four years later Herzen's publisher Trübner published them in a Russian translation; and this edition with Herzen's foreword was afterwards several times reproduced. This is the edition which von Schelting uses.<sup>8</sup>

In these letters to Linton, which were published under the title *The Old World and Russia*, Herzen again expresses disillusionment with Western Europe (as regards England, for which he had a soft corner in his heart, he uses milder terms since England had at least realised political freedom and offered asylum to all victims of political persecution).

<sup>7</sup> T. G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, English edition, Vol. I, p. 416.

<sup>8</sup> The translation is the work of an unknown hand, not Herzen himself. The quotations below are therefore taken from the English original.

But their dominant theme is a *warning*—that the war may lead to revolution. The “Old World” is much too old and is menaced by a revolution if a war should break out. If Western Europe were united and her governments did not fear their own peoples she might thrust Russia right back to the Urals. But Western Europe dared not even liberate Poland because this would have repercussions in Austria, Prussia and elsewhere. War might, therefore, mean the appearance of Russia on the Atlantic coast. However, Nicholas I should not think that Russia’s success in the war would mean a triumph for him. On the contrary, if Russia should succeed in conquering Constantinople, this would mean the end of the Holstein-Gottorp dynasty in Russia. Nicholas was playing with fire

Here are the passages in question <sup>9</sup>

Europe, monarchical, but not very martial, will not and cannot make serious war against the Tzar. The Tzar, on his side, cannot abstain from making war on Europe, unless Europe will make him a present of Constantinople.

Constantinople? Yes, Constantinople! He must have it that the Russian people may have their eyes turned toward the East; he must have it to be supported to the uttermost by the orthodox Church, in fine he must have it instinctively, for at bottom *he also is the bearer of destiny*,—he continues, without understanding it, to accomplish the inner intentions of history, —*he toils to render yet more rapid the descent in which he and his successors must be swallowed up.*

The hour of the Slavonian world has arrived. The Taborite, the Man of the Commune, bestirs himself. Is it not Socialism which awakens him? Where shall he plant his flag? to what centre shall he rally?

It is not Vienna—that German rococo, not Petersburg—the modern German, not Warsaw—the Catholic, nor Moscow—the exclusively Russian, which can pretend to become the capital of the united Slavonians, it is Constantinople—the Rome of the Eastern Church, the centre of gravitation for all the Greek Slavonians, a city surrounded by a Slavo-Hellenic population.

The Germano-Latin races will continue the Empire of the West. Will the Slavonians continue the Empire of the East? I know not but *Constantinople will destroy Petersburg.*

Petersburg is an absurdity for an empire possessing Constantinople; and a Holstein-Gottorp for a Paleologus, a Porphyrogenitus, would be too ridiculous to be possible. These brave German emigrés may go back to their own country, which reclaims them, or which will settle itself without them, but not without torrents of blood.

Can you not hear, at your door, the Cossack whispering with the two friends who have betrayed you, and who will serve him as guides to the very heart of Europe?

We predicted it in 1849: <sup>10</sup> that the Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns would bring you the Russians. *For the Tzar, invasion is a means of popularity and*

<sup>9</sup> *Russia and the Old World.* By Alexander Herzen. “The English Republic,” edited by W. J. Linton, 1854, p. 145. The italics are mine.

<sup>10</sup> Letter to Joseph Mazzini, published in the *Italia del Popolo* in 1849.

*conversation.* This overflow, providing for his too much unemployed forces, will be at the same time *his escape from home questions and the gratification of a savage desire of combat and aggrandisement*

Perhaps in the midst of this blood, this carnage, this burning, this devastation, the peoples will wake up, and see, when they have rubbed their eyes, that all their terrible, disgusting, horrible dreams are but dreams — Bonaparte, Nicholas,—mantle with bees, mantle of Polish blood,—Gallows —Emperor, King of Fusillades —all that will no longer exist, and the peoples will be astonished that they have slept so long, seeing the sun already high

It may be.—But——

In any case this war will be the majestic and martial introduction (*introduzione maestosa e marziale*) of the Slavonian world in universal history, and a funeral march (*uno marcia funebre*) of the old world

Neither Herzen's diagnosis nor his predictions proved correct at that time. Herzen himself, in his foreword to the Russian edition of *The Old World and Russia*, admitted that in many respects he was mistaken. There is, however, no foundation—nor even the slightest justification—for seeing in the above quoted words, as von Schelting does, Herzen's panslavist coveting of Constantinople, or his vindication of the "aggressive panslavist and panorthodox" foreign policy of Nicholas I, or his charging the Russian government with not being sufficiently conscious of Russia's "mission." Surely the words quoted above, if carefully considered, mean exactly the opposite.<sup>11</sup>

Herzen's attitude to Nicholas I's foreign policy and the position he took up during the Crimean war are clear beyond doubt. Professor Raoul Labry, the modern specialist on Herzen, defines his position during the Crimean war in the following words: "His object was the downfall of Nicholas I by means of defeat and a revolt of the army, by insurrection in Poland and by peasants' revolts. . . . The people have nothing to gain from bloodshed. Russia may pay the price of the blood which has been shed by her defeat; a defeat followed by a revolution would guarantee the victory of freedom. Hence his appeal of March 25, 1854 to the Russian soldiers stationed in Poland. He explains to them the injustice of waging war against the Turks who are defending their own hearths and have committed no atrocities against the Orthodox peoples. Since the Tzar claims to be defending the latter, ought he not to start by freeing his subjects from forced labour, flogging and plunder?"<sup>12</sup>

Indeed, one is at a loss to understand why in speaking of Herzen's attitude to the Crimean war von Schelting does not even mention Herzen's appeal to the Russian soldiers in Poland, a well-known political document

<sup>11</sup> In the above-mentioned foreword to the Russian edition of *The Old World and Russia* Herzen said that among the unwarranted attacks on him caused by his articles were some "comic" ones, among them the suggestion that he encouraged the Russians to conquer Constantinople. To attribute such an idea to him seemed to Herzen "comic." This it certainly was. It is remarkable that von Schelting does not mention this explanation by Herzen of his own views, although the foreword in question is included in the edition of Herzen's works which he used

<sup>12</sup> Raoul Labry, *Alexandre Ivanovitch Herzen*, p. 370

published at the time and since then several times reprinted. Here are the first sentences from this appeal of March, 1854 :<sup>13</sup>

Brothers,—At last the Tzar has managed to call down war upon Russia.

His colleagues, dreading their peoples more than any other enemy, have vainly shuffled back and made concessions. He has succeeded in provoking a contest

He has had no ruth for Russian blood

But we, Russians and Poles, exiles in the land of the stranger, shed tears at the recital of these exorbitant levies, of these heavy surcharges imposed upon the people, of our soldiers hurried by thousands to an useless death.

To die for a just cause is noble. It is for this that man's heart contains courage, hardihood, devotion, love. But to perish without serving one's fellows for a Tzar's caprice : that is indeed pitiful. *The whole world compassionates the Turks—not from sympathy with them, but because their cause is just They are attacked, and they have indeed the right of self-defence.*

And our poor soldiers ? They shed their blood in torrents, fight valiantly, heap the ground with their dead bodies, and no man, save us, laments their fate, no one appreciates their bravery

*The Tzar says that he is defending the Orthodox Church. But it is not attacked ;* and if the Sultan has oppressed it, why has then the Tzar kept silence since 1828 ?

*The lot of the Christians, adds the Tzar, is hard in Turkey. We have never heard that the Christians in Turkey are more oppressed than the peasants are with us,* especially those who, by the Tzar's command, are given in bondage to the nobles *Would it not be better to begin by freeing the slaves at home ?—* These, too, are Orthodox, and, what is more, they are Russians !

*No the Tzar defends no cause ; he has no good object in view He is solely guided by his pride, and it is for that pride that he sacrifices your blood.* Yours, we say, not his own He is too chary of that.—Have you ever seen him in front of your ranks ? Not on parade-grounds, but—on fields of battle ?

It is he who has begun the war . may it then fall solely on his own head ! May it set a limit to our sad state of stagnation !

After 1812 came the 26th of December

What will come after 1854 ?

*This* was the attitude which Herzen took up with regard to the Crimean war.<sup>14</sup> There is not the slightest room for doubt about that. Herzen had absolutely nothing in common with the foreign policy of

<sup>13</sup> The contemporary English translation quoted below is taken from *The English Republic*, 1854, p. 239. The original Russian text may be found in Herzen's Works, edited by Lemke, Vol. 8, p. 67. The italics are mine.

<sup>14</sup> I do not cite the well-known letter which was published in 1854 in the *Daily News* and written by a Russian who signed himself "A Cosmopolitan Traveller." The author of this letter visited the Russian prisoners-of-war in Plymouth and related his conversations with them ; as a result of these talks, he proposed that the British should organise detachments composed of Russian prisoners-of-war to fight on the side of the Western Allies against Russia. This letter is reproduced in Herzen's Works, Lemke's edition, Vol. 8, p. 106 sq. Herzen's daughter, Nathalie Herzen, told Lemke that the author of this letter was her father. But although there is a remark in Herzen's writings which may confirm his authorship of the letter, I regard it as doubtful.

Nicholas I, never for a moment did he wish success for that policy, and there is nothing in his ideas which savours of Russian nationalism, chauvinism or panslavism. Moreover, his political attitude during the Crimean war cannot be fully understood unless it is looked at in the light of the pro-Slav enthusiasm which at that time characterised many socialists and radicals. No less a person than Mazzini wrote to Herzen on July 22, 1855: <sup>15</sup>

I do not know how this war will end, but I do not see why the powerful unity of Russia should submit to the hideous union of the Imperial despotism of France with the monarchistic and aristocratic freedom of England.

Indeed, in the face of the prevalent anti-Bonapartist and rather pro-Russian tendencies in socialist and radical circles Herzen used his influence to curb what seemed to him then dangerous antagonism towards the West. It is known how far Proudhon went at the time in his opposition to the English-French cause and in his hopes in Russia. He considered that freedom no longer existed in Western Europe where it had been "killed by bourgeois egoism and Jacobinic folly," and he believed that it was in Russia that freedom would revive. In the Crimean war he saw nothing but an assault upon the coming socialist revolution on the part of Napoleonic imperialism supported by the English aristocracy and by the Pope. And it was Herzen who warned him not to expect too much from Russia and the Slavs "Unless they partake of *Western* socialist ideas," wrote Herzen to Proudhon in 1855, "the Slav peoples will never have enough impetus to pass from patriarchal communism to rational socialism. *Russia . . . needs the solidarity of the European nations and assistance from them*" <sup>16</sup>

It was Herzen again who wrote at the time of the Crimean war to Michelet that the Slavs "are in need of the vigorous and virile thought of the West. . . . We do not aim at the famous *fara da se* without the solidarity and community of nations. . . . I tell the Russians, I repeat it in every possible way, that the social idea which has been elaborated by the West is the only means by which the social faculties and dispositions of the Slavs can be developed rationally." <sup>17</sup>

Such was the "panslavist" of von Schelting's account. In Western Europe those who knew Herzen and his work understood what kind of a man he was. "Yours is a great idea," wrote Victor Hugo to him in 1855, "and I hasten gladly to join in it. You have come forth to disrupt the association of kings and to turn the disunion of nations into unity. You have come forth to reconcile Russia, to kindle the light of day in the North, to utter the call of freedom in the language of Moscow, to take the hand of the great Slav family and put it into the hand of the

<sup>15</sup> Works of Herzen, Lemke's edition, Vol 8, p 173.

<sup>16</sup> See Proudhon's letters to Charles Edmond and to Herzen and the latter's reply in Raoul Labry's book *Herzen et Proudhon*, 1928, pp 142 sq., Works of Herzen, Lemke's edition, Vol 8, pp. 195 sq. Italics mine.

<sup>17</sup> Works of Herzen, Lemke's edition, Vol 8, p 188



great family of mankind. You are working for a European cause, a cause which belongs to humanity, a wise cause. Your work is good." <sup>18</sup>

What Victor Hugo called a European cause von Schelting calls panslavism. His judgment on Herzen—and the conclusions which he draws from it with regard to those who continued Herzen's cause—derive either from insufficient knowledge and lack of perspective or from deeply rooted bias.

\* \* \*

After having disposed of Herzen, von Schelting finds no difficulties in dealing with the entire Russian educated classes

According to him, the Russian aristocracy was completely Europeanised—hence Chaadayev's Europeanism, the slavophiles belonged to the middle landowning class which, having stopped halfway to Europeanisation, suffered from a kind of inferiority complex (!)—hence their opposition to Europe; least Europeanised of all were the members of the middle-class intelligentsia who, after having first embraced extreme westernism and then Western socialist doctrines, turned their backs on Europe—and thus the Russian Left "held out its hand to the slavophiles" (pp. 281-89). This last assertion appears many times in von Schelting's book with several variants. He goes even further than that. "The *genuine* Europeanism of Chaadayev and of educated persons of the class which he represented was almost killed in Russia in the second third of the 19th century by the force of the 'Asiatic' element" (p. 297). Then, in the second half of the 19th century a new intelligentsia has, according to von Schelting, gradually evolved which was of a "bourgeois stamp"; it "increasingly Europeanised itself in culture and manner of living" and united in itself "various shades of constitutional and democratic opinions"; but as regards the foreign policy this new intelligentsia also "often gave way to nationalist and panslavist emotions and thus was in no way 'European' minded." It was this last kind of intelligentsia which Russia possessed when she arrived at the first world war and the revolution of 1917. After the revolution, under the communist régime, there was an even "more massive eruption of the 'Asiatic' element into Russia" (pp. 298 sq.) All this is related by the author to the Russian "anti-Europeanism," which found expression in the continued existence of the specific Russian philosophy of history, i.e. slavophilism

Altogether, the reader who is versed in Russian history is at a complete loss as to the foundation for von Schelting's statements about the period since the Crimean war. For those statements are quite at variance with the facts.

We have seen how our author proved the panslavism of Herzen. But as regards the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century he does not even try to produce evidence. Had he tried he would certainly have failed to find any evidence whatsoever to prove the existence of "Asiatic" elements or "anti-Europeanism" among the

<sup>18</sup> Works of Herzen, Lemke's edition, Vol. 8, p. 174.

overwhelming majority of the Russian spiritual and intellectual figures. Moreover, as we shall show, "anti-Europeanism" was an impossibility in itself.

What von Schelting does not understand is that the controversy between slavophilism and westernism was merely a passing *literary* controversy and nothing more. In the dull and dreary reign of Nicholas I these polemics could drag on for years. But already by the time of the Crimean war this controversy, having no roots in the realities of Russian life, had simply died down.

In the second half of the 19th century both slavophilism and westernism were dead. Attempts by Ivan Aksakov, one of the surviving links with the old slavophilism, to resurrect the doctrine proved unsuccessful, and his literary and political activities amounted to no more than encouragement of an aggressively nationalist policy. The force which thereafter was from time to time appealing to Slav feelings was not slavophilism but nationalism, a phenomenon not unknown in some other European countries. This nationalism derived from foreign sources, mainly from the Germans but also (as in the case of Katkov) from such theorists of reaction as Joseph de Maistre. This nationalism had a certain influence on Russian foreign policy, but an influence which should not be exaggerated. As to panslavism, it was a doctrine the influence of which on public opinion was never great; and as for this expansionist doctrine, the only serious book which developed panslavist ideas, *Russia and Europe* by Danilevsky, in point of fact took all its main ideas from a work written not long before by a German historian.<sup>19</sup> But the result of the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-78 has disillusioned Danilevsky as to the vitality of panslavism. His follower Strakhov was soon all but hopeful. The reactionary Constantin Leontyev, who is also sometimes connected with panslavism, was simply a reactionary and nothing else. True, there remains still the great name of Dostoevsky—but Dostoevsky is too important a figure to be discussed in passing. This complicated character at some times preached nationalism, at others—as in his famous address in 1880 at the Pushkin festival in Moscow—conciliation and the unity of all nations.

These nationalist and panslavist theories—those of Dostoevsky not excepted—never enjoyed widespread popularity in Russia. They were never anything like so widespread or powerful as, for instance, in Germany. The main channel of Russian intellectual development had no points of contact either with slavophilism or with "anti-Europeanism." Westernism died simultaneously with slavophilism because western European thought and civilisation gradually became the element, the air in which it took place. For Russian philosophers, scientists and

<sup>19</sup> *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte in organischer Darstellung* von Heinrich Ruckert, Professor an der Universität zu Breslau, Leipzig, 1857—That this book was the source of Danilevsky's theories has been established beyond doubt by Vladimir Solovyov: see his *Works*, 2nd edition, Vol. 5, pp 320 sq

artists the question whether Russia should or should not be opposed to Western Europe did not even exist. To raise such a question in a philosophical, scientific or literary society would have been an absurdity. Even the Russian religious thinkers, such as Vladimir Solovyov, Berdyaev, Bulgakov, did not regard Russia as opposed to Western Europe, Solovyov struggled most actively against nationalism (which he characterised as "zoological") and panslavist fantasies. Not a single responsible Russian politician since political life began in Russia was "anti-European." Von Schelting may do right to disapprove of the negative attitude of the Russian socialists towards the "bourgeois" foundations of contemporary European civilisation, but he should remember that this negative attitude was in fact taken by the Russian socialists not from Asia but from Western and Central Europe.

Bias and mixing up study with politics have prevented von Schelting from making his book a serious contribution to the understanding of Russian intellectual development.

B. I. ELKIN.

*The Photian Schism, History and Legend.* By Francis Dvornik ;  
Cambridge University Press, 1948, 35s.

THE old-fashioned notion that the separation between the Eastern and Western Churches came about owing to a clear-cut schism in the time of the patriarch Photius, which was badly patched up and broke out again in the time of the Patriarch Cerularius, has recently been subjected to damaging criticism. The final word has still to be written about the schism of Cerularius; but in the meantime a series of Catholic scholars, such as Fathers Amann, Grumel and Juge and, above all, Professor Dvornik have reviewed the story of the Photian schism. Professor Dvornik's earlier books, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome* and *Les Légendes de Constantin et Methode vues de Byzance*, showed the direction in which he has been moving, and a series of shorter articles have further elucidated his views. Now in this important book he has given his full version of the story.

Professor Dvornik's vast erudition, his ingenious and inquiring mind and his remarkable freedom from religious prejudice combine to give his opinion great authority; and after reading this book few scholars will continue to maintain either that Photius was excommunicated by Pope John VIII or that the Council of 869-870, which had previously condemned him, was accepted by contemporaries in the West as Œcumenical. It is not an easy book to read. The subject is necessarily intricate, and the argument has to be followed closely and with care. Professor Dvornik sometimes assumes that his reader has an intimate knowledge of the period that is rare except in specialists. Nor is the marshalling of his evidence always clearly arranged. A chronological table would have been useful for less specialised readers. But the humanity of his outlook and occasional flashes of wit help to make its

study well worth while. Summarised very briefly, Professor Dvornik's arguments are as follows. Throughout Byzantine history two parties, the "Moderates" and the "Extremists," fought for control of the Church. The story opens with the Patriarchate of Ignatius, who fell into the Extremist camp. When Ignatius deposed the "Moderate" Archbishop of Syracuse, Gregory Asbestas, his friends appealed to Rome. The case remained some time *sub judice* there, because it was so important; and the Pope meanwhile suspended Asbestas. But in 858 Ignatius was involved in a plot against the government and was induced to abdicate, though he retracted later owing to the severe persecution of his followers. In December 858, a "Moderate" layman, Photius, was rushed through the stages of ordination and elected Patriarch, being consecrated bishop by Asbestas. After a delay of over a year, owing to the difficulty of winter communications between Rome and Byzantium, Photius sent his synodical letter to Rome, accompanied by a letter from the Emperor asking the Pope to send legates to a Council to clear up problems left over from the Iconoclastic controversy. The Pope, who now was Nicholas I, sent legates, ordering them at the same time to report on the circumstances of Photius's elevation, so that he could pronounce on it. At the Council of 861 the legates, at the Emperor's request, exceeded their instructions and acted as judges, confirming Photius's appointment. Nicholas accepted this till the arrival at Rome of the Ignatian "Extremist," Theognostos, who presented him with a garbled account of the Council; whereupon the Pope repudiated his legates' actions. Meanwhile a political quarrel arose between Rome and Constantinople over the control of the nascent church of Bulgaria. Boris of Bulgaria, eager to secure the greatest possible independence for his church, played off Rome and Constantinople against each other; and it was chiefly owing to the bitterness that this aroused that Nicholas in 863 held a synod in Rome that condemned Photius, and Photius in 867 held a Council that excommunicated Nicholas, denouncing amongst other things the addition of the *filioque* to the Creed, promulgated by German missionaries in Bulgaria and condoned by the Pope. This attack was, however, directed against Nicholas personally and not against the Roman See. Shortly afterwards the Emperor Michael III was murdered and succeeded by Basil I, who depended on the "Extremist" party and who therefore deposed Photius and reinstated Ignatius. Nicholas had died at the end of 867; and the new Pope, Hadrian II, at Basil's request, sent legates to Constantinople to judge the case at the Council of 869-870. The Pope demanded too severe a condemnation of Photius and only consented to recognise Ignatius on condition that his own rights to control the Bulgarian church were admitted. Owing to this intransigence, which the legates were afraid to modify, the Pope's wishes were not carried out. The Photianists were let off lightly; while the Oriental churches specifically declared that Bulgaria was in the Byzantine sphere. The Pope was therefore furious with Ignatius;

but negotiations were never broken off. Soon afterwards Basil brought about a reconciliation between Ignatius and Photius ; and when Ignatius died in 877 Photius was reinstated as Patriarch. Hadrian's successor, John VIII, had meanwhile agreed to send another legation to attend a Council at Constantinople, which arrived to find Photius installed. On the news the Pope instructed his legates to recognise Photius on condition that he apologised for past misdeeds to the Council and handed over Bulgaria. To smooth matters with the Emperor and to prevent his own humiliation, Photius altered the Pope's demands when translating them into Greek for the Council, though his alterations in no way affected the rights claimed by the Holy See. The Council then rehabilitated him, and it agreed to compromise with Rome over the Bulgarian church. It was only Boris of Bulgaria's refusal to readmit Roman suzerainty that prevented the compromise from being carried out. However disappointed the Pope may have been at the outcome of the Council, he and his successors remained on good terms with Photius till the Patriarch was dismissed by the Emperor Leo VI on his accession. Certainly neither John nor any of his successors excommunicated Photius. But in Constantinople the extreme Ignatians remained in schism till 899. There was, however, no synod that year to heal the breach caused by an excommunication of Photius. It was only due to their misinterpretation of a passage in the *Kleterologion*, referring in reality to the synod of 906-907, that historians have invented one. But, about the year 892, one of the ultra-Ignatians, probably Nicetas David the Paphlagonian, sent to Rome a dossier of anti-Photian documents, with which was included Nicetas's *Life of Ignatius*. This Anti-Photian Collection was compiled of documents that had been severely doctored or partially forged, in order to discredit Photius with the Roman authorities. It forms the basis of the later attack on the memory of Photius by the Western Church, having been accepted as authentic history in the late 16th century by Baronius. Meanwhile the anti-Photian Council of 869-870 had been raised to the rank of an Œcumenical Council by the Canonists of the late 11th century, who found in its Acts so many arguments that suited them. Ivo of Chartres rather diffidently called it the Eighth Œcumenical Council, and its Œcumenicity was later given the authoritative support of Gratian. The arbitrary importance thus given to the Council naturally damaged the reputation of Photius. Similarly in the Eastern Church Photius was not regarded at first as a protagonist of Orthodoxy against Rome. But, after the Schism between the Churches was well-established and Photius was being attacked from the Roman side, he began to feature as an opponent of Rome ; and in the 14th century in some anti-Latin circles the Photian Council of 879-880 was raised to Œcumenical rank. In more recent times the works of Cardinal Hergenrother and the Eastern reaction against them have fixed Photius as a hero of Greek Christendom against Roman autocracy.

This summary cannot do justice to the details of Professor Dvornik's arguments nor to the care and ingenuity with which he has collected his evidence. That he is right in his main contention cannot, I think, now be disputed; and his account of the later développements of the case, the series of accidents through which Photius was transformed into the arch-enemy of Rome, is entirely convincing. But, while accepting his thesis, the reader is left with an uncomfortable fear that he proves too much, especially in his account of the history of Photius himself. There are too many rhetorical questions, too many ascriptions of motive and reaction, too much special pleading. In many cases this is obviously justified, but there is not a sufficient atmosphere of objectivity to give complete confidence. Professor Dvornik is determinedly charitable. There is not a villain in his story, except perhaps Cardinal Hergenrother and a few Ignatian extremists. He will not listen to scandal. He follows Professor Grégoire in turning the Emperor Michael III into a *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* and (against clear evidence) turns the Cæsar Bardas into a kindly and affectionate family man. He does not share Gibbon's sage opinion that "calumny is more prone to exaggerate than to invent." Indeed, his 9th-century Byzantines are so apt to behave like reasonable 18th-century liberals that the cruelties of Bardas against the Ignatians, which he admits, or even Photius's own words and actions in 867 come as a discordant shock. Professor Dvornik is moreover inclined to use words that give rather more of a nuance than might sometimes be justified. If a Byzantine dignitary writes courteously to the Pope, he is apt to say that the letter is written with respect; which is not always the same thing. There is again a great difference between "wishes" and "will" as a translation of the Latin *voluntas*. It would be useful to have more of the less accessible texts quoted in the original language. No one with less erudition than Professor Dvornik can hope to check up his references, but on one or two occasions he seems to overstrain their meaning. For instance, he says that the two "anonymous" treatises against the Azymites published by Leib (which now can be ascribed with certainty to Symeon of Jerusalem and John of Antioch) "display unvaried deference to the Latins." Both are in fact firm attacks on Latin practices, the one courteous enough but the other bitter in tone. It is hard to see where the deference comes in. Or, again, he expresses surprise that Liudprand in his *Antapodosis* makes no mention of Photius, in view of his "malevolence" against the Greeks. But Liudprand when he wrote the *Antapodosis* was favourably impressed by Byzantium. His malevolence only dates from his disastrous embassy to Nicephorus II, considerably later on. These points are unimportant and, indeed, unnecessary to the case that Professor Dvornik is proving; but the inaccuracy of their colouring gives a disquieting effect.

There are several occasions on which Professor Dvornik seems too ready with his conclusions. I do not think that he has completely

won his case against Father Grumel over the relations between Photius and the Popes Marinus and Formosus; which certainly were not as amicable as he claims. His explanation and justification of the Papal legates' behaviour in 861 seems more ingenious than probable. They undoubtedly accepted a circumscription of their authority by the Emperor and the Council, in sitting as judges in the Council instead of referring the matter over the head of the Council to Rome. Pope Nicholas I's annoyance with them is intelligible. He cannot have been so foolish as to take violent action on an unsupported report from Theognostos. Again, to maintain that Photius's attack on Nicholas was directed against the Pope's person and not his See is to draw a distinction that would hardly have occurred even to the subtle mind of the Patriarch. Nor am I convinced that Photius's readiness to compromise with John VIII over the Bulgarian Church in 880 was as disingenuous as Professor Dvornik implies. Boris's aims were well-known to Photius, whose interest in Slavonic studies suggests that he was fully prepared for the actual turn of events.

Professor Dvornik's fundamental difficulty concerns the primacy of the Roman See. In his anxiety to rehabilitate Photius in Catholic eyes he tries to give the impression that the Patriarch continually respected this primacy; but he never clearly faces the crude question: does primacy mean primacy within the pentarchy of Patriarchs or does it mean supremacy? The former theory was acceptable to most Byzantines but the latter only to a few malcontents in opposition; and it is this Roman claim for supremacy that makes the union of the Churches so impossible today. It is difficult to cite a single statement by a responsible Byzantine, however ready he may be to acknowledge Roman primacy, that does not place the authority of a Council of the whole Church over that of the Roman see. Rome may state her views; but the Council must endorse them before they are accepted. And the Council is summoned by the Emperor as head of the Church. The trouble in 861 was that the Papal legates were persuaded to allow the Council to have the last word and not to refer the case on to Rome. But within the limits of the Council's authority, the Byzantine attitude towards Rome was variable and often illogical. The opposition might make appeals to Rome in order to embarrass the Emperor or the Patriarch; the Emperor might flatter Rome for the sake of some Italian policy. It was all part of the political game, permissible because the Byzantines did not take Rome very seriously. They could not respect a city that was so far inferior in civilisation and wealth than their own, and they regarded its bishops' claims as pretentious. The canons of the Council of Sardica, which, it must be remembered, took place before the see of Constantinople was raised to Patriarchal rank, were only accepted with reservations by the Byzantine Church. The canon permitting appeals to Rome was sometimes quoted, but only by the opposition, to annoy the authorities. That is the light in which Photius's actions

towards Rome must be seen. Sometimes he was deferential towards the Holy See, at other times frankly aggressive, and his attitude depended on his political needs of the moment. To try to father on him a consistent policy of respect towards the Roman primacy is to misunderstand the Byzantine point of view. I think that the tendency of modern historians, including Professor Dvornik, to label the parties in Byzantine politics with names like "Moderates" on the one hand and "Extremists," "Reactionaries" or "Radicals" on the other leads to misunderstanding. Greek politics have always centred round persons rather than round programmes. There was usually in the Church an Erastian party supporting the Emperor and an opposition; but the only regular consistency is provided by the opposition's determination unflinchingly and often unscrupulously to oppose.

Though Professor Dvornik has proved completely the non-existence of the Second Photian Schism, I doubt if he has succeeded in turning Photius into a saint that the Roman Church can acknowledge, despite his strictures on Pope Nicholas I (which he always, rather embarrassedly, follows with a tribute to the great Pope's high character). But the criticism that his enthusiasm has perhaps led him too far and that he has over-coloured some of his evidence and produced some exaggerated conclusions in no way detracts from the essential value of his book. Its combination of wide learning with a humane and sympathetic outlook makes it a pleasure to discover his opinions; and if he exaggerates, it is due to the eagerness of his enthusiasm. At the same time, the truth and the importance of his main theses are beyond question; and the whole book demands and deserves careful study. For it is without a doubt the most impressive and interesting contribution made of recent years to Byzantine and Papal church history.

STEVEN RUNCIMAN. \*

*Magistri Iohannis Hus Quodlibet Disputationis de Quolibet Pragaë in Facultate Artium Mense Ianuario Anni 1411 habitae Enchiridion.*  
Edidit Bohumil Ryba; Pragaë 1948, Orbis, 240 pp.

VERBAL disputation was pre-eminently the vehicle of education in the mediæval universities. Books, parchment and paper were scarce and dear, and therefore students were accustomed to read aloud, to learn by heart, and to consolidate what they read and heard in weekly disputations with their teachers and with each other, and their worthiness for licence and degree was tested by their ability to expound and defend *quaestiones* propounded by their examiners. The skill and delight in verbal tourney thus acquired found its annual consummation in those mighty feasts of university dialectic known as Quodlibets. Every year the university would elect one of its members to open the festival by expounding any theme he pleased (*quodlibet*), he would be followed in the course of several days' continuous oratory by his colleagues, usually



in the order of their seniority as masters of arts, each propounding a prescribed thesis.

These Quodlibets were often the occasion for the display not only of much metaphysical and moral learning, but also of much logical ingenuity and ponderous wit, spiced with a number of esoteric academic jokes. The most notable of all the Prague Quodlibets was that of Mathias Knín in 1409, which was attended not only by everyone of importance in the City and Court but by the ambassador of the Duke of Brabant and all his train. It was made the occasion of a demonstration of the Czech reformers against the conservative German masters, and it was concluded by Jerome of Prague's justly famous defence of the liberal arts.

In the beautifully printed and execrably bound volume here under review, edited in most scholarly fashion by Professor Ryba, we have the text of the handbook of the Quodlibet of two years later, when Jan Hus was quodlibetarius. It is not, alas, a record of what was said at the festival, but an Enchiridion drawn up beforehand by Hus in which he sets out the speakers, their qualifications, the themes they are to discuss, and in most cases the arguments for and against their theses. The actual *posiciones* or speeches made by the participant masters have in some cases been preserved in other manuscripts, but have not been reproduced in this volume, which is therefore chiefly valuable for the light it throws on the mind and thought of Hus himself.

In this respect the book is of great interest, first because of its date. Hus was appointed quodlibetarius by the University on 21 June, after both Stephen of Pálež and Simon of Tišnov had declined the honour; the Quodlibet was celebrated in January 1411. This means that it all happened within eighteen months of the departure of the German masters from Prague as a result of the decree of Kutná Hora, and at a time when the Czech reforming masters were engaged in a bitter quarrel with Archbishop Zbyněk and his fellow enemies of the Prague Wyclifites. The quodlibet thus stands as a manifesto of the reformers against their conservative opponents, Czech and German, and as a defiance to the archbishop who had recently secured a decree from Pope Alexander V limiting the freedom of preaching in Prague and a sentence of excommunication from Cardinal Colonna against Hus himself (20 December 1409 and 25 August 1410).

The fact that Hus again and again quotes Wyclif verbatim, though never by name, in the Quodlibet, and that he here bases his whole exposition of the right of the secular prince to confiscate the property of unworthy priests on Wyclif's *de Civili Domino* is yet another indication of Hus's determination to defy archbishop and Curia alike.

The list of those who are announced in the Enchiridion as participants also indicates how ready were the Czech (and Polish) masters in the Faculty to support him in this defiance. Amongst them was the Dean, Master Peter of Polic, to whom he assigned the very Wyclifite theme of "whether every contingent event takes place of necessity";

Hus's friend and coadjutor M. Christian of Prachatice, who alone amongst the parish priests of Prague had refused to publish the bull of excommunication and who was for a time imprisoned at Constance as one who favoured communion in both kinds for the laity, had to examine the question "whether a skilled geometer can determine lengths, breadths, heights, depths and distances by geometrical instruments"; Stephen of Pálec, at this time still one of the protagonists of Wyclifitism but later one of the foremost of Hus's opponents and accusers at Constance, was given as his thesis the question "whether God, who created the world in the first instant of time, could have produced it earlier, and whether he could give the power of creation to another." It is significant that Stephen's exposition of this theme, with its dangerous discussion of the creative function of the priest in the Mass, was printed by Rudolf Beer as a work of Wyclif himself.

The interesting question of "whether those who are noble by birth are more noble than those who are noble in conduct" was assigned to the future historian of the Hussite wars, M. Laurence of Březova. Zdeněk of Labouň, secretary to King Wenceslas who made him rector of the University when the German rector refused to surrender the insignia of his office in 1409, and who was imprisoned and tortured by the archbishop's court, had to discourse on the planets and their influence on human affairs. Jacobellus of Štříbro, leader of the second generation of Hussites, the true spiritual successor of Hus, and the protagonist of communion in both kinds for the laity, had the theme "whether the supreme ruler can be impeded in the execution of his mandate by any lesser ruler." When Jacobellus came to expound this topic he made it the occasion to deplore the way in which the laws of man were being exalted above the laws of God and to upbraid the Church of his day for giving undue emphasis to the use of relics and images.

Another eminent Wyclifite who participated was M. Simon of Tišnov who had distinguished himself in the great debate of 1410 by his acid and contemptuous defence of Wyclif's *de propositionibus*. Because of his "jocund face, lovely smile and clear voice" Hus chose him to expound the not very obviously jocund theme of "whether God knows that every true proposition is invariably true."

Others of Hus's faction who participated were his fellow preacher at the Bethlehem chapel, M. Nicholas of Miličín, M. Prokop of Plzeň, who in his eloquent defence of Wyclif's *de Ideis* had challenged those who had burnt Wyclif's books to a public disputation, Hus's high-born and favourite pupil, M. Zdislav of Zvířetice, and finally Hus's fellow martyr, the enthusiastic and eloquent M. Jerome of Prague, of whom the Enchiridion records that "he most subtly and eloquently expounded the immensity of primal being and the worthy participation of creatures therein."

There is one other reason why we should be grateful for the publication of this Enchiridion. Following the example of the promotorial addresses

of M. Jenko of Prague in 1387 and M. Nicholas of Litomyšl in 1392, Hus equates each of the masters who were to take part in his Quodlibet with one of the ancient philosophers, giving in most cases his reason for coupling the two names together, sometimes with more ingenuity than fidelity to his authorities. For example, Socrates is represented by the Rector of the University, Plato by Peter of Polc, Thales by Peter Koněprus, Euclid by Christian of Prachatice, Isocrates by Stephen of Pálec, Plutarch, appropriately enough for a future historian, by Laurence of Březova, Empedocles by Jacobellus, Themistocles, whom Hus calls "Remistocles," by Michael Čížek, and so on. Of the 66 masters, 54 have some Greek or Roman worthy associated with them. This is itself interesting enough as a symptom of the dawning interest in the classics. But even more interesting is the fact that the source of the description and anecdotes which Hus attaches to the name of each of the philosophers is the *de Vita et Moribus Philosophorum* of the famous English commentator on Aristotle, Walter Burley, once upon a time a member of Merton College. It is true that Hus does not quote him directly, but through Nicholas of Litomyšl. Nevertheless, this feature of Hus's Enchiridion demonstrates yet another link connecting the reform movement in Bohemia with England and Oxford.

R. R. BETTS

*Russia and Europe, 1789-1825.* By A. A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, Duke University Press, 1947, pp. xviii and 448, \$5.00.

IN *Russia and Europe, 1789-1825*, Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky has set himself the aim of "presenting an over-all picture of the role of Russia during a crisis in European history . . ." He tells us in his Foreword that "up to very recent times Russian historians have shown little interest in the field of Russia's foreign relations," that "Russia's role in Europe has been dealt with mainly within the framework of general European histories," and that even the monumental works of Sorel and Vandal "necessarily leave out many side issues . . . relevant to a complete understanding of Russia's foreign policy." It is "this gap" which *Russia and Europe* is intended to fill, and the author hopes that, however inadequate, it "will stimulate further interest in a field the importance of which cannot be overestimated." The blurb adds that "the book aims to be useful to the advanced college student or to anyone interested in Russian, general European, or diplomatic history."

It might have been thought that for a pioneer work of this kind the author would have made full and careful use of the researches of every Russian historian who has written seriously about Russia's external relations during the Napoleonic period. But although Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky fills five pages with his bibliography, he overlooks a number of important pre-revolutionary Russian works and does not refer to even one Soviet writer. For example, for Suvorov's campaigns he seems to have relied almost exclusively on W. L. Blease's *Suvorov* (New York,

1920), without consulting basic Russian sources such as А. Петрушевский : *Генералиссимус Князь Суворов* (СПБ., 1900) ; Д. А. Милютин : *История Войны 1799 года* (СПБ., 1857) ; and Н. Орлов : *Разбор Военных Действий Суворова в Италии в 1799 году* (СПБ., 1892). Among the other important pre-revolutionary books on military matters which he appears to have ignored are А. И. Михайловский-Данилевский : *Описание первой войны Императора Александра с Наполеоном в 1805 г.* (СПБ., 1844), and *Описание второй войны Императора Александра с Наполеоном в 1806 и 1807 гг.* (СПБ., 1846) ; А. Н. Петров : *Война России с Турцией, 1806-1812 гг.* (СПБ., 1885-1887) ; and the relevant volumes of А. С. Гришинекий, В. П. Никольский, и Н. Л. Кладов : *История Русской Армии и Флота* (М., 1911-1913). It is strange that he should also have ignored every Soviet work on the period. Surely he must have heard of Е. В. Тарле : *Нашествие Наполеона на Россию* (М., 1938, 1943) ; К. Осипов : *Суворов* (М., 1939, 1944) ; К. В. Пигарев : *Заветы Суворова* (1943), and *Солдат-Полководец. Очерки о Суворове* (1944) ; and А. Н. Голубов : *Генерал Багратион. Сборник документов и материалов* (1945). On diplomatic relations the bibliography is more satisfactory. But even here it leaves out important works by pre-revolutionary Russian historians: for example, С. Соловьев : *Александр I Политика-Дипломатия* (СПБ., 1877) ; А. Н. Попов : *Сношения России с европейскими державами перед войной 1812* (СПБ., 1876 ; М., 1905), S Tatistcheff : *Alexandre I et Napoléon, 1801-1812* (Paris, 1891) ; and Grand-Duc Nicolas Mikhailowitch : *Les Relations Diplomatiques de la Russie et de la France d'après les rapports des ambassadeurs d'Alexandre et de Napoléon, 1808-1812* (St. Pbg, 1905-1908). Two non-Russian books which might have been referred to with advantage are E. Gachot : *Les Campagnes de 1799. Souwarow en Italie* (Paris, 1903), and P. F. Shupp : *The European Powers and the Near Eastern Question, 1806-7* (Columbia, 1931).

*Russia and Europe* concentrates almost entirely on military affairs and diplomacy and has little to say about trade in spite of its importance for Russia's relations with both Britain and France. The military sections sometimes contain material which will be new to the ordinary student if not to the specialist. But in general they tend to bewilder the reader by their mass of detail about the movements of armies from one country to another during campaigns and of units of armies from one strong point to another during battles. Nor does Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky provide any map or plan to help the reader keep his bearings. It is hard to imagine the type of student who will read military history of this kind with any real pleasure or profit, and it is a pity that the author did not see fit to economise on the tedious details of troop movements and write at length on the organisation, training, equipment, etc. of the Russian armies which fought and defeated the armies of Napoleon.

The treatment of diplomatic relations also leaves much to be desired. Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky tries hard to strike and maintain a proper

relationship between the Russian foreground and the European background. But his ambitions outrun his craftsmanship, and his description of the European background fluctuates between being too sketchy and too detailed. He is also guilty of some serious omissions and mis-statements and is surprisingly careless in his summaries of the terms of treaties and diplomatic exchanges. For example, his account of the negotiations at Tilsit (pp. 154-59) completely ignores the Tsar's efforts to advance the Russian frontier between Grodno and the Bug to the line of the Bobr and Narew rivers. Napoleon refused to agree because the river line which Alexander was proposing would have brought the Russian frontier to within sight of Warsaw, and in the end the Tsar had to be satisfied with limited territorial gains round Bialystok. Similarly, the reader is not told that the Tsar failed to take advantage of Napoleon's readiness to cede the Memel district which would have brought the Russian frontier in the area southwards to the river Niemen. On pages 156, 157-58, and again on page 189 Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky asserts that at Tilsit Prussia lost all of her Polish possessions, which were used to create the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. But if he had examined the partitions of Poland and the terms of the Tilsit agreements more carefully, he would have seen that Prussia was allowed to keep most of the Polish territory which she had taken under the first partition, though she lost all the territory which she had gained in the second and third partitions.

The account of the problem of Galicia in 1809 is equally misleading and will certainly confuse the ordinary student. On pages 188-89 the author says that under the treaty of Vienna of 1809 Austria ceded Galicia to Napoleon who added the whole of it to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw except for the Tarnopol district which he gave to Russia. But he forgets to distinguish between new or western Galicia, which was Austria's name for the Polish territory acquired under the third partition, and Galicia proper which she took under the first partition. In 1809 Napoleon made Austria surrender the whole of western Galicia which went to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. He also took a very small area across the Vistula opposite Cracow and the much larger Zamość district east of the Vistula from Galicia proper and added them to the Grand Duchy. At the same time, he allowed Russia to take the Tarnopol and Zaleszczyki districts, also from Galicia proper. But even after these losses, Austria still retained the major part of Galicia proper, not without the blessing of the Tsar who had been afraid that Napoleon intended to add all of it to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The result of Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky's over-simplified and confused treatment of the Galician problem in 1809 is to cloud the reader's understanding of the Polish-Saxon problem which proved such a thorny and dangerous issue just before and during the Congress of Vienna. On page 351 it is implied that the powers were unable to agree on a solution of the Polish-Saxon problem at Vienna until Napoleon's return from Elba made them sink their differences in a common fear. But, as Professor C. K. Webster has shown in *The Congress*

of Vienna (London, 1934, p. 119), the powers had reached an acceptable compromise by the beginning of February 1815, and it was simply the signing of the detailed agreements embodying the compromise which followed Napoleon's return from Elba. As part of the settlement Alexander restored the Galician districts which Russia had acquired from Austria in 1809, though *Russia and Europe* is silent on this point. Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky is also misreading the evidence in implying, as on page 370, that the Tsar was basing himself on the Holy Alliance when he thought of common action by the European states in the years immediately following the Vienna settlement. Such documents as the Russian *Mémoire Confidentiel* of 8 October 1818 make it clear beyond doubt that even though Alexander attached great weight to the Holy Alliance he regarded it as only one element in the whole complex of treaties which constituted the peace settlement and which, in his view, ought to form the basis of "a new order" in Europe.

It would be tedious to list all the many errors of detail in the summaries of treaties and diplomatic exchanges. They include omissions, additions, mis-statements, and even mistakes in the numbering of articles and in page references. For example, on page 22 the reader is told that by the Anglo-Russian treaty of December 1798 England agreed to pay Russia "75,000 pounds per month for the duration of the war." But what the treaty really said (art. 4) was that England would pay £75,000 a month for twelve months unless peace was made in the meantime, and that if the war continued longer than a year the two powers would agree before the year expired whether England was to prolong the subsidy. On page 71 Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky refers to a Franco-Russian "peace convention of October 8, 1801 in which it was stipulated that France and Russia would act in concert with regard to the affairs of Germany, Sardinia, and the Holy See." But the date of the treaty should be 10 October not 8 October. It is true that the two Powers signed an agreement on 8 October. But it was a general treaty which contained no reference to Germany, Sardinia, or the Holy See. Further, the treaty of 10 October provided for concerted action in the affairs of Italy as a whole, not merely in the affairs of Sardinia and the Holy See. The account of the Anglo-Russian treaty of April 1805 on page 83 is also muddled. Article 1 is confused with article 2, and the "general European union" referred to was not to be achieved, as stated, by obtaining "the evacuation of Hanover and of north Germany by the French," etc. On the contrary, the evacuation of Hanover and of north Germany by the French, etc. was intended to be achieved by the proposed European league. The maximum number of troops which Russia was to put into the field was fixed at 180,000 and not 190,000 as stated on page 84. On page 89 when dealing with the Austro-Russian convention of November 1804 Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky says that "Russia and Austria pledged each other aid should Germany or any adjacent territories, including Naples, be attacked by Napoleon." But Napoleon already had troops in parts of

Germany and Naples, and what the Austro-Russian convention was meant to provide against was any attempt to extend the territories which these troops were holding. If the French government used their hold in Germany to invade adjacent territories, the integrity and independence of which were closely linked with Russian interests, and if the Tsar sent Russian forces to aid these territories, Austria was to come to Russia's immediate help. On page 90 the reader is told that under the treaty Russia guaranteed Austrian acquisitions in Italy. But article 12 contained the important qualification that Austria's acquisitions in Italy were not to extend beyond the Adda in the west and the Po in the centre. The summary of the treaty also leaves out the important article 5 which laid down that if either Austria or Russia became engaged in war with France through a French attack on European Turkey, the other would at once come to its assistance in order to uphold the Porte in its existing territorial possessions.

The account of the treaty of Potsdam on page 93 is similarly inaccurate. It asserts that "the King of Sardinia was to be compensated either by territorial acquisition of Genoa, Piacenza, Parma, and other small states, or by financial recompense." But article 2 of the treaty defines four possible territorial areas to be given to the King of Sardinia in compensation for his losses and makes no mention of financial recompense as an alternative to territory. It is also inaccurate to say that under the Treaty of Potsdam the terms to be offered to France by the Prussian mediator were to be valid up to 15 December. Under article 7 Prussia's negotiations with France were to be concluded within a month of the date of the Prussian mediator's departure to Napoleon's headquarters, which was to take place immediately. As it turned out, the Prussian envoy delayed his departure for nearly a fortnight until 14 November, which meant that the terms offered to France remained valid until 15 December. But this was the result of Prussian dilatoriness and caution rather than the intention of the treaty. Prussia also pledged herself to enter the war under certain circumstances with 180,000 men and not with 80,000 as stated on page 94. Further errors and mis-statements of the same kind occur on pages 124, 158, 182, 201, 245, 370, 372, 373, 378, 382, 392 and elsewhere.

It is most regrettable that Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky is so careless in the examination of his material. He cannot be relied on even to translate and quote correctly. For example, on page 370, he refers to a "confidential memoir" sent by Russia to the powers, and goes on:

"In this remarkable document Alexander . . . went on to say that the association of states under the Holy Alliance 'has assured the inestimable advantages of civil order and the inviolability of persons and institutions. It has consecrated and guaranteed everywhere, legitimacy *ab antiqua*, and recognised by the treaties now in force the territorial possessions of every state. In order to maintain

this end, the principle of a general coalition must be established and developed by further eventual action.'"

The author does not give the date of this "confidential memoir" or the source from which he took it. But it is almost certainly the "mémoire confidentiel" of 8 October 1818, printed on pp. 832-42 of volume 119 of the *Sbornik* of the Imperial Russian Historical Society (St. Petersburg, 1904). On page 834 of the *Sbornik* we find the following.

"L'Europe est donc en paix. Son système est une association générale... Ce système... assure à l'association des Etats les avantages inestimables de l'ordre civil, *l'inviolabilité des personnes et des choses* consacrant et garantissant partout la légitimité *ab antiquo* ou reconnue par des traités en vigueur, et l'état de possession territoriale de chaque puissance. Il en est de ce système comme de la vérité Une fois reconnue et gravée dans le cœur des hommes, son pouvoir est fondé pour toujours"

This is presumably the original of the passage quoted in translation on page 370 of *Russia and Europe*, and if the reader compares the original with the translation he will be able to take his own measure of Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky's accuracy and fidelity to his sources.

With the material in the Russian archives obviously inaccessible, it would have been wrong to hope for an original study on a period so thoroughly explored by historians as the period of the Napoleonic Wars and the Vienna Settlement. The most that could be expected was a synthesis of the chief secondary authorities, re-examined from the angle of Russian policy and supplemented by a careful survey of primary sources available in print. A study of this kind could have been extremely valuable, and Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky deserves full credit for deciding to undertake it. At times, as in his account of Russian policy in the Polish problem and in the Ionian Isles and the Adriatic, he has much to say that the ordinary student will find useful and new. But the undoubted merit of some parts of his work only makes it a greater pity that he should have undermined confidence in the value of other parts through not consulting certain important primary and secondary sources and through imperfectly understanding and carelessly handling others. Clearly, the students whom he wishes to stimulate to further interest in the subject will have to use *Russia and Europe* with the greatest caution.

G. H. BOLSOVER.

*Russky yazyk. Grammaticheskoe uchenie o slove.* By V. V. Vinogradov, Gosudarstvennoe Uchebno-Pedagogicheskoe Izdatel'stvo Ministerstva Prosvetchsheniya RSFSR., Moscow-Leningrad, 1947, pp. 784, diagrams.

THE first edition of this monumental treatise appeared as *Sovremenny russky yazyk* ("Contemporary Russian") in 1938, in two ill-assorted



parts, of which the first contained a critical survey of Russian linguistic scholarship. The second edition—the work under review—is explicitly a scrupulous revision and expansion of this, no less than a third of the text having been completely rewritten to do justice to modifications introduced into the author's attitude by the pressure of new material and of recently advanced views. Vinogradov tells us that it also reflects the findings of his own still unpublished "Historical Lexicology of Russian."

Accepting lexicology and syntax as the two semantic facets of linguistic study, Vinogradov divides his material into two parts and devotes his first volume to a grammatical analysis of the lexeme in its categories, reserving the data of syntax for a later volume. Characteristic of his method is the preliminary accumulation of illustrative matter, from the analysis of which he then proceeds to elicit his theses *a posteriori*. This method sets him at loggerheads with those investigators who prefer to construct hypotheses on a minimum of fact, and he complains of the multiplication of "general disquisitions on grammar" instead of "reasoned grammatical characterisations" epitomising careful documentation.

*Russky yazyk* is a tribute to conscientious scholarship, though even in its revised form it is not without defects, among them occasional *lacunæ* and lapses, and imprecision in the *apparatus criticus* (e.g. pp. 45-47). The author's standpoint as well as his references to predecessors in the text of the book and in the profuse footnotes show that he has been influenced chiefly by Potebnya, Peshkovsky, Shakhmatov, and Shcherba—a line of scholars opposed to the narrow formalism of Fortunatov and his School. But Vinogradov is not entirely partisan and appears to be willing to accept the ruling of the Formalists where it is not altogether at variance with his own preconceived scheme of lexicological analysis. The influence of Potebnya and Shakhmatov, whose grammatical acumen the author frankly admires, is further attested by numerous quotations, Peshkovsky's judgments are less evident; and Shcherba is invoked as a revered master with an inevitably more modern outlook than the other three. Shcherba's acquaintance with Western, notably French linguistic scholarship is another bond between the two grammarians, for Vinogradov's documentation covers a wide and appreciative reading of works by West European authorities on language, ranging from Steinthal (Potebnya's master) to Saussure, Sapir, Hjelmslev, and members of the Prague Linguistic Circle. A concrete example of Western influence may be seen in the diagram illustrating the Russian system of tenses (p. 544), which our author has incorporated from G. Guillaume's *Temps et verbe* (Paris, 1929).

Vinogradov has planned his book as a detailed and consecutive analysis of the parts of speech, whose reality outside the syntactic pattern he accepts as a fundamental principle. "In a language of the Russian type (he says) there are no lexical meanings which are not grammatically formulated and classified. The concept of an amorphous

word cannot be applied to contemporary Russian." This quotation defines Russian as a largely flexional language and simultaneously illustrates a peculiarity of Vinogradov's style, shared by Mechchaninov's (see S.E.E.R. No. 66, 1947), viz. repetition by variation, which accounts in part for the unwieldy character of the book. The influence of linguistic psychology may be seen in the statement that a word (lexeme) possesses not merely grammatical and lexical meaning, but an affective aura. This is in keeping with Georg von der Gabelentz's dictum: "Man expresses in language not merely this thing or that, but himself," and Vinogradov draws "emotional colour" from the human environment.

In a preliminary survey of the word our author distinguishes four grammatical-semantic categories. (1) denominatives or "full words," which comprise all the principal categories of meaning, including noun, pronoun, and verb; (2) connectives, which Potebnya calls "form words" and Fortunatov particles; (3) extragrammatical "modal" words (*modal'nyje slova*), which introduce an emotional element into the sentence; and (4) interjections, which resemble the modal words, are more like expressive gestures than word-labels, and constitute, in some sort, "equivalents of sentences." The morphological conception of the word, advanced in Russian by Fortunatov and his followers, discriminated between formal and formless, defining the first in terms of flexion and word-formation. This was also the standpoint of traditional Classical grammar, and Vinogradov rejects it to emphasise the concept of grammatical category. The Russian parts of speech, whose effective number has varied with individual taste, from a minimum of two to a maximum of twenty, are listed as five parts (viz. noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, and "category of state") and four particles (viz. particles proper, connectives or "particle-ties," prepositions, and conjunctions), and these subdivisions are illustrated by two diagrams (pp. 43-44), which use line and circle to give geometrical form to the Russian grammatical scheme. Examination of the diagrams shows the nouns subdivided into substantive, adjective, and numeral, all three placed in morphological relationship to the adverb and, with this, to the category of state. Pronouns are described as vestigial and represented as detached from vitalising contact with the other parts of speech. The verb is shown in opposition to the noun and connected with it morphologically through the secondary channel of the participle. The link between verb and adverb is provided by the gerund.

The bulk of *Russky yazyk* is devoted to a competent and close analysis of the various grammatical categories in an order slightly different from that in which the diagram on p. 44 arranges them. The parts of speech, placed between the foci of substantive and verb, are followed by the particles and these by the modal words and interjections. The substantive, as the nucleus of the nominal complex, and its "antipodes" the verb are given greater prominence than the rest, but even modal words and interjections are not summarily dismissed, and share

in the wealth of illustrative matter which Vinogradov has assiduously accumulated.

The Russian substantive, like the adjective, expresses the grammatised notional categories of gender, number, and case, but there is a fundamental difference between substantive and adjective in this respect: to the substantive their value is entirely semantic, to the adjective merely syntactic, i.e. flowing from the needs of concord. All three concepts are "organically" associated with the objective meaning of a substantive, and their collective morphemes are a simultaneous grammatical "realisation" of all three. Gender is not simply a triangular relationship of masculine, feminine, and neuter, but an articulate system, in which the masculine, as the animate and personal gender, is pivotal and opposed, on the one hand, to the feminine, and on the other, in alliance with the feminine, to the neuter. The difference between the notion of animate gender and that of personal gender resides in an emphasis on form rather than meaning (e.g. the use of the genitive-accusative in the masc. sing.). The concept of number attains its most decisive expression in the plural, the less emphatic dual surviving only as an historical relic in "petrified" case-forms, which are mostly indistinguishable from the singular. The system of declension is dominated by gender, and the existing formal types are easily brought under a limited number of rubrics. The case-endings inherited from the hypothetical Indo-European are insufficient to express the multiplicity of possible case-relations without formal ambiguity. Each case-form is consequently charged with a variety of meanings, and prepositions and verbal prefixes have been called in to refine and discriminate. The association of case-ending and preposition has grown in intricacy and extent since Old Russian times, and to-day "the forms and functions of the cases are correlated with the grammatical system of prepositions." Here, as in many other domains of grammar, is a symptom of the analytical tendency of Russian, which however still retains numerous case-forms and has not attained the simplicity of Bulgarian declension.

In contrast to the substantive, which is grammatically autonomous, the adjective is a dependent category, almost completely subject to the substantive. The Russian adjectival case-system pivots on the generic suffixes (viz. *-yj/-yj*, *-aja/-jaja*, *-oje/-jeje*), which exhibit mainly pronominal affinities. Semi-nominal types, like the possessives in *-ov* and *-in*, are more limited, and the short forms of the adjective are now confined to predicative usage. The adjective of quality has grown by leaps and bounds since the 18th century, and emphasis on this adjective is as typically modern as its absence was in pre-Petrine Russia. Demonstrative adjectives are clearly in touch with pronouns and constitute a specialised formal group, with an exclusively semantic bias. The ordinal numerals are connected, both root and meaning, with the numeral subdivision of nouns, but fit smoothly into the characteristic paradigm of adjectival flexion.

The third nominal category—the numeral—has basic cardinal forms, which diverge from other nouns through their indifference to gender from *tri* upwards and the formal identity of masculine and neuter in the gender of *dva/dve*. But the idiosyncrasy of the numeral category is not limited to its attitude to gender: number also in the ordinary sense is not expressed, but instead we have arithmetical sequence and precision, except among the pronominal indefinites. The case-system of the numerals, apart from *odin*, *tysjača*, *million*, etc., is singularly defective: the number of forms is restricted, and either of two orders of declension, i.e. singular or plural, is followed (cf. *pjat'* and *desjat'* with *dva*, *tri*, *četyre*). The absence of concord in complex forms gives the numerals an agglutinative character (e.g. *tysjača-pjat'sot-tridcat'-odin*) "The grammatical structure of the Russian numerals (says Vinogradov) reflects the progressive adaptation of an archaic morphology to new forms of thought."

Most members of the category of pronouns have become interfused with adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, and particles. The adjectival types have exerted a profound morphological influence on the category of the long ("articulate") adjectives and now function within the limits of the nominal complex. Other pronouns have enriched the invariable parts of speech, and only the vestigial personal pronouns and their satellites remain. They have been attracted syntactically to the verb and are used as personal indices in the past tense (e.g. *ja znal*) and its offshoot, the conditional mood (e.g. *ja znal by*). The satellites of the personal pronoun include the reflexive, the personalised demonstrative (viz. *on-ona-ono-oni*), the interrogative, and the "indefinite" and negative affix-compounds of these (e.g. *nikto*, *čto-nibud'*). Neither sex nor number in the nominal sense appears in the four fundamental types *ja*, *ty*, *my*, *vy*. *Sebja* has not even a plural form, and its dependence on the subject of the sentence is symbolised by the absence of a nominative case. The antithesis of *kto/čto* illustrates that of animate-inanimate gender. Only in the third person singular and plural do we have the familiar nominal categories of sex-gender and plurality, but these are originally deictic and have affinities with the demonstrative adjective in their scheme of declension as distinct from the purely pronominal first and second persons and *their* characteristic paradigm.

In the adverb, as in the other invariable parts of speech, form is a less significant distinguishing index than semantic value. Morphologically adverbs are correlates of the nominal category, the pronoun, and the verb, from all of which they have emerged. Their "petrified" and apparently amorphous aspect represents the condition of their transformation into another category. The contacts of the adverb in modern Russian are mostly with the adjective of quality, with which it shares generic form and the phenomenon of comparison. This suggests crystallisation at an earlier level before the pronoun modified adjectival declension.

The difficulty facing Russian linguistics in the classification of such predicative formations as, say, *možno*, *nel'zja*, *žal'*, *bol'no*, *rad*, *zdorov*, etc. in association with the verb "to be" is solved by Shcherba and Vinogradov, who accept Vostokov's and Potebnya's allocation of these syntagmas to the verb, by creating the new "category of state." Vostokov noted the close resemblance of many words of this category to the short form of the adjective. This suggests another stepping stone between noun and verb, though Vinogradov does not conceive his category in quite this fashion. The short forms of adjectives lose their capacity for declension, become predicative, and acquire shades of tense. This is near enough to V. A. Bogoroditsky's conception of the words in question as "verbal particles." The expression of tense however resides in the verb, and owing to the lapse of the copula in the present tense the nominal predicate invests this verbal property. The presence of participial forms (e.g. *prikazano*) in the "category of state" leads Vinogradov to speculate on the organising force of the verb in its creation.

The complexity and flexibility of the Russian verb are studied against an historical background of hypothesis and dogma descending from the Greeks. Its complexity resides not so much in its system of conjugation, which illustrates concurrently a set of verbal categories and the nominal category of gender, as in its system of derivation, which draws from the reservoir of both noun and verb and uses the formal devices of prefixation and suffixation. The verbal category of person is closely linked with the pronominal, and the opposition of the third person to the other two is realised as effectively in the verb as in the noun. Impersonality is mostly expressed by the third person form of the verb, but the second singular and even the semantically restricted first can do this (e.g. *poživjom—uv'idim*). The use of pronouns with personal verb-forms is universal in the literary language, though it is redundant, except in members of the past-tense group, and spoken Russian at less literary levels dispenses with them. Verbal number is bound up with person as nominal number is with gender. Aspect presents a complicated mechanism, which may be examined in tabular form on p. 500 and p. 502. The tables are preceded and followed by a review of the earlier theories of aspect, which go back to the beginning of the 19th century and were complicated at one stage by Pavsky's theory of degrees (*stepeni*). Verbal aspect has even now not found a commonly accepted explanation: school grammars still adhere to Vostokov's theory of phases (*etapy*), according to which the perfective represents the beginning or the end, and the imperfective the middle of an action, and spatial analogy has provided scholars with the antithesis of punctual and cursive. Vinogradov contents himself with reviving Shakhmatov's refinements on the duality of aspect, which consist of the recognition of minor dichotomies in each by opposing iterative to durative within the limits of the imperfective aspect and inceptive to semelfactive in the perfective. Tense,

mood, and voice too are treated in terms of changing theories. We find Lomonosov distinguishing ten tenses, Vostokov eight, and Pavsky flatly denying their existence in Russian. Kudryavsky's antithesis of the present-future to the past tense recalls the historical Germanic and, outside Indo-European, the Finnic system. The nomenclature of the moods was settled in the 17th and 18th centuries, but they were not finally systematised till Shakhmatov advanced his sixfold classification, which, besides the indicative, imperative, and conjunctive (conditional), includes hypothetical, potential, and unreal moods. Vinogradov accepts these, adds a voluntative, expressing a past action as the unmotivated act of the subject (e.g. *da vdrug neljogkaja jejo dernu schodit' v banju*), points out the agglutimative morphology of the Russian imperative, and lists the modalities of the infinitive. The section on voice (diathesis) introduces *inter alia* the opposed ideas of Fortunatov and Potebnya and adopts Shakhmatov's elaborate synthesis of them, which has its nucleus in the fundamental notions of transitiveness, reflexiveness, and reciprocity, and distinguishes fifteen recognisable types.

The remaining hundred pages of *Russky yazyk* are concerned with the particles of speech, some of which, notably the prepositions *v* and *na*, are among the commonest words in Russian. The particles proper include deictic and negative varieties (viz. *vot*, *ne*, *ni*) and are intimately associated with prepositions and conjunctions. The class of prepositions is large and numbers "primitive" and derivative types, the latter with nominal and adverbial affinities (e.g. *vdol'*, *putjom*). Vinogradov classifies his prepositions into a system of twenty-one types, each of them with peculiarities of government (e.g. inchoative-finitive *po* with the acc. in *po gorlo*). Connection with the adverb and the historical antithesis of simple and composite types also characterise the conjunctions. These are closely related not only to the particles, but to modal words, which some scholars, e.g. Peshkovsky, conceive as "parenthetic words" (*vvodnyje slova*) and consider to lie outside the pale of syntax. In this respect and in their affective quality and syntagmatic extensions (e.g. *sobstvenno goverja*) they resemble interjections, in whose domain inarticulate cries jostle sentences beyond the scope of logic.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

*Poland Old and New.* By W. J. Rose, G. Bell & Sons, 1948, pp. xi and 354, 26s.

GREAT European wars inevitably cause great changes in the States taking part in them. Particularly do they affect countries like Poland, which are bound to be the scene of prolonged fighting and political rivalry. It is long before we are able to read accounts of the new conditions thus brought about. Those we read are naturally given by journalists and travellers anxious to give the public the latest information available, varying between optimism and pessimism, between fact and rumour, according to the mood of the informants from whom alone

they can derive their knowledge. Only rarely are we fortunate enough to get a comprehensive survey of new conditions from a scholar, competent to deal critically with new material and to relate it in a detached way to the facts and problems of the past. Of this nature is the present work.

It is divided into several distinct sections. After an introduction on the Poles and their country, we have a succinct account of the past of Poland (A.D. 966-1918) in 78 pages. The main part of the book follows—a description, in 149 pages, of modern Poland (1919-1939), its problems and achievements, in which the writer draws largely on his own personal knowledge of the country and individuals. Finally we have 25 pages devoted to the occupation by the Germans during the War, 56 pages describing the problems and institutions of Poland to-day and a short account of a recent visit to the country. The defect of such a book is that it is already somewhat out of date when we read it. But in a time of such profound upheavals and transition one is justified in pausing at some stage to review what has taken place. It is a pleasure to do this under the guidance of one who can relate the present to the past, and who is moderate and cautious in his references to the future.

The section of past history is a masterpiece of compression. Besides the statement that Lignica was a "signal defeat" of the Tartars (for which see the *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. IV, p. 637) there are one or two points which might be made in criticism. On p. 46 the use of undefined terms like "nobility" and "aristocracy" make it not quite clear to the uninitiated reader that it was the lesser gentry who gained privileges mainly at the expense of the magnates, and that all members of the resulting upper class were equal in having no titles or other social distinctions. On p. 66 a few words might have been added to say that after the Treaty of Andruszowo the predecessors of Peter the Great began a new pro-western policy based on imitation of Poland. On p. 69 an account of the later extravagant use of the *Liberum Veto* as a political weapon might be taken to imply that the principle of unanimity is always wrong. As Professor Konopczyński's excellent book on the subject has shown, this principle has a long and interesting history, has survived in the British jury system, and seems likely to flourish in federal and international institutions. On p. 91 perhaps alongside Witos it would be fair to recall the activities of Bojko and Stapiński.

The main part of the book deals with the restored Polish state and is excellent throughout, especially the arrangement which presents the particular aspects of Poland outside the general survey. The writer refers to the ignorance of Poland in this country after the first World War, owing to the absence of a Polish State for so many years. He might have added that it was also due to deliberate anti-Polish propaganda going back to Frederick II (if not to the Teutonic Knights) and enhanced by the rise of German nationalism. He emphasises the essential unity of the Poles, despite their separation, in short sentences (on

p. 109 and pp. 110-11) which are masterly in their lucid summing up of intricate problems. No one who knows the history of Prince Łubecki's financial achievements, as described in Smolka's great biography, could be surprised at the ability of Władysław Grabski and his successors to solve similar problems a century later. The chapters on national economy, folk culture, Church and school and the heritage of letters are the best part of the book, showing the author's deep knowledge, based on personal contacts as well as on study, of the essential Polish qualities which are re-creating their civilisation in the organised institutions. In his account of 18th-century memoir-writers on p. 210 we should like to have seen the names of Kitowicz, Ochocki and M. Ogiński. On p. 108 the word "factions" conveys a wrong meaning to an English reader, and the *zh* in Lodzh does not help a reader to pronounce the difficult name of that town.

From p. 253 we leave the field of established history and enter the world of swift change, novelty and controversy. The section on New Poland is short, but embraces most public activities of the new state and its people, including a most interesting comparison of the position of the Poles in 1945 with their situation in 1918. This shows what far greater opportunities they have to-day for rapid industrial and commercial revival and expansion.

The last chapter is a thrilling account of a recent visit to Poland in which we see the ruins of Warsaw and the almost superhuman efforts of its inhabitants in its rehabilitation. We see Silesia in a blizzard and are told that the great libraries of Lwów are being removed to Wrocław. We hear of the tragic destruction in Poznań, and rejoice to see Cracow intact with the famous Stwosz High Altar restored from German vandals. All who know Poland will read with excitement of a new Poland where Leon Solski still appears on the stage at the age of 93. Unfortunately in some ways the political situation has worsened since this book was written. Mikołajczyk has left, other leaders are going, material reconstruction is being accompanied by a progressive loss of human liberties. But for this glimpse of Poland we are grateful to Professor Rose. The book as a whole is a valuable summing up of the problems and achievements of the nation, past and present.

A. BRUCE BOSWELL.

*Balkan Politics.* By Joseph S. Rouček, Stanford Univ. Press (London, Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1948, pp. 298, \$3.50.

*The Balkans.* By Elisabeth Barker, Percival Marshall, London, 1948, pp. 256, 10s. 6d.

STUDENTS in Britain and America, who are interested in the Balkans, are still sadly hampered by the lack of reliable books to be had in English about this part of the world. A few such exist, dealing with the Balkan peoples up to the end of the 19th century; and there are plenty on the 20th, particularly about recent events. Unfortunately most of these are



informed by prejudice and written to bolster up certain preconceived political views.

Two books have recently been published in this field, one by Miss Barker, the other by Professor Rouček. The former is that rare achievement—an objective, reliable account of recent events in Balkan countries; but of the latter this cannot be said. While Mr. Rouček's book contains a good deal of information, and covers superficially a wide field, the facts are derived from a variety of sources, at times they are prejudiced, and not infrequently they are grossly inaccurate. The author, who is of Czech origin, writes as an American anxious to support the present line of U.S. foreign policy; and his generalisations, written with this end in view, are already dated by the period of writing.

The task Professor Rouček undertook was a big one—perhaps too big for the time available for writing a work that shows evidence of haste. There are three general chapters—on Balkan Geography and Peoples, on the Political Pattern, and on Balkan Foreign Politics. Then there is a chapter each devoted to Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Macedonia, Greece and Roumania. These latter try to cover the history of each people from the earliest times down to 1947! The earlier history has to be given sketchily, in order to leave more space for recent events. While it is useful to have a short account of recent events in one book, the value of this record is marred by the number of errors that have been thus allowed to get into print. A complete list cannot be given here, but some examples will suffice. Names of places and of people, particularly in the chapter on Yugoslavia, have often little relation to the actual spelling, or to a correct anglicised rendering of the phonetic pronunciation, e.g. the Ban of Croatia in 1941 was Šubašić, not Schubatic; the Premier at that time was Simović, not Schimovitz (p. 107). There can be no reason for using Italian names (misspelt on occasion) for Yugoslav places in the inter-war years. It is equally misleading to refer to the Moslems as a race, while at the same time noting the Mahommedans as a religious group (pp. 84 and 85); or to talk of Slovaks in the Vojvodina (p. 85).

In the frontispiece map, Professor Rouček shows Roumanians as the sole occupants of the lands north and north-east of their borders; surely he cannot believe that this is, in fact, the case! There are also many misspelt names in the maps of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Roumania, as well as names given in a language other than that current in the area since 1918. It is not correct to call Zadar *Zara* on a map purporting to illustrate contemporary Yugoslavia, and to say that it belongs to Italy. The reader who knows little of these things cannot distinguish between what is accurate and what is not, so it is not easy to recommend this book either for class use or for the general reader.

Miss Barker's work, which attempts much less, has achieved a good deal more; and it will be read with interest both by student and by the general public. She has the great advantage of having been in the

countries described since the war. Indeed, she limits herself—perhaps unnecessarily—to events in Turkey, Bulgaria, Roumania, Greece and Trieste for the 1945–1947 period. During much of this time she was travelling, and the book is based as far as possible on first-hand observations, conversations, impressions and the reading of current newspapers. Where secondary sources have been used the author says that she has “tried to weigh up conflicting reports and views from conflicting sources.” This judicial method has been used with much success, and the result is both informative and impartial. Miss Barker brought to her work an expert knowledge of Balkan affairs and no evident political prejudices; her general conclusions are thus more cautious than those of Professor Rouček, and they will probably stand the test of time much better. Some of the latter’s conclusions about Tito were already disproved by the Cominform dispute and all it involved almost before the book appeared. It is to be regretted that Miss Barker did not feel able to write a chapter on Yugoslavia because she had been unable to visit that country since before the war. Her chapters on Roumania and Bulgaria in particular provide an excellent background for an understanding of developments there since the war: a similar one on Yugoslavia would have been welcome. The account of the work of the Allied Control Commissions in these two lands makes interesting reading.

Miss Barker is both a scholar and a journalist. Her dual capacity is evident throughout, producing changes of mood and style that vary with the subject in hand. In the parts that give “portraits” of Bulgaria, Roumania and Greece the journalist seems to be uppermost. These portraits are beautifully written. They evoke such vivid pictures of the countryside as to fascinate the reader who has never seen the Balkans, and afflict those who have with acute nostalgia. If a second edition should be called for, one fact about G. M. Dimitrov could be corrected, and it is earnestly to be hoped that an index will be added as well as individual maps of the countries dealt with.

PHYLLIS AUTY.

*Rok 1848 w Polsce: Wybór Źródeł.* By Stefan Kieniewicz; Biblioteka Narodowa, Wrocław, 1948, pp. xlix and 350.

THOSE who believe in cultural continuity in human life rejoice at the survival, over six years of war and occupation, of at least a number of Polish enterprises in the field of publishing. Not long since, the first post-war volume of *Nauka Polska* came to hand; we already had received post-war additions to the interrupted *Dictionary of National Biography*, in these days there has come to hand the first post-war number of *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, and now, for the first time, we have a new and most valuable volume added to the *Biblioteka Narodowa*, whose contributions to the intellectual life of the inter-war years in Poland was something unique. Similar in appearance to the hundred

odd volumes published previously, it comes like an old friend; but the subject is one unquarried before and a real debt is owed to the author for his work.

Professor Kieniewicz is already well known to readers of this *Review*. In this stout little volume he has brought together a carefully planned selection of the source materials needed for any adequate study of the year known in Central Europe as "the Spring of the Nations," and prefaced it with an admirable essay by way of making the picture clear in outline. No one in Poland is better qualified than he, a fact long since attested by the study published in Warsaw in 1935, *Spółeczeństwo Polskie w powstaniu poznańskim 1848 r.* The two papers he has contributed to this *Review* can serve him as a passport in the English-speaking world.

The purpose of these few paragraphs is simply to report on this work, since no analysis is possible in brief space. The Introduction is followed by a short calendar of events and some notes on useful books. Then comes the collection of source materials, which include official documents of various kinds—articles and pamphlets put out at the time, letters, selections from memoirs, and snatches of poetry. The editor-author is well aware of the *imponderabilia* affecting all historical happenings, especially in times of tension and strain, so he does not pass over the emotional factor, though making it quite clear that things said by leaders or written by protagonists of differing ideas have a quite unequal value for the historian. Thus we have by turns pages from the historian Moraczewski, from the military leader Mierosławski (who was also a notable writer on military history), allocutions of the clergy, aspirations of poets, and the sober recollections of various kinds of participators alongside official proclamations, whether government or party, and other useful materials. It is notable that almost nothing is given from the pen of Libelt, the philosopher, or of Berwinski, the Poznanian poet.

But a practical classification of materials is also necessary—into geographical areas: for, although inherent in all that took place in Poland was the general demand for national and political liberation and reunion, the actual efforts made at revolution were not co-ordinated. Hence we have half of the book devoted to events in Poznań and Pomerania, a short section to Silesia, 150 pages to Galicia, and a few items at the end to the Congress Kingdom. This is the wisest kind of segregation, and the reader's task is the easier as a result. Finally, right through the book short but most useful footnotes are added, explaining who various people were, or what was the significance of an obscure reference—for which again the reader will be grateful.

That the years 1846–1848 were a time of peculiar suffering in Poland is clear to those who have read the 1948 numbers of this *Review*. The account of what happened and why, to be found in this book, goes far to explain the reasons; and one could only wish that the whole volume were available in a more widely known language

W. J. ROSE.

*Six Centuries of Russo-Polish Relations.* By W. P. and Z. Coates; Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1948, pp. vii and 235; with maps and appendices, 21s

THIS book is a sad disappointment. The authors had a great opportunity, since nothing available on the subject exists in English and precisely such a book as the title suggests is badly needed. But this is very far from being that book, partly because the authors are crusaders for a point of view, and not historians. For them one side is always right, the other generally wrong. What we have then is a party political pamphlet, and not a very good one at that.

The trouble begins in the Preface (which is not a Preface at all) where as authorities on a still almost unexplored subject the following are quoted—all of them to prove the right of Russian claims and to put the Poles in the wrong: Dean Stanley, Roman Dybowski, Engels, and (by implication) Marx who is said on p. v to have been "a thousand times right"—whatever that may mean. Now these were all serious people, but not one of them was a historian, least of all an investigator of international relations. It may be added that, as further authorities, the following are mentioned later on: John Buchan, G. B. Shaw, Lloyd George, Stephen King-Hall, Winston Churchill, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*! The only proper historical works quoted at all are those of Temperley, Platonov and the *History of the U.S.S.R.*, published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Far too much dependence is placed, in the latter half of the book, on the authority of the daily papers—*The Times*, the *News Chronicle*, etc. and of course *Pravda*. The only Polish writers quoted are Dybowski (whose field is English literature), Count Skrzyński—for a time Prime Minister—and the fiery anti-Russian journalist, Stanisław Mackiewicz. This is not good enough.

If now we turn to the contents of the book we find that all sorts of materials relating to Russian history are brought in, e.g. in Chapters II and III on the struggle against the Tartars, that have little to do with the subject. They would only belong in a monumental work of a thousand pages; they should be dealt with here in a single paragraph. Perhaps on that account the Congress of Vienna is dismissed in twelve lines, there is no mention of 1848, and the very important subject of the rise of Socialism in Eastern Europe (p. 90), in which Russian and Polish radicals worked together for a generation, in even less space. Not a word is said of the suppression of Latin Christianity (Roman and Greek Catholic Churches) by Nicholas I, or of the later anti-western campaign of men like Katkov, or of what Pares calls the "black reaction" of the eighties and nineties, associated in Poland with the presence of Apuchtin and Imeretynsky.

The arrangement of materials in places is so confused as almost to baffle the reader, and there are many inaccuracies of one kind or another. The authors do not know that Constantinople fell long after the Turks had "spread themselves along the western and northern shores of the

Black Sea " (p. 32) ; on p. 91 the Grand Duke was Nicholas, not Michael ; there is no such institution as the Grecko-Uniat Church (p. 84)—it is either " Uniate " or " Greek Catholic " ; there was no such thing in 1825 as a Polish " big bourgeoisie," etc., etc. Polish names are sadly mutilated on pp. 84, 86, 109, and 155.

And now a word about the chapters, nearly half of the whole, dealing with the events of the last ten years. It was to be expected that the authors should subscribe to the well-known Soviet position, which sees no need to explain why the alliance was made with Germany on 23 August 1939, why the Red Army entered Eastern Poland four weeks later, or why the Russians decreed that everyone domiciled there was henceforth a Soviet citizen. In a free country everyone has a right to his views. But what the authors of a *History* of the relations of two neighbour peoples must not do is suppress vitally relevant matters. The authors must know that as obstacles to good relations between the Poles and the Russians (leaving aside *all* the past) there stand two things—both of them quite unnecessary : the deportations of Poles, Ukrainians and Jews of all ages and classes in 1940 and 1941, and the doing-away with the 8,000 Polish officers at Katyn. The first of these is not mentioned ; as for the second the mounting body of evidence (including that of the Swiss medical observers) goes to show that no one can any longer doubt as how those men met their end.

Finally, if the authors wanted to live up to the statement in the blurb about " incontrovertible documentation " why did they pass over the following statement (to take only one example) :

" The ruling circles of Poland boasted quite a lot about the ' stability ' of their state and the ' might of their army.' However, one swift blow to Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left of this ugly offspring of the Versailles treaty . . . "

That ought to sound like Hitler ; actually it is from Mr. Molotov's report to the Supreme Soviet on 31 October 1939—of which parts are quoted on pp. 142-43. Those who grow enthusiastic to-day about the goodwill of Moscow toward the Poles (and the Baltic States) should read that document with care. They will then know better how to appraise the value of the book under review.

W. J. ROSE.

*Catherine the Great, and the Expansion of Russia.* By Gladys Scott Thomson. (Teach Yourself History Library. Edited by A. L. Rowse.) London : Hodder & Stoughton for English Universities Press, 1947, pp. x + 294, 1 portr., 1 map.

INSPIRED by no ulterior motives apart from the desire to give a scholarly outline of Catherine II's life and reign, and of the expansion of Russia in her time, Miss Gladys Scott Thomson's work can be said to rise above

the primitive level of most of the popular "histories" of Russia so abundantly produced in recent years. Moreover, without unduly indulging in romantic affairs the author has introduced a sufficient variety of cultural details to make the story fascinating as well as instructive. At the same time, this very readable little book is marred by a disproportionately high number of inaccuracies, often giving the unpleasant impression of only casual preoccupation with Russia's past.

Quite astounding is throughout the careless treatment of names of well-known historical figures—even of Catherine herself whose Russian patronymic was *Alekseevna*, and not *Aleksandrovna* (p. 19). Catherine's representative in Warsaw was not *Anakita Rapnin*, but *Nikolay Repnin*—*Anikita* being the name of his grandfather, the Field Marshal Repnin under Peter the Great. Fortunately in most cases the names are merely misspelled—like the surnames *Dmitrevski*, *Godonov*, *Mouschkin-Pouschkin*, etc., or the place names *Gradno*, *Schlüsselberg*, etc., all of which sound more queer than confusing. Some of the minor distortions may of course be due to hazards of the very mixed transliteration, or to overlooked slips and misprints, but it is difficult to think of an adequate explanation as soon as *Apraksin* within the space of a few pages is up to ten times persistently called *Apratzkin* (pp. 51 *sqq.*).

Just as puzzling are a number of chronological inaccuracies. By the time *Zoé Palaeologus* married *Ivan III*, in 1472, not "fourteen years had passed" since the fall of Constantinople, but nineteen (p. 129). *Kazan* was not "freed from Mongol Rule" in 1579, as on p. 23, but had been "seized in 1552 by *Ivan the Terrible* and incorporated in Russia," as on p. 165. 1579 was only the year in which the miraculous ikon of the Virgin is said to have appeared in *Kazan*. The entire history of *Kiev*, on p. 21, would have been considerably clearer had another hundred years been added to the comment that in 1667 "more than three hundred years" had passed since the Mongolian hordes had made *Kiev* their own. But hopelessly obscure are the "twenty-nine years of turmoil which had preceded the seizure of power by Peter" (p. 3). The University of Moscow was founded in 1755, and not in 1757 (p. 252), and it is—by the way—also not quite correct that it "remained the only one until the early years of the nineteenth century" because for a number of years there existed in the 18th century a university attached to the Academy of Science in Petersburg. On the other hand, the Academy of Fine Arts which we are told (p. 248) was added to the Academy of Science "in 1755 by the Empress Elizabeth almost certainly at the instigation of *Peter Shuvalov*"—was actually founded in 1757, and quite certainly at the instigation not of Peter, but of *Ivan Shuvalov*. Having mentioned the *Shuvalovs*, it is best to add immediately that it was also not Peter, but his brother *Aleksander Shuvalov* who had been head of the Secret Chancery (p. 168), and that *Ivan Shuvalov* who is twice supposed to have been the nephew of Peter and *Aleksander*—was actually their cousin (p. 93). Some chronological slips are rather baffling :

Empress Elizabeth died neither on 23 December 1761, O.S., nor on 4 January 1762, N.S., which would of course have been 24 December, O.S. (p. 59). Her death occurred on Christmas Day, i.e. 25 December 1761, O.S. (5 January 1762, N.S.). Peter III issued the edict which released the upper classes from their obligation to serve on 18 February, O.S., and not "in the month of May," 1762 (pp. 64 and 69). Page 282 describes an exhibition held in St. Petersburg "in February, 1905, one hundred and seven years after the death of Catherine"—which on the preceding page was correctly stated to have occurred in November 1796.

Minor topographical blemishes are not lacking either. "The tower of Ivan the Great" is not a tower of the Kremlin (p. 15), but a belfry *in* the Kremlin, standing beside the old cathedrals, one of which is further on repeatedly described as the "chapel" of the Assumption (pp. 20, 85, 250). "The Annenhof and the Golivin" (*sic*!) were not "two palaces . . . which stood side by side on the far bank of the little river called the Yauza, a tributary of the Moskva" (p. 15): Annenhof was only another and later name for the rebuilt and extended palace which in Peter's time had originally belonged to Golovin (cf. Golvin palace on p. 29), on the site of which Catherine later erected the more magnificent building bearing her name. On the other hand, Potemkin's Tauris palace "which had been rising in Smolny, to the east of St. Petersburg" (?) (p. 192) appears even in the extended version on p. 255 to have been located within the precincts of the famous convent called "Smolny," into which Potemkin however never intruded. For "the name compounded from the Russian version of the words *augustus* and *polis*, which resolved itself into Sevastopol" (p. 186) the Greek *sebastos* should have been more suitable than the Latin *augustus*.

But really distressing are the numerous errors regarding historical facts—basic and long-established ones not excluded. It is embarrassing to have to point out that Ivan IV who was succeeded by his son, Tsar Fedor, was not "the last of the Rurik dynasty" (p. 84), or that Peter the Great had no need "as part of his western policy" to encourage "the immigration of Germans into all three of the Baltic countries" (p. 111) since they had already come there on their own and in appreciable numbers in the 13th century. Whether Peter's son Alexis had actually "been disposed of that dreadful night in November of the year 1718," or had died merely in consequence of earlier tortures aggravated by poor health—may perhaps be still controversial, but there is not the slightest possibility of contending that on that night the father had "gone to the Kremlin where the young man was confined" (p. 3), and that the prince "had died in the Kremlin" (p. 4): Alexis was confined and perished in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul in Petersburg. Similarly inaccurate are the details concerning the fate of Ivan VI, and of his mother, the regent Anne, in particular. When Elizabeth "successfully snatched the throne of Russia from the child" she neither "dismissed" (p. 4) nor "forced" (p. 165) his mother into a convent. She was even inclined to

permit the whole family to leave Russia. But, scared by a plot in their favour, she did issue an order to imprison all of them in the Solovetsky Monastery on the island in the White Sea. Nevertheless the prisoners were deported only as far as Kholmogory, where Anne died in civil captivity after having given birth to several more children, and without ever having been "forced to submit" to "that time-honoured expedient for disposing of unwanted women." Her son, the deposed Tsar Ivan VI, or the child which, according to one German report, had been secretly substituted for him, had not "been kept a close prisoner in the island fortress of Schlüsselberg" (*sic!*) "ever since" the day Elizabeth had seized the throne in 1741 (p. 78): he was taken there from Kholmogory at the age of sixteen after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756.

Equally striking are deficiencies—to put it mildly—with regard to Biron, the Duke of Courland, whose ill-famed all-powerful role in Russia during a whole decade seems to have been completely overlooked. In connection with Peter's policy of creating the Baltic Germans we are merely told that "in the days of the Empress Anne, one of them, Biron, became ruler of the Duchy of Courland. He proved an unpopular ruler, and was ultimately removed and sent to Siberia" (p. 111). Although individually all these facts are correct the picture as a whole is of course completely misleading: Biron's deportation had nothing whatsoever to do with his having become ruler of Courland, but was a result of the tussle for power at the Russian court in those years, and what mattered was only that he had proved a most unpopular ruler in Russia. Quite wrong is furthermore the assumption that Biron was "recalled from Siberia" in 1763 by Catherine in connection with her decision to reinstate him in Courland (p. 112). Actually he had been transferred from Siberia to Yaroslavl by Elizabeth twenty years earlier, i.e. in 1742, and he was completely rehabilitated in Russia already by Peter III. Quite contrary to facts is also the assertion that "it was, moreover, in Moscow that Catherine set up a girls' school seven years before she founded that at Smolny, whose fame was so far to exceed that of its sister school" (p. 258). No exact dates are given for either of the two "foundations"; however, p. 254 seems to suggest the year 1772 for the school at St. Petersburg: in actual fact the famous Smolny Institute was founded already in 1764, and was the first of its kind. Needless to add that "seven years before" Catherine was not in a position to found anything at all. The only possible explanation for this muddle seems to be that the author had confounded two quite different institutions: the data attributed to the Smolny school conform quite satisfactorily to the history of the well-known Homes for Foundlings founded by Catherine first in Moscow and later in Petersburg.

The "expansion of Russia" is not absolutely fool-proof either. The annexation of the Crimea, in 1783, was recognised by Turkey only under the terms of the Treaty of Jassy, in 1792, as indicated on p. 207 the



cession had not been "acknowledged by Turkey" already "in the next year," i.e. in 1784, as is wrongly stated on p. 183.

Apart from straightforward mistakes and cases of pure imagination there are also a number of points which cannot be readily accepted as they stand, i.e. without some adjustment. More vivid than historically exact is the picture of "a core of Muscovite land, surrounding the city of Moscow" which had been left by the Mongol invasion of the 13th century, and from which "from the 15th century onwards had come the slow pushing out" of wedges and tongues in all directions (pp. 109-110). Definitely in need of comment is the rather vague and unusual assertion that Empress Anne had reigned "not unsuccessfully" (p. 4).

As far as historiography and bibliography are concerned it seems rather doubtful whether the label "historian" was quite the right one for Herzen (p. 26), but the well-known Russian painter and writer on art, G. Lukomsky, definitely does not claim the title of Prince (and by the way, the name of the author of *Palmyra of the North* is not Charles, but Christopher Marsden).

There is no need either to stress or to admit that the mistakes and inaccuracies vary in kind and importance. Whatever the explanation in each case might be—whether merely oversight, or superficial acquaintance with historical facts—the amount of errors alone and irrespective of their individual weight is a grave matter since this volume in a series aiming at more than ephemeral entertainment is sure to be used for "teaching" Russian history not only to "oneself," but what is still worse—to others as well.

Of real value and interest is the frontispiece. The portrait shows Catherine not "in Russian undress," but in mourning for Empress Elizabeth, in 1762. A relevant contemporary drawing by Chemesov is reproduced in the Russian edition of Brückner's *Catherine II*.

LEO LOEWENSON.

*Jermola* By J. I. Kraszewski. Edited by J. Krzyzanowski; Biblioteka Narodowa, Seria I, Nr 128, Wrocław, 1948, pp. xxxix + 194.

JÓZEF-IGNACY KRASZEWSKI, a literary prodigy, wrote between 1829 and 1887 three hundred and ninety-five works which, by their very number, checked the popularity of the French novel in Poland, and proved that prose could be as flexible a medium as verse. The breadth of Kraszewski's interests is seen in his historical, artistic and social topics, in his style ranging from idyllic to satirical. He has been remembered by the wider public as the author of an ambitious cycle of historical novels; his recent critics, however, prefer to approach him as an expounder of the peasant theme in Polish literature.

The novel *Jermola*, first published in 1856, represents the author's peasant cycle not only in his native country, but also abroad: *Jermola* was translated into several European languages (into French as early as

1868). Both its plot and the treatment of characters remind the English reader of George Eliot's famous story *Silas Marner*, published in 1861, a few years after *Jermola*. The parallel was noticed and discussed by George Eliot's biographer, Mathilde Blind, whose argument is worth quoting :

"Curiously enough, I came quite recently upon a story which, in its leading features, very closely resembles this tale of the 'Weaver of Raveloe.' It is called 'Jermola the Potter,' and is considered the masterpiece of J. I. Kraszewski, the Polish novelist. . . . The main idea, that of the redemption of a human soul from cold, petrifying isolation, by means of a little child, is unquestionably the same as in 'Silas Marner.' Other incidents, such as that of the peasant woman who initiates Jermola into the mysteries of baby management, and the disclosure of the real parents wanting to have their child back after a lapse of years, suggest parallel passages in the English book. But coincidences of this kind are, after all, natural enough, considering that the circle of human feeling and action is limited, and that in all ages and countries like conditions must give rise to much the same sequence of events. It is therefore most likely that George Eliot never saw, and possibly never even heard of 'Jermola the Potter.' . . . But if the foreign story surpasses 'Silas Marner' in tragic pathos, the latter far excels it in the masterly handling of character and dialogue." \*

Two facts are beyond doubt : (i) that *Silas Marner* was published after the original edition of the Polish novel, (ii) that *Jermola* reached its foreign readers through translations when George Eliot had already made her story known to her public. To be influenced by Kraszewski's novel, she could only have read it in Polish. What are the sources of *Silas Marner* ? The English writer herself observed that the theme was suggested by a childish recollection of a "linen-weaver with his bag on his back." On 24 February 1861 she wrote to John Blackwood about this : "It came to me first of all quite suddenly, as a sort of legendary tale."

In the same way, the authenticity of material in Kraszewski's peasant novels has often been stressed : the background of north-eastern Volhynia reveals itself in *Jermola*, picturesque and rich in details. The novelist knew that part of the country very well, for during the years 1837-1850 he lived and farmed in various villages, acquiring a direct knowledge of social conditions and of the people responsible for them. In an introduction written in 1872, Kraszewski refers to his hero as "born from the recollections of Volhynian Polesie."

Professor J. Krzyżanowski mentions the parallel existing between the two novels in his introductory essay, but without going into details ; but his views on the problem may possibly be found in his study *Zagańka Jermoty*, included in the Kraszewski memorial volume (Łuck, 1939), to which he refers. Unfortunately this publication is unobtainable and the

\* *George Eliot*, first ed. 1883, second ed. 1888.

reviewer cannot make use of it. The editor's suggestion that there may be a common source in 18th century French literature, from which both authors drew their plot, needs further specification, so far as the evidence goes we must for the present accept the parallel and leave it at that. Mathilde Blind's observation on parallelism resulting from the limitations of human experience seems to be still convincing.

How difficult it is to prove a parallel influence of a supposed common source, the example of Rupert Brooke's drama *Lithuania* can illustrate. I once analysed its close relation to K. H. Rostworowski's famous tragedy *Niespodzianka*: both works belong to modern literature and the investigation of sources should meet with fewer obstacles than in the case of *Jermola* and *Silas Marner*. Yet the search after the third element in this parallel encounters, as in all similar cases, the same risk of neglecting the very nature of creative work, in which the whims of associations are as puzzling as the coincidences in the use of second-hand materials.

Krzyżanowski's great scholarship has endowed Polish criticism with studies on the origins of the Polish novel and on folklore themes (e.g. the collection of fascinating essays *Paralele*); he is therefore the best critic to introduce *Jermola* to the students of literature. His comments on the peasant novels (*powieści ludowe*) of Kraszewski as well as his analysis of the structure of *Jermola* throw a new light on the published text. It is here based on the original Warsaw edition and collated with the author's later corrections. The whole editorial work is in the best tradition of the *Biblioteka Narodowa*, which has played such an important rôle in propagating the Polish classics among all types of readers.

J. PIETRKIEWICZ.

*Czechoslovak Music. 1, Bohemia and Moravia.* Orbis, Prague, 1948, 114 pp. + 32 pp. supplement of illustrations.

THIS anonymous compilation, sponsored by an important Prague publishing house, has the declared intention of interesting the world in the music of Bohemia and Moravia. It says, rightly enough, that little of it is known outside Czechoslovakia except the works of Smetana, Dvořák and Janáček, though in England the average concert-goer has heard little even of the last-named. Yet Bohemia has been a cradle of music for some nine centuries, and our ignorance in England is our loss.

After a brief survey of the early period in which, we learn, the Master Jan Hus himself recognised the value and importance of music, we have a competent summary of the lives and works of Czech 18th-century composers, mostly entirely unknown in this country. Many of them lived abroad. Some also had their names altered, e.g. Dusík to Dussek, which makes recognition of their Czech origin more difficult. We learn that it was Dusík who introduced the custom of placing the pianoforte sideways on the platform, thereby displaying the player's profile to the

audience. Ironically enough, if one judges from the illustrations at the back, Dusík was by far the least comely of the Czech composers of the period! It is also claimed that Stamic (not Mozart, as is usually stated in this country) introduced the use of the clarinet into formal music, following the usage of Czech folk music.

The next part gives brief sketches of the lives and works of Czech 19th- and 20th-century composers, starting with Smetana and Dvořák. These sketches contain useful lists of their main compositions and are enlivened with quotations from their correspondence. It is still touching to read Dvořák's appreciative remarks about English musical life and to realise what great openings he got in the Anglo-Saxon world for the performance of his works. An illustration at the back reproduces quite legibly a page from the *New York Herald* giving an account of the first performance of the "New World" Symphony. The sections on Janáček, Vítěslav Novák and Martinů are particularly successful in giving the uninformed reader an idea of these men and their works. Janáček, with his interest in speech intonation and bird-song, was also one of Bohemia's comparatively few musical links with the Slavonic East.

The section entitled "The Music of today" is a useful catalogue of the younger Czech composers and their chief works. One reads it with regret that we have heard so little of this music in England. The recent pioneering concerts conducted by Rafael Kubelík who, we learn, is also a composer, are so much the more valuable.

In the very brief section on folk-songs some of the most important collections are named; and the spirit of Czech folk-songs, many with a satirical tone, is aptly described. A Slovak composer's name, Alexander Moyzes, has inadvertently been included. (I understand a separate volume on Slovak music is contemplated in this edition.)

The book concludes with a bibliography of works on Czech music, mostly written in Czech, and a list of gramophone records of Czech music available, alas, mostly only in Czechoslovakia. There is also a list of the main musical organisations in the country. The supplement of illustrations, reproducing manuscripts, portraits, stage settings and even caricatures, does much to give this little book vividness and reality. Only one thing is to be regretted: every now and then the reader is painfully reminded that the text has been written by foreigners and not adequately revised by an English native. How can an Englishman explain his discomfort at such inaptly translated titles as "A-Growing" for "Zrání" or "Auntie Death"? Or at the slip "when he was *merely* eighteen" on p. 63? Despite such errors, which run right through the book, we must be grateful for these brief "glad tidings" of "mankind's special benefactors" who, in Zdeněk Nejedlý's words, "have been able to infuse gladness into human souls and . . . joy in life . . ." Yes, and even much besides that supreme gift!

R. G. A. DE BRAY.

*The Oxford Book of Russian Verse.* Second Edition supplemented by D. P. Costello, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp. 311.

*The Oxford Book of Russian Verse*, which appeared in 1924, was compiled by Maurice Baring, and contained, besides the poems, Baring's own introduction and some short explanatory notes by D. S. Mirsky. As it stood the anthology was, in the words of its new editor, "within its chronological limits, not merely the best collection of Russian poetry readily available to English readers; it is doubtful if any anthology of comparable size published in Russia itself is more representative." Mr. Costello has accordingly left the previous edition untouched—apart from a few minor alterations, including the removal of one poem by Voloshin which not many readers are likely to regret. The second edition is, however, a considerable improvement on the first, owing to the inclusion of almost a hundred pages of extra material designed to make it more representative of Russian poetry as a whole. This new material falls into two sections, each of which has been given a short and useful commentary. Firstly there are some samples of traditional oral poetry (including, very suitably, three of those recorded by the Englishman Richard James in 1619—the earliest surviving examples to have been copied down). This section brings the book into line with *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, in which ballads are included. Secondly, work by eighteen modern Russian poets (of whom the youngest is Simonov) appears at the end of the new edition, thus making it as up-to-date as any of its counterparts in other languages.

In each of these fields the task of selection must have been especially difficult. Among the oral poetry group the *byliny* alone are said to number about 1,500 poems, while, so far as the modern period is concerned, an anthologist's choice becomes notoriously tricky as he approaches his own day, even Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch decided to stop at 1918 when he extended the *Oxford Book of English Verse* in 1939. Mr. Costello has done his work with distinction in both spheres, though individual readers may have minor objections to make. It was possibly a mistake to ignore one important group of oral poems, the Духовные Стихи, and among the *byliny* heroes Ilya Muromets has less than what is usually considered his share of the limelight. In the Soviet period the chief emphasis is, appropriately enough, on Mayakovsky, Esenin and Pasternak. Mayakovsky is printed in an unusual way. Instead of his work being sprinkled in échelon over the page ("с разбивкой") it has been concertinaed into a comparatively conventional shape. Some people may dislike an arrangement which has been adopted to save space, but it seems to make the poet easier to read, and incidentally emphasises certain important qualities of his verse.

In the original portion of the book, which still forms the major part of the new edition, Maurice Baring's introduction has dated more than any of his excellent selections. In the first section, where it is factual and informative, it is very helpful; but the cultural fireworks-display

which follows is difficult to take seriously. It is not easy to understand who is being addressed. Certainly not readers of the anthology, for Baring quotes Russian poetry in English translation, actually transliterating one line which he thinks particularly good; he even hopes that his English prose version of Pushkin's *Prophet* will stimulate readers to learn Russian. In spite of the ignorance of Russian so strangely attributed to them, these readers are credited with a working knowledge of classical Greek, French, German and Italian, to judge from the numerous untranslated quotations in these languages. It is a pity that Mr. Costello did not decide to replace this introduction with a more sober and straightforward account of Russian poetry.

R. F. HINGLEY.

*Ivan Franko, Selected Poems of.* Translated by Percival Cundy, with a Biographical Introduction. Edited by Clarence Manning, the Philosophical Library, N.Y.C., 1948, pp. xxiii + 265, \$4.50.

THE appearance of this well-produced volume is notable for two reasons: it is another mark of the tireless energy with which Professor C. A. Manning of Columbia continues his advocacy of the cultural and other claims of the Ukrainian nation to a recognition steadily denied them, and it reveals the devotion of the translator, a Canadian clergyman who died in 1947 after serving for many years the Ukrainian settlers in the New World, and left behind him much valuable stuff that may still see the light. It can safely be guessed that very few people who may take up this book have ever heard even the name of the poet and thinker thus honoured. Like Sienkiewicz, he passed away during the first World War, before even the hopes of emancipation were seriously entertained by his compatriots. After Shevchenko he comes among the first of his nation's prophets and champions, though of course the name of his older colleague, Dragomanov, should not be forgotten. Under happier conditions, he might well have taken his place among the statesmen of a continent.

Educated in the best schools of his day—something of which his greater fellow-poet knew nothing, he was only prevented from attaining the university chair in Lwow (now called Lviv, but known to the world in his day as Lemberg), by the political tangle of the time. In consequence of this he never possessed economic independence but lived precariously as a journalist, all the time devoting himself to poetry, criticism, story-writing, and crusading for social justice for the common man. The powers that be were all against him. As a radical he was not in favour with the Church. As an Ukrainian patriot he was mistrusted by both the Austria in which he lived and by Tsarist Russia in which nine-tenths of his compatriots lived. As a member of the Uniate fraction of the Ukrainian world, he was not always trusted even by the immensely larger Orthodox majority—in a word the cards were stacked against him: yet he never faltered, but followed the gleam through forty years of public service, and his memory will not die.

Both the short essay by Manning and the longer account of Franko's life by Cundy are of great interest. On more than one occasion one is forced to recall parallels between this lesser known Austrian Slav and his contemporary who lived longer and became world-famous—Thomas G. Masaryk. The truth as he saw it compelled him to write things that estranged at times even his own countrymen, but he could not do other. His lyrics, his hymns, his philosophical works, recall in places the not different searchings of Kasprowicz. It is significant how much his work is rooted in Holy Scripture. Not for nothing then is his *Moses* regarded as his greatest work. To a notable extent it is the record of his own thought and feeling. The parts published here reveal something of its power, though literary critics would find the metre rather tedious.

W. J. R.

*Poland in the British Parliament 1939-1945. Documentary Materials Relating to the Cause of Poland during World War II. Vol. I: March 1939-August 1941.* Edited by W. Jędrzejewicz and Pauline Ramsey. Pub. by the Pilsudski Inst. of America, Chicago, 1946, pp. 495, with Maps and Illustrations.

THE contents of this stout volume can be surmised from the title. The editors have included 135 items, from the Guarantees to Poland given in London in the spring before the war came, to the Atlantic Charter of 14 August two years later and Mr. Churchill's comments on the same in the House of Commons the next month. At the end is added the text of the Secret Agreements linked with the German-Soviet Pact of 23 August 1939, as revealed during the Nuremberg trials. In the Preface the editors draw attention to the definition of the ideological conflict of our time as offered by Professor Taracuzio; and on the next page to the famous conclusions set out by Sir Halford Mackinder in 1919 with regard to the Heartland and its relation to world domination.

In the light of what has happened since 1944 these pages make pretty grim reading, and they must provoke in the student a wide range of reflections. For this is not a work designed for the general public: it is meant for the serious student of contemporary affairs, and on that account should be found on the shelf of all university and public libraries. As documentary material it can serve all historians—reminding them rather of what might have been, as contrasted with what has actually come about.

W. J. R.

*Calendar of Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy, 1917-1941.* Compiled by Jane Degras; Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1948, pp. viii and 248.

THIS *Calendar of Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy, 1917-1941*, will be of the greatest value to all serious students of international relations and of Soviet foreign policy. Its purpose is to provide a comprehensive and reliable guide to treaties and agreements, diplomatic correspondence,

statements by authorised Soviet spokesmen, speeches by leading Soviet statesmen, and important articles from the Soviet press. It registers this mass of material in six sections arranged chronologically and each covering a main phase of Soviet policy. Within each section the material is classified by subject, usually by country. Within each subject the arrangement is chronological. As well as giving the date of the documents listed, the *Calendar* supplies a very brief description of their contents. With very few exceptions, it also provides a reference to both a Russian and a non-Russian source in which the document may be consulted, at any rate in part. The Introduction adds the encouraging news that all the books, periodicals and newspapers cited as sources can be found in one or other of London's libraries.

The *Calendar* is a careful and painstaking piece of work, and Mrs. Jane Degras who compiled it, and the Royal Institute of International Affairs which sponsored it, are both to be congratulated on their enterprise. It is to be hoped that they will provide a similar *Calendar* for the period since 1941.

G. H. BOLSOVER.

*Études sur la comparaison Slave.* La syntaxe de la comparaison d'inégalité en vieux slave ecclésiastique et dans les autres dialectes meridionaux du moyen âge par Arne Gallis; Skrifter utgitt av Det. Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse, 1946. No. 3. Oslo: Kommissjon Hos Jacob Dybwad, 1946.

SLAVONIC syntax has been relatively little studied. The Southern Slav Mediaeval texts are an unexplored field of Slavonic philology; in particular the syntax of Middle Bulgarian and Old Serbian has not yet attracted many scholars. The present study is a most welcome contribution of solid scholarship, based on rich material collected from the most important sources of Old Church Slavonic, as well as from Old Serbian and Middle Bulgarian available texts.

The subject of this syntactic study is the comparison of inequality, of the type: *Peter is taller than John*, a subject not studied at all on Slavonic ground—apart from examples mentioned by some masters like Miklosich, Vondrák—and very little studied in other Indo-European languages. After a survey of the problem in other Indo-European languages, the author proceeds to the study of inequality in the Southern Slav texts.

In Indo-European there existed three possibilities to link the second term of comparison (i.e. the object of comparison) to the first term: by means of a particle, by means of a flexional termination, and by means of a preposition. As the flexion appears only late in Indo-European, the particle construction is chronologically older (p. 36). Rich material from various languages is analysed in order to support this point of view. We remark that the author assumes that in Roumanian



the second term of comparison is linked by means of the preposition *de, di* (p. 29). Except before numerals and place names to express value or distance, the second term is linked in Roumanian by a particle (*decât*). For this reason I am inclined to see in the Slavonic constructions with the preposition *OTЪ* in the examples taken from Vlaho-Bulgarian documents (p. 77) the influence of the Roumanian language.

In Slavonic as in other Indo-European languages the development of this syntactic process goes in the same direction of replacing the inflexional case of comparison by a prepositional or particle construction. The precise subject-matter of this work is to study this development in the Southern Slav languages. The starting point of the process is fixed in the period of Cyril and Methodius, i.e. between A.D. 900 and 1200 (p. 81). The usage becomes general however in Middle Bulgarian and Old Serbian only at the beginning of the 13th century. The possibility of influence of the Greek original on the Slav translation is considered, as well as the independent development of the construction (p. 87). A clear résumé concludes this very valuable study on Middle Slavonic Syntax.

G. NANDRIŞ.

*La littérature russe en France* par Vladimir Boutchik; avec quatre hors-texte, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion; 5-7, Quai Malaquais, Paris, pp. 116.

THIS useful bibliographical study is a continuation of the same author's earlier works on Russian bibliography published between 1935 and 1943. It comprises an introductory essay on the destinies of Russian literature in France (pp. 7-45), followed by a survey of French works relating to Russian literature which appeared before 1 January 1947. Altogether 308 items are grouped in several chapters, according to their character and following the alphabetical order of the author's names: literary history, folklore, monographs, general studies, theatre. It is to be remarked that only belletristic literature is considered, leaving apart the rich historical, philosophical, scientific heritage.

After an Index of names follows an essay on the origins and the historical periods of Russia. Pages by Louis Léger written in 1897, by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu from his *L'Empire des Tsars* (1881), are connected by the author so as to form a unity (pp. 107-16).

Perhaps the following passage from Louis Léger's study would be read with interest also today:

"In 1581 the Russians were at Tyumen on the upper Obi river; today (1897) they are at Vladivostok on the Japanese Ocean, at Merv on the Indian border. . . . In Korea, in Japan, in China, Russia plays a preponderant rôle. . . . Her official writers do not hide that Russia considers herself already the legitimate heiress of Northern and Central Asia. The 20th century

will see, without any doubt, the materialisation of these gigantic dreams ; perhaps it will also see the formidable clash of the Russian and English armies on the Indian border. . . .”

G. N.

#### NOTE

##### *A Mistaken Ascription by Professor Iorga ?*

In Vol. XVIII of *Studii și Documente* Professor Iorga prints some letters from a private correspondence communicated to him by a “ person who does not wish to be named.” Among these appears (pp. 86 sqq.) an unsigned letter in English beginning “ My Lord, Aware of the sympathies which you have shown for the Danubians . . .” Professor Iorga heads this “ A Rumanian memorial to an English statesman—by V. Malinescu(?)” It is clear however from the words immediately following the above quotation from the letter that the writer was an Englishman. “ I venture to address to you at the present moment on their behalf, in the character of an Englishman who has visited the country, become interested in it, and promised numerous friends there to do what I could for their cause.”

Who then wrote this letter ? The fourth paragraph opens with the sentence “ I have already endeavoured to combat and refuse (? refute) such assertions in the limited field opened to me in the last *Edinburgh Review*.” This is evidently a reference to the article on Rumania in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1857 (pp. 419-53). This article purports to be a review of *La Roumanie* by B. Boieresco (Paris, 1856), but in fact there is not a single reference in it to the book. Mr. G. W. Skinner of Messrs. Longmans Green has kindly hunted out the name of the author of this article and says that it is E. E. Crowe. There can be little doubt that this is Eyre Evans Crowe (1799-1868), novelist and journalist, who in 1853 published a book called *The Greek and the Turk*, the result of a journey to the Levant to investigate the Eastern Question, and that this letter was written by him, not by Malinescu.

E. D. TAPPE.

#### ERRATA

Vol. XXVII, No. 68 :

- p. 54, l. 1 : for “ son ” read “ successor ”
- p. 70, l. 13 from bottom : for “ All ” read “ Both ”
- p. 78, l. 9 : for “ franchise to sixteen towns,” read “ the number of enfranchised towns from one to sixteen,”
- l. 16 : for “ Funds ” read “ Investment Funds ”
- l. 2 from bottom : for “ under wage contracts ” read “ allodial, not urbarial, lands ”



- p. 81, l. 9: for "electors." read "elected "
- p. 82, l. 20: for "accredited" read "authorised "
- p. 83, l. 14: for "suffered at the hands of" read "was suppressed  
by"
- p. 84, l. 11: for "Hungarian" read "Magyar "
- p. 85, l. 2: after "peasants," add "to the alloidal and curial  
peasants also,"
- l. 18 from bottom: for "sedition," read "treason,"
- p. 163, Note 29, and p. 164, Note 31: read "A. S. Famintsyn "
- p. 180, l. 12 from bottom omit "isolative "
- p. 184, in diagram:               ,,               ,,
- p. 188, l. 15 from bottom.   ,,               ,,
- p. 327, l. 9: for "decreases" read "increases "

BERNARD PARES

ob. 17 April 1949

aet. 82